

Chapter Six

From 'Free China' to Sunny Paradise: The Worlding Process in the Magazine *Tourism in Taiwan* (1966~1974)

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Being a crucial part of the US-led Asia-Pacific security framework and standing against PRC expansion, Taiwan and its off-shore islands acted as an anti-communist bulwark during the Cold War. Under the prevailing fear of communist infiltration, it is somewhat surprising that ROC authorities opened its door and promoted international tourism in 1956. In the mid-1960s, as part of a policy to accelerate the promotion of Taiwan's international tourism, the Kuomintang (KMT, Chinese nationalist) government launched *Tourism in Taiwan* 觀光¹ (1966 ~ 1974), the first and one of the most important official bilingual monthlies to promote the island as an international tourist destination. In the magazine, Taiwan was portrayed as the reservoir of traditional Chinese culture on the one hand, and a tropical pleasure island of sunshine, sandy beaches and natural beauty on the other. To understand the somewhat surprising move taken by the KMT leadership and explore how the island was imaged as an international tourist destination, this chapter considers the ways in which the island was portrayed, explores the messages the magazine attempted to convey, and reflects on the embedded power relations in the shaping and construction of Taiwan's tourist 'brand.' Through a systematic examination of 87 issues of *Tourism in Taiwan*, I investigate how this nation-branding practice was conducted, and why and how international tourism became a useful political tool for the ROC to win favor with its greatest ally – the US. In so doing, this investigation reveals a constant tension between the imagination of a 'tropical paradise' (by Anglo-European tourists), the portrayal of a 'Chinese island' (by the KMT), and the provision and reshaping of local cultures and tourist resources. This examination demonstrates that the international tourism branding was not a simple matter of economic activities that were solely devised by local authorities or the tourism industry. Rather, the building, (re)imaging and construction of the island's 'tourability' reflected complex power relations between its many 'authors' in this nation-branding process.

Post-war international tourism networks

¹ The Chinese title of the first issue, "*Taiwan Guanguang*," was simplified to "*Guanguang*" in Issue 2, while its English name remained unchanged.

The rise of mass tourism, especially of international travel, is a post-war phenomenon. The experience of crossing (geographical and cultural) boundaries and expanding horizons is exactly the experience of “being modern” (Urry, 2002: 2) and exemplifies the new age of global mobility. What is involved in international tourism is not simply economic activities, but a complex cultural exchange bringing two (or multiple) worlds together, causing them to collide with one another. International tourism has enabled growing cultural contacts, understanding and tolerance; And, yet, what tourists have also brought with them are their own social norms and cultural values. In other words, international tourism has brought to the fore the impact of cultural clashes, external intrusion, identity politics and unequal power relations on a global scale. It would be unwise to perceive the development of Taiwan’s international tourism as a localized and trivial initiative, a matter of commercial undertakings, or an isolated case. As well as an economic policy, Taiwan’s tourism development was in fact closely connected to its national goal and global trends.

To understand the embedded power relations in the place-making and nation-branding process, I draw theoretical inspirations from Urry (1995; 2002) and Spivak (1985; 1990). Both Urry’s analysis of the ‘tourist gaze’ and examination of the practice of ‘consuming places’ highlight the intricate interplay between the gazer and the gazed, and the cultural clashes between visitors and the places that are toured (and thus, consumed). As well as economic influence, visitors have brought with them their social and cultural norms and imposed their expectations and values onto their destinations (1995: 164). Such ‘tourist gazes’ are, thus, organized and put together to create systematic and patterned “ways of seeing” by various actors and discourses (Urry and Larsen, 2011: 19). Urry’s approach helps explain the power relations between localities and visitors, and how certain ‘ways of seeing’ are shaped, reinforced, and then became a matter of course.

To further explore these unequal power relations, I make use of Spivak’s (1985, 1990) rethinking of Heidegger’s concept of ‘worlding’ to unveil the ‘othering’ process from a post-colonial perspective. To highlight the often overlooked and internalized nature of imperialist practices (e.g. via imperialist spatial construction and/or colonial cultural discourses), Spivak develops the idea of ‘worlding’ to describe “the way in which colonized space is brought into the world” (Ashcroft, et. al., 2007: 225). The idea of ‘worlding’ refers not only to the externally imposed ‘worldview’ which reinforces colonial influence and imperialist domination, but also the internalized (colonial) values, self-censorship, conformity and voluntary subordination. Spivak takes the popularization of the term ‘the third world’ as a perfect example. She regards

the spread and acceptance of this term as an epistemic violence of the cultural imperial project. The imperialist “way of seeing” is deeply embedded in such a “worlding the world” process. Both the naturalization of imperialist narratives and the internalized justification of western domination are part of the ‘worlding’ process.

What is involved and at stake in developing Taiwan’s international tourism is intriguing, because the power relations between the imperialist gazer and the consumed and objectified gazee were not only highly unequal but also multi-layered. During the branding process, tension related to how to formulate a way of seeing the island surfaced – either presenting an ‘old China,’ or creating an exotic island. This worlding process was a double spatial inscription carried out through the tourist branding process on two levels – i.e. territorializing the colonized space and aesthetic taste as well as incorporating the island into America’s ‘Free World’ framework.

‘War zone’ tourism

Although tourism has become one of the largest and fastest-growing economic sectors in the 21st century (UNWTO, 2017), the promotion of tourism during the Cold War was considered unimportant and an opening-the-door policy was particularly seen by Taiwanese authorities as a potential threat to national security. On the surface, the most obvious and most-referred-to reason for promoting tourism was economic gain – i.e. foreign exchange earnings, job creation, boosts to local economies, and increased taxation (TC, 1970: 1). Yet, Chiang Kai-shek regarded the intangible benefits of tourism to be immense – being able to “strengthen international understanding and friendship, and... contribute to further assuring world peace and prosperity” (Issue 58: 3).²

Tourism in this war-torn island was in its infancy during the early post-war period. In reality, the island was considered by North American tourists to be the No.1 “unsafe” place in the region (28.6%), even higher than Vietnam (13.9%) and Korea (13.7%) (Clement, 1961: 17). Facing the communist threat and potential invasion, Chiang’s rationale was clear. He believed that through people-to-people contact, an excellently-executed tourist experience would win the hearts and minds of international visitors and translate this friendship into actual support for the ROC. For him, international tourism was part and parcel of the ROC’s anti-communist

² Because there were generally no authors’ names or page numbers in *Tourism in Taiwan*, quotes from the magazine will reference its Issue number and author-calculated page number(s). In some early issues, the layout was irregular, and half-page insertions or folded double-pages were common. As a rule, the page numbers will be counted sequentially, starting from the inside page of the front cover, including advertisements regardless of page size. All quotes from the magazine are in English and I will specify if the original is in Chinese.

battle and cultural diplomacy, and its benefits far outweighed the threat. Echoing Chiang, the KMT Central Committee (1957: 3-6, 28) stated that international tourism acted as effective ‘public diplomacy’ and could also arouse nationalist sentiment and foster anti-communist spirit. The Committee praised Chiang’s emphasis on tourism as “going with the global trend in the free world” and “satisfying the contemporary needs of Free China.”

After Chiang demanded the integration of tourism into the first ‘National Economic Construction Plan,’ two tourist authorities were set up at both the provincial and national levels (KMT Central Committee, 1957; ITR, 1966; TC, 1970). The Provincial Tourism Council (PTC) was first established in 1956 (and was upgraded to Provincial Tourism Bureau [PTB] in 1966) and dealt with day-to-day promotion and provincial-level resources; while the Tourism Committee (TC), established in 1960 under the Ministry of Transportation and Communications (MOTC), was mainly in charge of tourism policy-making. The two tourist boards were eventually merged into the Tourism Bureau (TB) in December 1972 under the MOTC. However, because of the period discussed, the tourist board to which I refer is mainly the provincial level apparatus (i.e. PTB). There was also a non-governmental institution, the ‘Taiwan Visitors Association’ (TVA) that was established by the local tourism industry (i.e. tour operators, hoteliers and travel agencies) and worked closely with the state after its establishment in 1956.

To attract international tourists, the focus of tourism policy was first placed on setting up basic infrastructure and was then shifted to enhance Taiwan’s ‘attractiveness.’ Yet, what was defined as ‘attractiveness’ for international visitors? According to an official survey on tourists’ satisfaction that was carried out between 1961 and 1964, there were a lot of problems, including poor provision of transport links, substandard accommodations, lack of tourist information, inexperienced hospitality staff, filthy restaurants and public toilets, ill-trained tour guides, poorly organized and designed tours and sites, dishonest or over-charging sellers, backward facilities, and complicated entry requirements (ITR, 1966: 49-79). Among various complaints, the survey found that a serious lack of tourist information in English would likely prevent tourists from returning or from recommending a Taiwan visit to their friends.

The publication of *Tourism in Taiwan* was indeed a direct response to rectify the urgent shortage of English information. However, the initiative to produce a bilingual tourist magazine can also be understood within a global context. The timing of its publication coincided with three important events in 1966 and 1967: the launch of Cultural Revolution in China (and the subsequent promotion of the Cultural Renaissance movement in Taiwan); the introduction of

the American R&R (rest and recuperation) program in Taiwan; and participation in the ‘International Travel Year 1967’ campaign initiated by the United Nations (UN, 1967). These three factors influenced and shaped how Taiwan’s international tourism was imagined and constructed. The chaos in China led the KMT regime to believe it was the best timing to re-establish itself as the true heir to traditional Chinese culture (and by extension, the legitimate political representative). Tourism was one of the strategies to reach out and win support. The latter two factors helped accelerate Taiwan’s international tourism, both echoing the UN’s slogan “Tourism, Passport to Peace,” as well as serving the needs of its strongest ally, the US. The publication of *Tourism in Taiwan* was Taiwan’s strategy to actively play a part in the international community and in the campaign to welcome international visitors, enhance understanding and foster support and friendship. As a result, the tourism industry in Taiwan was left with a China-centric cultural legacy and China-centric viewpoint on the one hand, and an American-flavored and -favored tourism infrastructure on the other.

Sources of International Visitors

The record of Taiwan’s early post-war ‘international arrivals’ reveals a story of cold-war military tension and political upheavals. According to the official figures recorded in the ‘Visitor Arrivals, 1956-2017’ (TB, 2018), two categories were recorded as ‘international visitors’: ‘foreigners’ and ‘*huaqiao*’ 華僑 (i.e. overseas Chinese). The majority of international visitors who visited Taiwan before the mid-1960s were Americans; either military personnel, government officials, advisors, or businessmen. Within only two decades, the figure grew nearly 57 times – from 14,974 in 1956 (when the record began), to 133,666 in 1965, and to 853,140 in 1975 (ibid.). Before the drastic decline of international tourism in the 1970s, international visitors to Taiwan consisted of three major groups: Americans; Japanese; and *huaqiao* visitors. Each came to the island for different reasons and each contributed to Taiwan’s tourism infrastructure and shaped its tourism appeals.

Among them, the American tourists dominated Taiwan’s tourism market for decades. They were the biggest visitor group and were said to be the world’s biggest spenders (Grünthal, 1962: 172). More importantly, the US was (and for most part, still is) Taiwan’s major business partner, ally and protector. The other two groups were equally substantial in their own ways but not as important – the Japanese tourists were economically vital in a later stage; and the

huaqiao visitors, although relatively few, were politically significant as the symbol of the global Chinese community support of the ROC regime.³

In 1965, the American military chose Taipei to be one of nine R&R destinations. Over six and half years (from 25 November 1965 to 12 April 1972), it is estimated that the R&R program brought 213,309 American servicemen to Taiwan, and the total spending reached more than US\$ 52,830,000 in tourism revenue (Yen, 2015: 132). In Taipei, the usual haunt for American servicemen was around Zhongshan District, where most bars and massage parlors were concentrated.⁴ Not long after the arrival of the American servicemen on R&R trips, *Tourism in Taiwan* began publication and gave advice on where to visit, go shopping and have fun. It was obvious that the R&R holiday was influential in shaping Taiwan's international tourism industry and formulating a desired tourist destination for international consumption.

After Japan's overseas travel ban was lifted in 1964, Taiwan soon became one of the top destinations taking up 29.1% of Japan's total outbound tourists (Carlie, 1996: 16). Within only 3 years, the Japanese replaced the American tourists and became the largest international tourist group in Taiwan in 1967 (TB, 2018). Similar to the R&R servicemen, the Japanese tourists, mostly men, came to the island seeking "cheap sexual consumption" (Yen, 2015: 132) and were served by another magazine in Japanese: *Taiwan Tourism Monthly* (台湾觀光月刊), published by the TVA. Although the Japanese tourists became dominant, the division of responsibilities implied a clear hierarchy. The services provided to the Japanese were considered mainly commercial and had less political weight. In contrast, the provision of information to the English-speaking tourists (mainly Americans) was a state affair and needed to be carefully crafted. Apparently, English-speaking visitors still took priority over the Japanese. This was not only because the US tourists were the world's biggest spenders at the time, but also because the US was Taiwan's most important ally and protector. Thus, the appeals that were devised and presented in *Tourism in Taiwan* aimed to satisfy the expectations of English-speaking visitors and convey hidden (and sometimes explicit) political agendas.

³ Visits by *huaqiao* were closely affected by global conditions and cross-strait tensions. For example, this category took up 21.64% of total international visitors in 1956. It dropped to 6.89% in 1958 because of the 2nd Taiwan Strait crisis and jumped to 21.73% in 1967 after the Chinese Cultural Revolution was launched. During and after Taiwan's expulsion from the UN, the figures dropped to 13%.

⁴ There are quite a few blogs and Facebook communities set up by those who were once stationed on the island or who visited Taiwan on R&R tours (e.g. Flight, 2015, 2017; US Taiwan Defense Command, 2011; Taipei Air Station, 2014). Most mention the Zhongshan District in Taipei (especially Minquan East/West Road, Jingxi Street, and the 2nd Section of Zhongshan North Road) that had the most lively nightlife. Although Beitou area was famous for its hot spring and was regarded by the Japanese as a "sexual recreational space" since the colonial period (Lin, 2015), it was less popular among the Americans.

In October 1971, the ROC was expelled from the UN. The island consequently lost a string of diplomatic allies and faced the threat of ultimate withdrawal of American recognition. As a result, Taipei's R&R program was terminated, and the magazine lost all commercial advertisements. Although the publication of the magazine continued for another year, its focus shifted to policy announcement and propaganda, and its English content was reduced to a minimum. To make matters worse, the 1973 global oil crisis and a three-year-ban on new hotel construction in Taiwan (1973-1976) dealt another blow to the local tourism industry. Eventually, starting from Issue 76 (July 1973), *Tourism in Taiwan* became a Chinese-language magazine and was shut down in July 1974. All in all, throughout the (nearly) 8 years and 87 issues, the magazine had gone through and reflected a crucial moment of Taiwan's history – not only participating in international tourism and shaping the golden age of Taiwan's early tourism surge, but also witnessing (and responding to) the impact of the ROC's diminishing international status.

Reading of *Tourism in Taiwan*

To understand the official attitude of what kind of tourist destination should be presented to the world, my examination of *Tourism in Taiwan* looks at the recurrent themes of both its cover stories and overall content throughout the 87 issues. I look at the frequency of certain topics, analyze the language and pictures used, and explore the significance of repeated highlights and neglects. For the convenience of analysis, I categorize the magazine's stories into five themes, including: scenery; Chinese tradition and culture; political messages; modern amenities and services (such as entertainment facilities, hotels, tourist infrastructure, guided tours, transport links, etc.); and Taiwanese culture. By analyzing how the island was imagined and constructed and what was chosen to 'best' represent it, the investigation reveals how the state authored and authorized the official ways of seeing and consuming the island. This allows us to see to what extent the tourist author(ity) was willing to compromise its own ideal 'national self' to satisfy the external expectation in fulfilling the role as an exotic other.

The selection and categorization of topics are generally based on two factors – the core theme of the story and/or the major attraction(s) embedded in it. For example, the cross-island highway (and the attractions along the route or in the nearby region) was the single most introduced destination, either as a cover story, secondary story, or simply a part of the story that introduced Taiwan's natural beauty, promoted certain package tours, or stressed the KMT's achievement on the island. Thus, the categorization is not solely based on their obvious

topics or subject matters. Take the story ‘National Day Celebration’ that regularly appeared in October/November issues for an example. Although the story was presented with many colorful photos of ‘folk parades’ and ‘local traditional performances,’ it was not a true celebration of Taiwanese local culture, but political propaganda coated with folk ‘flavor.’ Thus, such stories are placed under the ‘political message’ category.

My consideration also depends on how these stories were presented as tourist commodities. For example, I group the topics relating to sandy beaches, swimming or mountaineering⁵ under the same category ‘modern amenities and services’ because these services targeted mainly international tourists and were set up for their enjoyment. Similarly, I place ‘indigenous cultures and performances’ alongside the provisions of luxurious hotels and nightlife under the same category of ‘modern amenities and services.’ This is because they were all presented as a kind of tourist activity and were treated no differently than stories about theme parks, festivals, shopping, restaurants, or Beijing opera performances.

Based on these principles, there are in total 117 single- or dual-focused cover stories, including 55 on scenery (47%), 25 on Chinese tradition and culture (21.37%), 19 on politics-related topics (16.24%), 17 on modern amenities and services (14.53%), and only one dedicated to Taiwanese folk culture (0.8%). I found several consistent trends. First, the scenery-related stories were the most popular topic. It is apparent that the magazine recognized that the beautiful scenery of Taiwan was its best tourist asset; Second, the content on ‘Chinese culture’ was omnipresent but later became increasingly superficial and decorative. Third, to highlight the hierarchical positions between the center (China) and the periphery (Taiwan), stories about local customs and cultures were framed within and often presented as part of the greater Chinese tradition. A cover story that prominently presented a Taiwan focus occurred only once, covering the birthday celebration of “Goddess Ma-zo [Mazu 媽祖] at Pei-Kang [aka. Beigang]”⁶ in Issue 40 (May 1970). This Mazu story introduced Taiwanese customs and

⁵ During the Japanese period, both swimming and mountaineering were seen as part of military training, character building and competitive sports. Recreational swimming was not popular due to traditional superstition of ‘water ghosts’ (Cheng, 2009: 29-30, 47, 166-67, 177) and mountaineering activities were usually reserved for the Japanese (Chang, 2012). In the post-war era, activities around coastal areas were considered militarily sensitive and therefore restricted. Similarly, the development of mountain climbing was hindered by strict entry restrictions in fear of communist infiltration.

⁶ The festival of Mazu’s birthday celebration in Beigang appeared a few times throughout the 87 issues. The cover story of Issue 40 was most unusual. It introduced local religion, rituals, and customs, in contrast to other similar stories that either highlighted its Chineseness (Issue 23), boasted of Taiwan’s religious freedom (Issue 1), or indicated Beigang’s official status as an official ‘sight-seeing area’ with instructions about ‘how to get there’ (Issue 70). To highlight its cultural importance, Issue 40 declared that “If you are in or visiting Taiwan, [Beigang] is not to be missed (*ni zai/lai Taiwan, buke bu zhidao*)” (p.2). Moreover, the name of the Goddess

religious culture, and yet the story encouraged ‘foreign tourists’ to visit Beigang because the local festivals offered them opportunities to “have a better understanding of *Chinese* traditions” [emphasis added] and emphasized that visitors could “enjoy watching something quite exotic and typically Chinese” (Issue 40: 19-20); Fourth, the political topics appeared regularly in October and November issues, usually celebrating the National Day, Taiwan’s Recovery Day, or Chiang Kai-shek’s birthday. In its early issues, these stories usually focused on folk parades and local color. However, after the ROC’s UN expulsion, such stories became increasingly dogmatic and their visual content was dominated by images of political leaders and slogan-filled banners.

Lastly, the provision of modern amenities and services was highlighted because the authorities recognized that these were inadequate but crucial in enticing international tourists and generating revenue. To appeal to English-speaking visitors, *Tourism in Taiwan* endeavored to cover stories about exclusive luxury hotels, fancy restaurants, theme parks, exciting nightclubs and a variety of shopping establishments. This type of story was particularly prominent in the first 5 years. The advertisements for hotels, shopping establishments, restaurants and travel agents boomed until the end of 1971, coinciding with ROC’s expulsion from the UN. These stories provided ‘information’ about where to stay and visit, find good food and drinks, buy souvenirs, and have fun. And, among all the ‘entertainment’ options, indigenous peoples and cultures became increasingly prominent after the initial emphasis on Chinese culture and nightlife. These stories were usually about theme parks, traditional costumes, festivals, performances, souvenirs, and the beautiful places indigenous peoples resided. Similar to the emphasis on Chinese-ness, the indigenous cultures were utilized as tourist attractions and spectacles.

Emphasis on Chinese-ness

To fully understand Taiwan’s nation-branding process through tourism, it is important to contextualize this phenomenon within a global context. In the 1950s, international tourism was purposely promoted by the US, and was incorporated into the Marshall Plan and made part of US diplomacy. Regarding American tourists as ‘cultural ambassadors’ and agents of foreign policy, the post-war American government was keen to send its citizens to its allies, where they would spend millions of US dollars abroad, and considered it as a form of ‘tourism aid’ (Rubin,

was spelled “Ma-zo,” much closer to the Hoklo pronunciation “Má-tsóo” (MOE, 2011) than the Mandarin name (i.e. Mazu).

2010). The impact of people-to-people diplomacy was seen to effectively increase cultural understanding, safeguard regional peace, and enhance U.S. prestige, interests and influence in the region.

A major survey, led by Harry Clement, was commissioned by the US Department of Commerce in the late 1950s to give advice to 17 Asia Pacific countries on how to improve their tourism industries and help shape a post-war 'free world' which American tourists would like to visit and enjoy. This report was extremely influential and shaped tourism development and informed policy of the region (Grünthal, 1962: 172). In the case of Taiwan, Clement identified the element of "Chinese-ness" to be the most marketable asset and suggested that Taiwan focus on "the preservation and development of things distinctly Chinese" (1961: 251-52). For example, new hotels should be "distinctly Chinese in architecture and design," tourist events should have Chinese flavor, and Chinese cuisine and Chinese opera were considered most attractive. All of these suggestions were taken on board and implemented by Taiwan's tourist board in the 1960s. Based on the language used in the magazine, the official attempts to satisfy the must-haves on Clement's wish-list were apparent. The magazine boasted that Taiwan was "the only place in the world today where the best of ancient and modern China may be seen" and the trip to Taiwan was promised to offer "a true glimpse of the enchanting Orient" (Issue 23: 29). As a tourist product, Taiwan was clearly marketed as a romantic 'Chinese holiday.'

The US policy to promote international tourism in the Asia-Pacific region was in fact designed to set up an environment for its own citizens to enjoy, consume, and disseminate American values (and dollars). Thus, the wish list they made for an ideal holiday in Taiwan was based on the image of the 'Free China' that reflected American's worldview and world order. To satisfy the craving for exotic 'Chinese-ness,' the magazine provided information about what to see and experience and where to shop and eat. In addition, a display of visual symbols of Chinese paintings, traditional seals, artefacts, or cultural emblems filled the pages to create an 'oriental ambiance.' Moreover, it promised to offer the tourists the opportunity to "see China old and China new" (Issue 23: 29) and an authentic experience of the "typical Chinese way of life" (Issue 26: 5; Issue 34: 28; Issue 37: 3-4; Issue 38: 13). In many ways, the shaping of Taiwan's identity as a Chinese holiday destination also reflected Taiwanese authorities' own political agenda. As well as the fact that the ROC was eager to please, the 'true China' branding also highlighted Communist China's "un-Chineseness."

Thus, the image of 'island China' that the Americans helped to construct was exoticized to their liking and it catered to their needs. American taste and expectations worked as a

powerful cultural and economic influence on the weaker localities and imposed implicit (or even explicit) pressure onto Taiwan to conform to imperialist ‘ways of seeing.’ It is therefore understandable that the tourism authority tended to construct Taiwan as a place that North American tourists would expect to find and enjoy. However, what is unique in this construction of Taiwan’s ‘exotic otherness’ was the very nature of the constant flows of a feedback loop. This shaping of a ‘Chinese holiday’ in Taiwan was a constant process of negotiating, resisting and becoming. The dual process of ‘self-Orientalization’ and ‘worlding’ were at work simultaneously, shaped by the imperialist imagination as well as the internal effort to mirror and perform for external expectations.

Colonial Desire and Exoticism Paradox

Although tourists claim that they aim to expand their horizon, in reality, they seek the familiar and travel to “discover those stereotypical experiences already presented as exotic” (Ashcroft et al., 2007: 90-91). In Clement’s report, he pinpointed that North American tourists were attracted to “things distinctively Chinese,” but found that they could not tell “the real difference between what is Taiwanese, what is Chinese, and what is aborigine [sic.]” (1961: 105, 251-52). It was clear however that this ‘Chinese-ness’ to which he referred was definitely not the same as Taiwanese authorities would have defined it, nor as the local Taiwanese would have seen themselves. This ‘Chineseness’ was an imagined “Orient” that was constructed by the Americans to conjure up their own ‘exotic other,’ Chinese or not.

To provide the ‘Chinese’ holiday that was expected of Taiwan, two strategies were thus developed to highlight its ‘oriental flavor’ – presenting Taiwan as the only reservoir of traditional Chinese culture on the one hand and emphasizing its exotic attractions on the other. The former could easily be fulfilled by officially-sanctioned programs, e.g. visits to the Palace Museum, Beijing opera performances, traditional variety shows or the handicraft shops that catered to American consumers’ tastes (Chen, 2013: 87); Yet, the latter was much messier and ambiguous. Since they had no clear idea what a ‘Chinese holiday’ would consist of, anything ‘different from the ordinary’ could be seen as homogenously exotic.

To get a better idea of what international visitors expected to see, the tourism authority in Taiwan decided to draw inspiration from Hawaii. Two American experts from the Hawaii Tourism Bureau were commissioned to make recommendations. A research report was produced by Hodge and Evansco (1968)⁷ after a one-month fieldwork in 1968. They praised

⁷ The report to which I refer here is the official Chinese version published by the MOTC.

Taiwan's advantages in developing international tourism and celebrated the similarities between Hawaii and Taiwan in their unspoiled natural beauty, warm climate, blue seas and majestic mountains. But, they also identified the biggest obstacle for future tourism development to be government 'red tape' (such as overcomplicated visa application procedures, restriction of movement, and complex security measures) (ibid.: 8, 19-26; Rubin, 2010: 76, 133-36).

So, to live up to a Hawaiian-holiday potential, the magazine responded by branding Taiwan as a tropical paradise, describing it as an "Island of Sunshine (陽光之島)" (Issue 3: 2; Issue 9: 17-18; Issue 20: 3) and a "Happy Land" (Issue 52: 11). Echoing a Hawaiian-style holiday of sun, sandy beaches and exotic hula dances, *Tourism in Taiwan* stressed Taiwan's spring-like climate, warm human touch, beautiful coastline, all-year-round water sports capacity, and indigenous dance shows. However, the similarities stopped here. Contrary to a Hawaiian-style destination, Taiwanese beach holidays were never the same because the coastal areas and peripheral waters were strictly controlled and maritime activities were prohibited. Moreover, the idea of a beach holiday was culturally foreign. Although swimming in Taiwan had been taken up as part of military training and as a competitive sport by the Japanese and later by the post-war KMT regime, the concepts of recreational swimming, relaxing by the pool/beach and sunbathing were all alien to the majority of Taiwanese. In addition, the behavior of openly displaying bare legs and wearing skimpy swim attire was considered too revealing and immodest.⁸

Instead of promoting a western-style 'beach holiday' with palm trees, pristine sandy beaches, tropical flowers, icy drinks, and beautiful women in bikinis, the stories in the magazine about Taiwan's beaches focused mainly on 'services' – i.e. available facilities (e.g. shower rooms, lockers, equipment rental, restaurants, shops, etc.) and their transport links. A Taiwanese-style beach holiday was therefore portrayed as 'healthy' recreation. In such stories, local crowds either looked out at the sea from the beach while fully dressed or waded in shallow water (mostly in their rolled-up trousers or some in swimwear but covered by towels). Although crowded on the beach, not many people were actually swimming in the sea, let alone sunbathing. The emphasis of these stories was usually placed on youthfulness and these destinations were described as "a hub of youthful activities" (Issue 10: 7).

⁸ For example, even in 1971, the image of the candidates in the 1st 'Miss Tourism' competition who stood by the swimming pool in their (one-piece) swimsuits caused chaos in Taiwan (GIO, 1971). During the photo shoot, one photographer fell into the pool in the chaos.

In truth, it had never been the authority's aim to copy a Hawaiian-style 'tropical paradise' model, or to build a profitable R&R scheme. Rather, these images of a 'pleasure island' were 'incentives' to lure international tourists. The real policy goals were to create an 'Island China' to be admired, respected and to inspire awe, and to form friendship and support. However, this Janus-faced branding strategy juxtaposed two contradictory approaches – promoting the island as the "Center of Oriental Culture" (Issue 1: 30) on the one hand and creating an image of an easy-going carefree tropical island with sandy beaches, exciting nightlife and exotic beauties on the other. Thus, the tension between the ideological ideal (representing 'Free China' and an old civilization) and the economic and political necessity (presenting an alluring tropical island and exotic femininity for external consumption) was ever-present.

One example of such ambivalence was the introduction of 'chipao' 旗袍 (a.k.a. 'cheongsam' or 'qipao'). The tourism authority felt *chipao* to be one of the most popular souvenirs that female visitors would like to own, to add a touch of exotic flavor. In its early issues, *Tourism in Taiwan* promoted the figure-hugging dress and claimed that it would "help the fair sex reveal their curvaciousness" (Issue 9: 10). Yet, the magazine solemnly declared that the authentic Cheongsam was not the same as the 'misleading' high-slit and decadent images portrayed in Hollywood films (implying its seductive, devious and erotic nature): "the true *chipao* is a loosely fittin[g] gown which permits a certain degree of revelation of the wearer's curvaceous figure and at the same time conveys the dignity of womanhood" (Issue 21: 22). The contradictions between the emphasis on an easily-achievable-curvaceousness and the officially upheld cultural symbol and the dignity of (Chinese) womanhood exemplified the ever present and irreconcilable tension.

Having a Good Time

Similar strains often appeared between the officially-sanctioned exoticism and the external expectation of 'having fun.' The ambivalence manifested itself most acutely in the stories about local nightlife. In the mid-1960s, only Taipei had some form of entertainment and nightlife. To attract R&R visitors, *Tourism in Taiwan* first made exaggerated claims: "Night life in the major cities is never dull. Taipei alone has eight topflight nightclubs and many cabarets and bars" (Issue 1:47). In reality, what were described as 'nightclubs' were, at best, simply restaurants with floorshows. In addition to these expensive nightclubs, a range of venues were also on offer, from cabarets and dance-halls, to less pricy bars with hostesses, and the cheapest 'girlie

restaurants.’ Dance Halls were described as allowing patrons to “either take their own partners or get the service of charming taxi dancers.” After Taipei was chosen as one of the R&R destinations, western-style bars started to mushroom, serving “largely vacationing American sailors or servicemen from Vietnam” (Issue 9: 25). The language also implied a slightly sexual connotation, stating that “(T)hose who have a romantic turn of mind usually go to the girlie restaurants, the Chinese version of the geisha house, where charming girls profer wines together with a sweet smiles [*sic.*]” (Issue 2: 28). These ‘girlie restaurants’ were popular because they were cheaper places “where female charms are liberally served along with wine” for “the lonely hearts” (Issue 9: 25).

Even with some sexual connotations, *Tourism in Taiwan* was in no way trying to brand the island as a sex tourism destination. Under the threat of military invasion and ‘White Terror,’⁹ there was in fact an overwhelming gloom throughout society and there were strict regulations to prohibit wastefulness (GIO, 1947). The expectations of international tourists (especially American servicemen who were on leave from a warzone and were far away from home) was exactly the opposite: they sought excessive pleasure, fun, and relaxation, and desired entertainment that contrasted with their daily routine and painful combat experiences. The condition of being ‘liminoid’¹⁰ seemed to lead them to be unconstrained, indulgent, or even debauched, which was unlike their behavior in their home environment or normal social condition. It was clear that what these American servicemen expected from, and what their behavior expressed in, this war-torn island was not exactly a ‘cultural trip’ (as the KMT regime would have wished it to be), but a pleasure adventure with plenty of “food, drink, prostitutes and shopping for five days” (DK, 2017: 112).

In December 1967, an article titled “Five-Day Bonanza” was published in *Time Magazine* and aroused fury and anger within the island. The article introduced nine R&R holiday destinations and described Taipei’s strength to be: “the complaisance of its girls and the excellence of its food” (Time, 1967: 52). To highlight how the GIs enjoyed their holiday in Taipei, there was a picture of a happy American Marine bathing with two naked local women. After its publication, there were uproars of indignation and media condemnation as the once hidden tension formally surfaced. *Tourism in Taiwan* immediately stopped any content about

⁹ Scholars use the term ‘White Terror’ to describe the political suppression, thought policing and severe crack-downs on dissidents after the KMT regime retreated to Taiwan, especially during the 1950s and 60s (Rubinstein, 2007: 303, 330).

¹⁰ Originally coined by Victor Turner, Urry and Larsen (2011) use the term ‘liminoid’ to describe the tourist experience and the potential situations where everyday responsibilities and moral compasses are suspended or inverted.

girlie restaurants, curvaceous *chipao*, or sweet smiles to go with alcohol. The stories about nightclubs in *Tourism in Taiwan* continued but were replaced by a portrayal of modern and family-friendly entertainment. To change the decadent image, such stories emphasized the ‘decency’ and tastefulness of Taiwan’s nightlife, “unlike some of the night clubs of the West that cater to questionable tastes” (Issue 47: 1). Instead, the magazine started to present beautiful but ‘dignified’ female images. For example, the images of ‘Oriental beauties’ were best presented by female characters either in traditional costume or in modern professional uniforms (such as those of air hostesses and bus conductresses). Later on, images of young indigenous women were also used to embody the beauty and purity of ‘oriental femininity.’

In addition, Taiwanese authorities tried to tame the behavior of these pleasure-seeking servicemen. In 1970, the ROC authorities issued a ‘5-Noes’ ban to regulate the behavior and the appearances of the R&R servicemen. The ban prohibited ‘unruly behavior’ by the GIs, such as dressing in women’s clothing, having long hair or untrimmed beards, or keeping company with women whose clothes were too revealing (because of the possibility of attracting “excessive attention”) (Flight, 2017). However, the official insistence on ‘decent’ entertainment and ‘healthy’ activities was detached from the day-to-day reality on the ground. According to American servicemen who were once stationed in Taiwan or who visited through the R&R program, the nightlife in Taiwan was lively and drinking and prostitution were common. In Taipei alone, there were at least 26 bars with hostesses that were officially approved by the Municipal Police Department in the late 1960s (Taipei Air Station, 2014; Flight, 2015; 2017). In parallel to the official line of presenting Taiwan as the “enchanted Orient” (Issue 23: 29) and a place where “the best of Chinese culture and civilization are preserved” (Issue 1: 9; Issue 23: 29), this attempt to ‘shape up’ was awkward and forced.

Consequently, stories in *Tourism in Taiwan* started to give guidelines on how to enjoy (KMT-sanctioned) ‘healthy pleasure’ during a Taiwan beach holiday and nightlife. For example, Taiwan’s beaches were presented as the place for beneficial and vigorous activities, such as camping, seaside sports, and healthy recreational activities (Issue 10: 7; Issue 52: 11). To suppress the undesirable exoticization of Chinese culture (and women), *Tourism in Taiwan* diverted some of the attention to indigenous cultures, customs, and peoples. Stories like these usually mentioned their singing, dancing and ritual performances, alongside a long list of tourist attractions, such as waterfalls, cable cars, hot springs, rugged mountains, theme parks, and beautiful lakes (Issue 1: 19; Issue 19: 13; Issue 28: 21-24; Issue 39: 4-5, 9, 23; Issue 43). It was as if the people’s existence was the same as these beautiful scenes, nightclub shows and

tailor-made *chipao*. Dominated by photos, these stories always showed young, beautiful indigenous peoples (mainly women) singing and dancing, or simply posing in front of simple huts in their magnificent traditional (or made-up) costumes. Because of different levels of the ‘tourability’ of their localities, only three (Amis,¹¹ Atayal, and Yami) out of then nine (now 16) officially-recognized indigenous peoples were mentioned throughout the 87 volumes. In other words, the degree of marketability was closely connected to their geographical locations (such as Hualien, Wulai, Sun Moon Lake, or Orchid Island), the existence of theme parks (Amis culture village, South Sea Garden) and the tourability of their colorful festivals (Issue 28: 21-24; Issue 31: 1-2; Issue 34: 11-20; Issue 43: 1-28; Issue 54: 21-24).

Thus, there were several approaches utilized to present Taiwanese ‘exotica’ to American visitors – either being the representative of authentic Chinese tradition and culture or providing a slice of Taiwanese ‘ordinary life’ by experiencing street life, enjoying night clubs and bars, or exploring indigenous cultures and performances. Yet, there was another layer of exoticization through a Han-centric perspective. Take the cover story “Amis Harvest Festival” (Issue 43) for example. The post-war KMT regime stereotyped the Amis to be “good dancers... attractive and beautiful,” and imposed a Sinicized idea to describe the traditional Ami Llisin ritual as a ‘harvest festival.’ This most significant annual sacrificial ceremony specific to coastal Amis tribes was advertised as the “biggest aboriginal *dance show* in Hualien’s history” [emphasis added] and was presented frivolously, as if it was a floorshow in nightclubs, “for tourists to enjoy everyday” (ibid.: 1-4).

Conclusion

Through the examination of *Tourism in Taiwan*, this chapter reflects on the imagining, shaping and constructing process of Taiwan as a tourist *object* to be consumed and gazed at. The ever-present tensions seem to suggest a compromise between propagating political propaganda, pandering to the imperialist imagination of the ‘Orient,’ and adjusting and inventing what the locals could offer. The promotion of international tourism during this period conveyed complex and sometimes conflicting messages and manifested intriguing and multi-layered power relations between the US, ROC authorities, and local Taiwanese. Such a feedback loop embodies complex power relations between the external gazer and the consumed gazee. From what we read in *Tourism in Taiwan*, the effort to brand the island was not just to dress the

¹¹ The Amis are the largest ethnic group among the 16 indigenous peoples. Although the name “Amis” is often used by outsiders to refer to this group, they usually call themselves “Pangcah” (meaning: human being) (NMP, 2017).

island up as an ‘Oriental Hawaii’ to satisfy the imperialist taste and highlight its Chineseness. There was a lot of negotiation, invention, adjustment and resistance involved in the shaping of a tourist Taiwan, between it being ‘Free China’ and the Hawaiian-esque paradise, Taiwan was slotted neatly into the American map of the ‘Free World’ and its political discourse. The tension closely reflected the continuous interplay between external expectation and internal self-projection. The multiple-layered ‘othering’ practice and colonial ‘worlding’ process shown in *Tourism in Taiwan* draw our attention to the uneven relations between the gazer and gazed. Undeniably, the local tourism resources also determined what sort of holiday could be offered and it was clear that there was an active response to tick the boxes on the tourists’ wish lists. However, the focus of this investigation is placed on the top-down construction to consider the following issues: how Taiwan’s national self was constructed from within and from outside; and in what ways the self-exoticization was implemented to create an image Taiwan being a Hawaiian-esque pleasure island; and finally, why and how this ‘Chinese holiday’ was devised.

This construction of Taiwan as an international tourist destination embodied the colonial worlding process molded not only by the all-powerful American perception about the world but also by the China-centric discourse promoted by the ROC state. Indeed, ‘worlding’ is never a one-way process but is always ongoing and becoming. Fanon aptly describes the long-lasting but often concealed colonial influence as “a chemical solution [that] is fixed by a dye” (Fanon, 1986: 109). These external influences – i.e. working as various ‘dyes’ – seeped into the cultural fabric of the colonized society and became the constitutive elements of local cultures and even colored people’s sense of identity. These traces of ‘dyes’ have been internalized and inscribed into the colonial identity that in turn reinforced the worlding process. In other words, the island and islanders were gazed upon not just by external visitors but also through a lens refracted by the China-centric KMT regime. How the indigenous peoples/cultures were utilized to add exotic flavor and taken as a tourist commodity demonstrates a second layer of colonial territorialization. In other words, this ‘worlding’ process was a colonial practice of transforming earth to world (and worldview), land to imperialist landscape, and geography to scenery.

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