

## Leisure Governance in Transition: The Case of Taiwan

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Leisure governance in Taiwan has been under swift transition during the past decades. Under the influence of a rigid military-political milieu, leisure policies of the 1950s and 1960s were characterized of dogmatic teachings of anti-communism and moral-ethical didacticism. During the 1970s and 1980s, with the lift of the Martial Law it had marked a new era for deregulation of leisure. The post-1990s period manifests an even more complicated environment for the policing of leisure. New driving forces and thinking tools of leisure policy including multiculturalism, the indigenous ethnic revival, local populism, the construction of a new Taiwanese consciousness, the postmodern social playfulness of politics, and the disinterested general public for political instructions of leisure, are now pulling the carriage of leisure governance towards all possible directions. However, the paper argues that such development does not imply a strategic progress or advancement of a new mechanism of leisure governance that has converted from a "negative" policing to a "positive" acceptance of leisure diversity. The study suggests that the style of leisure policy today is no longer a simple result of a government's "free choice" in ideology, moral-ethical instructions, and resorts to economic benefits. Rather, it is a much more complicated compromising process between governments and different social-economic-cultural agents and currents. Substituting the question of "freedom of choice" and "self-determinism", the new task for leisure governance in the 21st century is the recognition of needs for the reinterpretation of intrinsic satisfaction in leisure, and the acquisition of new meanings for leisure in Taiwanese society.

**Introduction\***

Leisure has become such a catching concept today that it permeates almost every discipline of academic studies. Scholars have written extensively on this concept, often referring to recreational experience, and characterizing it by such attributes as freedom of choice, personal control over one's own life, intrinsic satisfaction and personal involvement<sup>1)</sup>. Since notions of participation, choice, individual freedom and the quality of life are central to the concept of social rights, many have viewed increased public provision for leisure as being part of an evolutionary process of the development of leisure citizenship. Some even argue that the

state has a social responsibility, regardless of its dominant economic ideology, to provide for the basic leisure needs of society<sup>2)</sup>. This leads to the issue of leisure policy.

The controversy for the policing of leisure, however, is that the notion of promoting governmental intervention in people's leisure life sits quite uneasily with the above mentioned attributes of leisure like freedom of choice and personal control over one's free time. Many probably consider it the last thing they want to have a government planning actively for what they could or should do during their free time, as such an instructive policy of leisure could be of a great disturbance to the notion of individuality. The other side of the argument goes that government regulations may actively redistribute freedoms and leisure opportunities. By restricting opportunities for tourists in vulnerable, small scale historic towns or heritages, opportunities for later generations are preserved. And by closing lakes and beaches to powerboats, those who prefer more tranquil forms of leisure activity can enjoy their holidays safely and freely at the beach<sup>3)</sup>. In this context, it may be stated that leisure policies are about strategies for free time, for passive or active recreations (in sport,

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\* I appreciate greatly the valuable remarks of three anonymous referees, which have provided theoretical insights for the revision of this paper.

1) Elery Hamilton-Smith, "To Leisure or not to Leisure", *Youth Studies*, 9:4, 1990, 12-18. Ian Paul Henry quoting Kaplan defines leisure as consisting of "relatively self-determined activity/ experience that falls into one's economically free-time roles, that is seen as leisure by participants, that is psychologically pleasant in anticipation or recollection, that potentially covers the whole range of commitment and intensity, that contains characteristic norms and constraints, and that provides opportunities for recreation, personal growth, and service to others." Ian P. Henry, *The Politics of Leisure Policy*, London, Palgrave, 2001 Second Edition, 5.

2) Fred Coalter, "Leisure Studies, Leisure Policy and Social Citizenship: The Failure of Welfare or the Limits of Welfare?" *Leisure Studies*, 17, 1998, 21-36, quoted page 22.

3) P. Bramham et al. eds., *Leisure Policies in Europe*, Oxon, Cab International, 1993, 1-2.

the arts, popular culture, or informal recreation), with political arrangements aiming at compensating for the alienation of work (or of unemployment), or at fostering person fulfillment through non-work activities<sup>4</sup>). And here the key agent involved is the government.

Like most countries, leisure policy is still a fragmentary subject in Taiwan that hardly any key portfolio or clear blueprint and guideline for leisure governance can be identified. Actually, it is not an overstatement to say that leisure has been a marginal issue on the political agenda of Taiwanese government. The hot issue, as ever, is about electoral campaign at different prefecture levels and the ever rampant "ideological" debates of Taiwan independence and/or its political reunification with mainland China in the near or distant future. However, ideological debates under this context are not to be understood as debates between left and right, liberalism and conservatism, or capitalism and socialism in the western intellectual traditions. In effect, it is difficult to pin down the fundamental differences of key political parties in Taiwan in respect of the socio-political values they maintain, let alone meta-narratives of any kinds in leisure governance. The only obvious distinction that differentiates their political stances in essence is probably the question of national or cultural identities, which is the physical extension of the aging Taiwan-China paradox and very little else. For nearly a decade, questions like "Do

you love Taiwan?" "Are you a real Taiwanese?" or "Do you identify yourself with this piece of land?" are superseding questions of leisure routine in Taiwan at the grassroots level such as "Have you had your meal?" or "Wanna come in and have a cup of tea?" Sense of simplicity, relaxation and freedom, which marked the characteristics of earlier Taiwanese societies, seems to have been replaced by tensions of the strangling cross-strait relations and the ever constraining political ideologies during the past ten years.

Nevertheless, it should not be misunderstood that leisure activities of Taiwanese people are now placed under strict ideological control or guidance of the newly re-elected Democratic Progressive Party (the DPP) government, although it might have been the case during the 1950s and 1960s when the Chinese Nationalist Party (or the KMT) had first retreated to Taiwan with its majestic *Three Principles of People* (of the people, for the people and by the people). Under the ideological "guidance" of *the Three Principles*, KMT's leisure policy was permeated with moral, ethical didacticism and anti-communist dogmatic instructions, and whose eventual goal was to the fulfillment of the party's political-military agenda (recovering the lost land of China). Today Taiwanese people seem to find it comfortable enough to disregard the once powerful political control. Ridiculing the politicians has become one of the important leisure activities for people's routine in Taiwan.

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4) Ian P. Henry, op. cit. 2001, 5.

*Leisure in Context of Anti-communism and Moral Didacticism (1949-1969)*<sup>5)</sup>

It is not difficult to understand that leisure policy in Taiwan during the 1950s and 1960s was very much influenced by its anti-communist milieu, since the Chinese Nationalist Party had just fled away from mainland China and it planned to use Taiwan as the final bastion for regaining possession of its lost regime and territory. Based on General Chiang Kai-Shek's "Two Supplementary Theses of Education and Leisure" to Dr. Sun Yat-San's "Principle of People's Livelihood" in 1953, the government first provided its crude political guideline to entertainment and leisure activities. Principles of leisure policy in Chiang's thesis can be summarized as follows:<sup>6)</sup>

1. Leisure and tourism of the nation's citizens is one of the requisite conditions to the achieving of a powerful and wealthy state
2. Leisure activities and tourism should possess the following functions:
  - a. To provide the ethical norms for social education
  - b. To act as a cultural symbol and to promote the cultural spirit of the nation;
  - c. To teach the skills of national defense
3. Leisure activities and tourism should embrace the goal of reinforcing the anti-communist awareness, and defending against the penetration of communist ideology
4. To make good uses of the natural resources and cultural assets
5. To plan and organize leisure policy deliberately.

Indeed, Chiang's instruction on leisure activities not only was designed to enhance the anti-communist awareness to every citizen's daily leisure practices, but it also injected a strong sense of moral-ethical didacticism to the government's policy. The philosophy behind such moral-ethical didacticism was an extension of the traditional Chinese thought for a unified and balanced material and spiritual relations in human lives. Leisure, like culture, which evolves along the Confucian legacy, means a continuous process of self-civilising

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5) What preceded 1949 was over half a century (1895 to 1949) of Japanese occupation in Taiwan. Under Japanese colonialism and colonist regime, the concept of leisure governance, although it was as dogmatic as that of the Nationalist Party during the 1950s and 1960s, was certainly under a very different socio-political context and should be studied independently from the later transition of leisure policy in Taiwan.

6) Yang Zheng-Kuan 楊正寬, *The Interaction and Adaptation of Tourism Policy, Administration and Laws* 觀光政策、行政與法規, Taipei, 揚智文化, 2000, 53; Chiang Kai-Shek 蔣介石, "Two Supplementary Theses of Education and Leisure to the Principle of People's

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Livelihood 民生主義育樂兩篇補述", in Dr. Sun Yat-San, *Three Principles of People* 三民主義, Taipei, 中央文物出版社, 1985 (First Published in 1953), 307-402.

and social cultivation under the guidance of the moral and ethical legacy<sup>7)</sup>. Confucius regarded text and literature as being able to perform important social functions. Leisure, entertainment or culture in this sense is deemed an instrument to carry out the civilising function of the Tao (or the Way). In other words, people's leisure was never simply for the sake of entertaining and pleasure, but as Aristotle also visualized, for the cultivation of mind, spirit, character and virtue<sup>8)</sup>. Such is the reason why literary works of positive moral implication and fine arts (Chinese Classics, brush calligraphy, ink and water painting, martial arts etc.) had been crucial leisure forms that were promoted by the state, while cinema and radio broadcast were strictly censored to avoid "being influenced by commercialized forms of foreign entertainments" or "spreading the lower-taste, secular and degrading music and lyric works"<sup>9)</sup>. Leisure, under the

interpretation of the state, is considered as an instrument or a carrier of moral and ethical teachings rather than any individual form of pleasure and self-satisfaction.

During the 1960s, the government even carried out the so-called "Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movements" that encouraged a series of measures for the promotion of traditional Confucian teachings. Official brochures like the "Models for Citizen Etiquette" and the "Must Knows of the Citizen's Daily Life" and the "Acts for Promoting Thrift in Ceremonies of Folk Religion" were devised to propagate old ideological teachings such as the pursuit for a life of simplicity, plainness and frugality. Even the plot of a drama that was performed outside a temple was asked to follow the principles of loyalty, filial piety, moral integrity and righteousness. Confucians endorsed sports such as archery, shooting, driving, piloting, sailing, swimming, martial arts and folk-dancing were not only considered as decent entertainments and healthy exercises, but also important military skills that would pave the way for the recovery of the lost territory in the future<sup>10)</sup>. Since many of these sports were rooted in the classic teachings, they were taken as gestures for reconstructing a new version of Chinese culture. The rationale, as Chiang Kai-Shek

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7) Gong Peng-Cheng 龔鵬程, *Thinking and Culture* 思想與文化, Taipei, 業強出版社, 1995, 41, 56-57; Yu Ying-Shi 余英時, *Observing the Modern Meaning of Chinese Culture from the Value System* 從價值體系看中國文化的現代意義, Taipei, 時報文化, 1992, 20-21.

8) Gene Bammel & Lei Lane Burrus-Bammel, *Leisure and Human Behavior*, Dubuque, Wm. C. Brown Publishers, 1992, 18.

9) Shieh Chen-Yu 謝政諭, "The Analysis of Ideology on Policy of Leisure-A Comparative Study Between The Two Doctrines of Mainland China and Taiwan", *Soochow Journal of Political Science & Sociology* 東吳政治社會學報,

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14, 1990, 231-291, quoted page 257; Chiang Kai-Shek 蔣介石 op. cit. 1985, 383.

10) Chiang Kai-Shek 蔣介石 op. cit. 1985, 391-393.

claimed, was to conserve the traditional Chinese cultural roots in Taiwan in contrast to the PRC's Cultural Revolution during the 1960s so that it may serve as a "counter ideological cultural tool to fight against the Mao Communist regime."<sup>11)</sup>

The other important fact for leisure activities and policy in Taiwan during the 1960s is that they were very much confined by the Martial Law, which was enacted to secure the island and for the KMT regime to effectively mobilize national resources in order to pacify the rebellious Chinese Communist Party. In the excuse of national security, the government promulgated a set of regulations for the control of mountain areas, coastal districts and bathing beach areas of Taiwan under the Martial Law<sup>12)</sup>. These had greatly limited the possibility of converting natural resources into leisure sites. Leisure and entertainment during this period was regarded as luxurious activities, unless they were associated with the psychological or physical

defense against the communist ideology and military threats. The Nationalist government defined its role to "guide" people to utilize their free time well so that citizens can promote their physical and spiritual conditions and guard the safety of the Formosa Island.

### *Deregulation and Leisure as "Re-creation" (1970-1989)*

The leisure and cultural outset of Taiwan changed drastically during the 1970s and 1980s particularly after the abolishment of the Martial Law, and later, lifts of restrictions on the establishment of political parties and the opening up of mass media. In the mean time, the rise of Taiwan economy had boosted the leisure and tourist industries. Companies and factories started to organize domestic tours to compensate their diligent employees<sup>13)</sup>. However, leisure under this context was inclined to be taken as the sense of "re-creation"(i.e. rebuilding, rehabilitation or restoration to health), so that workers may go back to work refurbished after a brief escape<sup>14)</sup>. Industries and factories in Taiwan in the

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11) Council for Cultural Affairs, "The Major Cultural Task for Council for Cultural Affairs 文建會施政重點工作項目", Website of Council for Cultural Affairs, <http://www.cca.gov.tw/>, June 2001.

12) Pin-Dong County Government 屏東縣政府, "General Development Scheme of Pin-Dong County Government 屏東縣綜合發展計畫", Website of Pin-Dong County Government, <http://www.bp.ntu.edu.tw/cpis/cprpts/pingtung/depart/mulu-6.htm>, September 1992.

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13) Zhang Gong-Xiong 張宮熊 and Ling Yu-Chen 林鈺琴, *Recreation Industry Management 休閒事業管理*, Taipei, 揚智文化, 2002, 5.

14) Re-creation, as Torkildsen labelled, is "the construct psychological homeostasis"—the satisfying of psychological needs or the process of mental balance. George Torkildsen, *Leisure and Recreation Management*,

1970s and 1980s started to accept the idea that to loosen control temporarily over diligent workers (or even plan actively and strategically for their pastime) may in turn bring about satisfactory repayment from voluntary workers, and increase their loyalty toward the enterprises and entrepreneurs. Although companies were not interested in recreation or leisure per se but in the ability of recreation and leisure activity to improve the health, social adjustment, life chances and character of workers to make them "more malleable in their roles as industrial workers"<sup>15)</sup>, it had irrefutably gained substantial grounds for Taiwanese workers in their pursuit of a more employee-friendly policy of leisure. Though being an unintended consequence, the strategic change of entrepreneurs toward the concept of leisure had legitimized the worker's claim in acquiring more flexibility and opportunities for individual control over one's own leisure life.

In 1971, the Bureau of Tourism under the Ministry of Transportation and Communications was established, while new rules concerning leisure such as the "Act of National Park", "Simplified Rules of Entering and Exiting the State Territory for Overseas Chinese", "Regional Planning Act", and "Administering

Regulation of Tourism Industry" were also promulgated shortly after the birth of the Bureau of Tourism. New state regulations, which served as active strategies for leisure at the national level, were brought into force to provide people a freer milieu to take part in recreational activities that were formerly restricted. Competing to its Communist adversary, which opened up its door for tourists in 1968, Taiwanese government gave its permits to citizens to travel abroad for touring purposes in January 1979. Shopping and touring abroad thereafter became another major recreation form for Taiwanese people.<sup>16)</sup> In addition, four national parks including Kenting, Yangmingshan, Yushan, and Taroko Gorge National Parks were set up between 1984 and 1986 to attract domestic and foreign tourists. In the mean time, the "Act for Preservation of Cultural Heritage" was enacted in November 1982 to found the legal basis for preservation of cultural heritage in Taiwan. This had paved the way for the integration of culture and tourism in the later period. Leisure, tourism and culture are incorporated not only in idea, but in legal and administrative practices of the states.

The series of deregulating measures in leisure arrived at its peak on July 15th, 1987, when Taiwanese government eventually lifted the Martial Law. The immediate effects were the loosening of the civilians' travel restrictions on maintains areas, coastal areas and military

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London and New York, E & FN Spon, 1999 Fourth Edition, 48, 51; Bammel and Bammel, op. cit. 1992, 10.

15) Geoffrey Godbey, "The Future of Leisure Studies", *Journal of Leisure Research*, 32:1, 2000, 37-41, quoted page 38.

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16) Yang Zheng-Kuan 楊正寬, op. cit. 2000, 54.

controlled areas. At the removal of the restrictions, there came significant increases of natural space for leisure and tourism that brought up new developments of the diversifying leisure industries in the coming decade.<sup>17)</sup> (As shown in Table V, people who took mountain climbing and hiking as an outdoor leisure form had increased significantly from 9.87% in 1987 to 14.41% in 1991.) What is more difficult to evaluate, however, is the psychological effect that has brought about to Taiwanese people by the lift of the Martial Law. The declaration for the end of a forty-year old warring status of Taiwan had certainly enhanced people's sense of freedom and extent of self-determination. The abolished restrictions on newspapers and magazines had on the other hand prospered the cultural industries. Also in 1987, the government eliminated the ban on Taiwanese people's visits to mainland China. The deregulation has surely marked an important watershed for Taiwanese leisure policy. New forms of cultural tours and leisure styles started to sprout and the choices of leisure activities became pluralized.

*A Horse Running Wild Towards a Multifaceted Leisure Policy (1990-present)*

Leisure policy of Taiwan after the 1990s faces new major changes in politics. The un-reined Formosa, like a running wild horse,

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17) Pin-Dong County Government 屏東縣政府, op. cit., 1992.

can no longer be detained under the anti-communist ideology and moral didacticism. The DPP, which has long been nurtured under an anti-governmental milieu and which while being an opposition party has conducted countless demonstrations and social movements at the grass root level, seized power in 1996. Unlike situations in the 1960s and 1970s, which regarded the idea of free time as a threat, and policies and practices arise from it as directed to mediating the threat of free time by either providing "healthy" activities, or alternatively constraining some activities by regulation<sup>18)</sup>, the long repressed Taiwanese citizens now look up to unlimited freedom and varied experiences of leisure. Modern, postmodern and multicultural currents are rampant throughout the island, while the reviving indigenous ethnic and "New Taiwanese" conscious together with the emerging demands of leisure and cultural facilities from people drive the government to alter its strategy toward leisure and cultural governance fundamentally<sup>19)</sup>.

Since May 2000, the pro-independent DPP new government has been re-designating its cultural policy to foster the "renaissance of Taiwanese culture", and the establishment of a Ministry of Culture and Sport becomes one of its major tasks. Moreover, to extend art to the

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18) Elery Hamilton-Smith, "To Leisure or not to Leisure", *Youth Studies*, 9:4, 1990.

19) Council for Cultural Affairs 文化建設委員會, *Cultural White Paper* 文化白皮書, Taipei, Council for Cultural Affairs, 2000.

countryside and to well equip the young children and people in grassroots with art appreciate ability, the Council of Cultural Affairs (the CCA) has stepped up promotion of popular art in schools of every level. This has allowed artistic and cultural activities to reach every corner of the society, making it convenient for people to participate during their leisure time, thereby raising the quality of life.<sup>20)</sup> The "greening of Taiwan", the raise of local profile in leisure and cultural populism seem to have become the new leisure guideline in the 2000s. The Bureau of Tourism has set its policy objectives in 2002 to construct Taiwan as an island of "sustainable tourism", which would express the island's characteristics with elements of local culture and ecotourism.<sup>21)</sup>

The newly deregulated leisure and cultural sectors now look forward to expanding its scope to an unprecedented width, especially after the government reduces the working days of the civil servants to five days every other week in 1998, and later to five days a week on January 1st, 2001. The strained leisure industries seek to unleash their inner dynamism

through all possible forms that include leisure farms, hotels, plaza hotels, resorts and resort hotels, clubs, theme parks and shopping malls.<sup>22)</sup> Godbey is probably right that companies involved with resorts, theme parks, sport and exercise, entertainment and related enterprises are genuinely interested in leisure, when it provides answers about leisure behavior which can be turned into profit.<sup>23)</sup> The diverse leisure practices of people now come hand in hand with the profit-making leisure industries these together are putting the state's didactic interventions of leisure under direct challenge. The government's instructive leisure policy is losing its moral authenticity. In the second half of the year 1990 the Executive Yuan of Taiwan again pronounced its policy that urbane leisure industries, which includes cinemas, KTVs, MTVs, video game playgrounds, billiards courts, theaters, night clubs, massage stores, tourist barbershops and saunas, are still taken as "industries that affect the social orders and security of society" therefore should be strictly superintended.<sup>24)</sup> However, such an aged instructional leisure policy no longer catches the eyes and minds of Taiwanese people. To many, the state pronounced "guidance" on leisure has become unwitting moral gestures than of anything substantial.

Leisure in Taiwan is no longer under

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20) Council for Cultural Affairs, "The Major Cultural Task for Council for Cultural Affairs 文建會施政重點工作項目", Website of the Council for Cultural Affairs, <http://www.cca.gov.tw/>, June 2001.

21) Bureau of Tourism 光觀局, *White Paper of Tourism 觀光政策白皮書*, Taipei, Ministry of Transportation and Communications, 2002, A-2, A-3.

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22) Zhang Gong-Xiong 張宮熊 and Ling Yu-Chen 林鈺琴, op. cit. 2000, 4.

23) Geoffrey Godbey, op. cit. 2000, 38.

24) Pin-Dong County Government 屏東縣政府, op. cit. 1992.

deliberate ideological control of the government as the case was during the 1950s and 1960s. People's leisure activities are now performed in a much more multifaceted way. They are certainly out of the hand of the state. A good example being that even the most rigorous ideological claims of "Taiwan independence" cannot hold down the surging figure of Taiwanese tourists visiting mainland China. As shown in Table I and Chart I, the number of Taiwanese tourists who travel to China has almost double from 1,733,900 in 1996 to 3,108,600 in 2000. So "yes, Taiwan independence!" and "By the way, arrange a root-seeking tour to Fujian and Beijing next week." The once pronounced rebellious area has ironically become the most popular touring area for Taiwanese people in the post-1990s. The figure, which accounts for about 35% of all Taiwanese tourists who travel abroad, is certainly significant as it addresses a strong sense of people's expression of freedom of choice and self-determinism in leisure that has directly defied the government's instructional policy of leisure.

A brief survey of statistical data will provide a clearer picture of the result of a

multifaceted leisure and cultural policy. In 1987, there were in total 439 travel agents in Taiwan. Yet, up to the end of year 2001 the figure has risen quickly to 1,840, within which 1,733 are organizing both domestic and foreign tourist programs and 107 of them run purely domestic traveling schemes. All in all, there are 40,232 employees for all travel agents, which include 2,723 tour guides and 16,720 touring captains. As for hotels, up to the end of 2001, there are 83 international and national tourist hotels in Taiwan, which employs 21,661 personnel, and which are equipped with more than 20,000 rooms. In addition, there are 3,239 local hotels with less than 20 rooms, which as a whole provide another 85,118 rooms for domestic travellers.<sup>25)</sup>

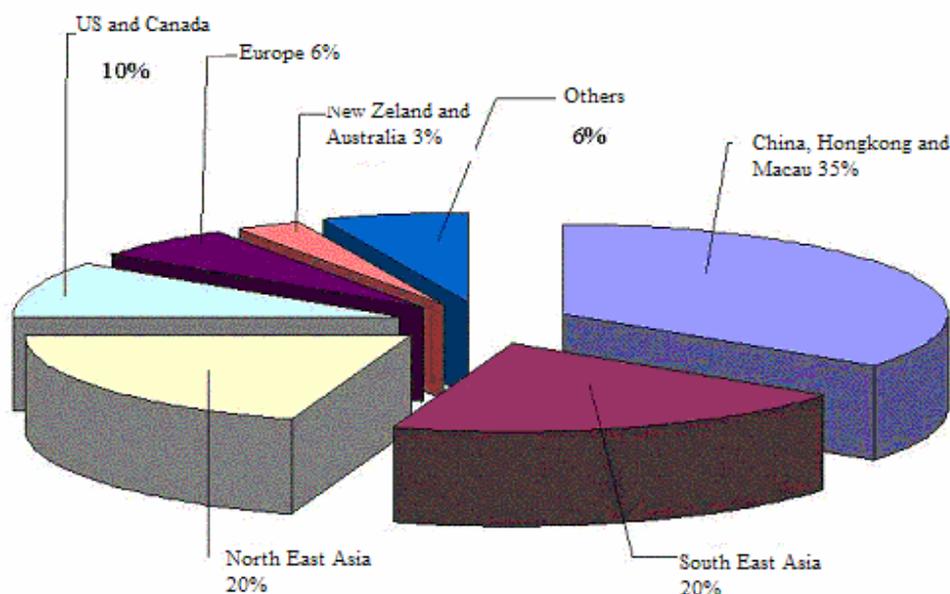
Since the abolishment of the Martial Law and Restrictions on Newspapers, the newspaper industry has also thrived. As revealed in Table II: Mass Media Services, in 1966 there were only 31 newspapers in Taiwan, yet the number increases for almost ten-folds to a total of 300 in 1994, and it doubles again to 602 in 2003. These include English newspaper like China Post and China News, which set their emphases from local to global affairs and

**Table I: Taiwanese Tourists to Mainland China**

Year	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Persons	1,733,900	2,117,600	2,174,600	2,584,600	3,108,600

Source: Bureau of Tourism 觀光局, *White Paper of Tourism* 觀光政策白皮書, Taipei, Ministry of Transportation and Communications 交通部, 2002, 2-2-4.

Chart I: Ratios of Taiwanese Tourists Traveling Abroad



Source: Bureau of Tourism 觀光局, *White Paper of Tourism 觀光政策白皮書*, Taipei, Ministry of Transportation and Communications 交通部, 2002, 2-2-4.

targeted their audiences in different ethnic groups. Besides, due to the impact of Internet, many had shifted their format into electronic publications. In the respect of magazine, the title of magazine published in Taiwan rises from 1,404 in 1970 to 5,884 in 1998 and 6,463 in 1999. The rapid internationalisation of magazine industry in Taiwan attracts many international magazines such as Elle, Bazaar, Cosmopolitan, and Playboys etc to set their branches in Taiwan and even publish in Chinese language.<sup>25)</sup> The number of book publishers has risen

25) Bureau of Tourism 觀光局, *op. cit.* 2002, 1-2-3, 2-3-1, 2-3-2, 2-3-5.

26) Directorate-General of Budget,

too from 837 in 1994 to 1,587 in 2003.

Corresponding upraises can be observed as well in the number of radio stations, which grows from 31 in 1971 to 174 in 2003 (see Table II: Mass Media Serves in Taiwan). In 2003, there are 51 cable radios and TV systems in Taiwan with more than 100 channels, whose

Accounting and Statistics 行政院主計處, Social Indicators 社會指標統計, Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics 行政院主計處, 2003, 160, 163-4; Executive Yuan Republic of China, *Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of China 2000*, Taipei, Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, 2000, 103.

features range from music, sports, children's education, cartoon, news, drama, movie, religion, stock market, and discovery channels to that of glove puppet shows and local variety shows. With regard to soundtracks, there has been a significant rise in the international market shares of Taiwanese publishing industry. In recent years, there were more than 500 new soundtrack publications annually, and 2,000 titles of imports, which amounted to 7 millions volumes in total. In the area of pop music, the local publications occupied more than 60% of Taiwanese market, with the import sharing a market of roughly 20%. Besides, Taiwan has become a major export country in the Chinese soundtrack publishing market.<sup>27)</sup>

What is more pessimistic however is the cinematic production. Due to the rapid social structural changes, newly prospered mass media and diversifying entertaining styles, the film industry in Taiwan has been suffering a long depression. The number of movie theatre actually decreases from 633 in 1966 to 186 in 2003. Most of film industries in Taiwan couldn't earn any profit at all during the last ten years. Consequently, the local film productions had shrink, the number dropped from 82 in 1990, 33 in 1991 to 28 in 1995, 18 in 1996 and 29 in 1997. The ratio for foreign films presented in Taiwan cinema has been ever increasing. In 1990, there were 259 Chinese films and 265 foreign films on the screen, the number in 1991 is 208 against 265, and in 1996,

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27) Ibid.

112 against 238.<sup>28)</sup>

Cultural heritage and cultural sites should not be overlooked either. Under the Act for Preservation of Cultural Heritage passed in November 1982, the Council for Cultural Affairs has inspected and assessed every grade of historical heritages, established agencies pertaining to cultural assets, conducted surveys and research of cultural assets, inspected and registered historic buildings, and coordinated with pertinent agencies to handle the preservation and safeguarding of cultural assets. It has also drafted and revised laws and regulations pertaining to cultural heritages and has worked to sustain Hakka and Aboriginal culture. The CCA and Ministry of Interior Affairs have assessed more than 400 sites of cultural heritage in Taiwan. Until April 1997, there were 297 sites of cultural heritages approved by the government, within which 24 sites were judged as the first-class monument (which were under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Interior Affairs), 50 sites as the second-class monument (which were under the jurisdiction of Provincial and City governments), and 223 sites as the third-class monuments (that were under the jurisdiction of the county governments). According to their various functions, they were categorised into fifteen types, which include houses, temples, gardens, library houses, churches, tombs, wells, bridges and other constructions.

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28) Ibid.

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Table II: Mass Media Services in Taiwan

年 Year	報紙	新聞出版業	雜誌及期刊 出版業	書籍出版業	其他出版業	廣播電台	有線電視系統	有線電視系統	電影院	電影核准數	國際影展 International Film Festival			
	Newspaper	Newspaper & Related Publishing	Periodical & Magazine Publishing	Book Publishing	Other Publishing	Radio Stations	Cable Radio & TV Systems	Cable TV Program Transmission Systems	Movie Theaters	Film Licenses Issued	參展數	入圍數	得獎數	
	種 Nrntas	家 Nrntas				家 Nrntas			部 Nrntas	部 Nrntas	部 Nrntas	個 Nrntas		
五十七年 1966	31	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	68	—	—	—	—	
六十年 1971	31	—	—	—	—	31	—	—	70	—	—	—	—	
六十五年 1976	31	—	—	—	—	31	—	—	475	409	—	—	—	
七十年 1981	31	—	—	—	—	32	—	—	612	578	—	—	—	
七十二年 1983	31	—	—	—	—	32	—	—	736	579	—	—	—	
七十三年 1984	31	—	—	—	—	33	—	—	717	523	—	—	—	
七十四年 1985	31	—	—	—	—	33	—	—	612	457	—	—	—	
七十五年 1986	31	—	—	—	—	33	—	—	577	464	—	—	—	
七十六年 1987	31	—	—	—	—	33	—	—	568	533	—	—	—	
七十七年 1988	122	—	—	—	—	33	—	—	534	637	—	—	—	
七十八年 1989	195	—	—	—	—	33	—	—	462	791	—	—	—	
七十九年 1990	211	—	—	—	—	33	—	—	370	508	35	—	9	
八十年 1991	237	—	—	—	—	33	—	—	343	507	80	76	6	
八十一年 1992	270	—	—	—	—	33	—	—	282	536	69	67	4	
八十二年 1993	274	—	—	—	—	33	—	611	247	444	234	228	18	
八十三年 1994	310	104	841	837	328	33	—	520	255	379	138	134	19	
八十四年 1995	335	113	838	963	349	39	—	344	289	427	138	132	11	
八十五年 1996	362	121	817	1089	349	41	—	195	285	363	144	132	13	
八十六年 1997	344	117	788	1137	375	66	—	149	233	330	165	157	16	
八十七年 1998	360	119	757	1242	366	89	—	135	234	444	140	68	5	
八十八年 1999	384	164	803	1289	383	143	35	98	226	472	139	113	11	
八十九年 2000	445	184	822	1363	406	176	61	21	206	443	240	73	7	
九十年 2001	454	190	820	1409	434	175	63	15	178	344	222	105	32	
九十一年 2002	474	195	835	1503	460	173	64	10	188	312	325	140	17	
九十二年 2003	612	195	832	1587	499	174	51	5	186	283	215	82	5	
指標算式 Formula of Indicators	分子 Numerators	年底報 紙數	年底新聞 出版總數	年底雜誌 (含期刊) 出版總數	年底書籍 出版總數	年底其他 出版總數	年底廣播 電台數	年底有線電 視系統數	年底有線電 視系統數	年底電影 院家數	電影核准 數	參展數	入圍數	得獎數
	分母 Denominators													

資料來源：行政院新聞局「出版業」及「廣播電視業」；廣播部「中華電視核准掛號」。

附註：請參閱附件說明書。

Source: "Yearbook of the Republic of China Publishing Industry" and "Yearbook on the Broadcasting Industry" by the Government Information Office, Executive Yuan; "Monthly Statistics of Films, ROC" by the Ministry of Finance.

Note: Please see Appendix 4 Explanation of Data.

Source: Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics; 行政院信處 Social Indicators 社會指標統計 Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics; 行政院信處 2003, 164.

*Decentered Portfolios for Leisure Governance*

Leisure and cultural resources in Taiwan fall under different jurisdictions. In addition to the designated scenic areas, bathing beaches, and private amusement parks, which are encompassed within the tourism administration system, leisure and cultural resources also include national parks, tourist farms, forest recreation areas, golf courses, reservoirs, cultural heritage, sports and artistic venues, and libraries etc. These resorts differ in the purposes of their establishment, the agencies that administer them and the laws and regulations, which govern their administration s.<sup>29)</sup> All of these are important sites for leisure, cultural and tourist activities of the public, but they are under the supervision of varied governmental apparatuses. The de-centered portfolios of leisure policy in Taiwan and their respective competences can be briefly summarized as follows:<sup>30)</sup>

*Bureau of Tourism, Ministry of Transportation*

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29) Bureau of Tourism, "Organization of Tourism Administration", Website of Bureau of Tourism. <http://202.39.225.136/english/public/public.asp?selno=34&relno=34>, Nov. 2004.

30) Cao Zheng 曹正, "Developing Tourism and Leisure Policies 發展觀光休閒政策", Taipei, National Policy Foundation, 2001. Website of National Policy Foundation, <http://www.npf.org.tw/Symposium/s90/900515-SD-p-23.htm>.

*and Communications:*

- ◇ Designated scenic areas, bathing beaches;
- ◇ Private amusement parks
- ◇ Supervision of tourist hotels and travel agents;

*Construction and Planning Agency, Ministry of the Interior:*

- ◇ National Parks
  - ✓ Formulation of national park policies;
  - ✓ Planning, management and evaluation of national parks;
  - ✓ Revision of national park law and related regulations;
  - ✓ Supervision of national park system;
  - ✓ Protecting the natural and cultural resources of national Parks;
  - ✓ Promotion of bio diversity, scientific research and environmental education;
- ◇ Metropolitan Parks;

*Forestry Bureau, Council of Agriculture:*

- ◇ Management of forest recreation area
- ◇ Utilization of national owned forest
- ◇ Recreational farms

*Veterans Affairs Commission:*

- ◇ Tourist farms and forest area

*Water Resource Agency, Ministry of Economic Affairs:*

- ◇ Reservoirs
- ◇ River environment improvement;
- ◇ Water environment design

*Ministry of Education:*

- ◇ University experimental forests;

◇ Golf courses

*National Council on Physical Fitness and Sports:*

- ◇ To promote the participation of citizens in sports and to help them enhance their physical fitness
- ◇ To improve athletic standards and raise competitiveness in sports and athletics

*Council for Cultural Affairs:*<sup>31)</sup>

- ◇ Disseminating cultural works, coordinating and promoting literature;
- ◇ Promoting living culture and integrated community development;
- ◇ Planning and deliberating international and cross-strait cultural exchanges;
- ◇ Promoting music, dance and drama;
- ◇ Promoting the fine arts and environmental art;;
- ◇ Subsidising cultural and artistic activities.

*Local Government:*

- ◇ Local scenic areas
- ◇ Local parks and greenbelt
- ◇ Public leisure facilities (e.g. Camping areas)
- ◇ Private recreational farms
- ◇ Commercial recreational industries (such as cinema, KTV, MTV, shopping mall)
- ◇ Local cultural activities

In view of the scattered jurisdictions, the Executive Yuan establishes an inter-ministerial

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31) Council for Cultural Affairs, "Introduction", Website of Council for Cultural Affairs, [http://www.cca.gov.tw/intro/index\\_e.html#1](http://www.cca.gov.tw/intro/index_e.html#1), June 2001.

Tourism Development and Promotion Committee on November 21st, 1996 to handle the integration of tourism resources. A minister without portfolio convenes this committee. The Tourism Bureau provides staff to support it, and its membership consists of vice minister of different ministries along with tourism professionals and scholars. Yet for areas fall outside tourism, there is still no clear direction as to how leisure competences under various governmental apparatuses will be re-designated.

Due to the decentred portfolios of leisure governance, annual budget of the government on leisure affairs is very difficult to calculate. In Taiwan, the closest budget heading would be the "expense of culture", which is defined as "the expense of art, music, fine art, sport, historical artefact, mass communication, book publishing, astronomy, religion, and folklore." This however does not include spending on tourism. Since the 1990s, there has been a substantial increase of cultural budget in the central and local governments. Between 1989 and 2003, the cultural budgets for central government stay around 0.9% to 1.3%, with an average of 1.04% of the entire governmental expenditure. Only in year 2001 and 2003, there have been reapportionments of culture expense due to the expanded public constructions, which push the expense to above 1.4%. As for the local government's cultural budget, it has been maintained between 1.5% and 2.6% from 1989 to 2003.<sup>32)</sup>

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32) Council for Cultural Affairs 文建會,

### *Conclusion*

What can be observed in this study is that political, economic, social and cultural forces had played crucial roles respectively in defining the leisure conditions and the style of governmental leisure governance in Taiwan during the past decades. The leisure policy in Taiwan during the 1950s and 1960s was characterized of the dogmas of anti-communism and moral-ethical didacticism. This was ostensibly an influence of the rigid military-political milieu, which was shaped by the newly defeated Nationalist regime and its instructive strategy of leisure based on an "ever-secured" Confucian legacy. Emphases on economic growth seemed to have replaced the military-political factors and become the potent driving force in the 1970s and 1980s. The lift of the Martial Law and restrictions on tourism, media and political parties had marked a new era of deregulation in leisure. In the meantime, a coincided boost of economy during the same decades gave rise to a compensating policy of leisure, which aimed to provide opportunities of a brief escape for the rehabilitation of industrial workers mainly for economic ends.

The 1990s and 2000s period manifests a much more complicated atmosphere for leisure governance in Taiwan. New social and cultural forces and thinking tools of leisure policy

including multiculturalism, the indigenous ethnic revival, local populism, the construction of a new Taiwanese consciousness at a grassroots level (appealed by the newly elected DPP government in the name of the "greening of Taiwan"), the postmodern social playfulness of politics and politicians of Taiwanese media, and the disinterested general public for any political instruction of leisure, are now pulling the carriage of leisure towards all possible ways. These as a whole reflect the true color of leisure condition in contemporary Taiwan it is a horse running wild.

In respect of the paradoxical relation between leisure and governance, our study suggests that the style of leisure policy today is no longer a simple result of a government's "free choice" in ideology, moral-ethical instructions, and resorts to economic benefits. Rather, it is a much more complicated compromising process between governments and different social-cultural agents and currents. It is true that the attempt of governmental instruction for a "correct" form of leisure participation still exists; the Confucian legacy of moral-ethical guide still permeates; so survives the concept of taking leisure as an instrument for compensating the alienated workers. Yet now people are aggressively defying the authority of governmental instruction and any possible form of exploitation from the industries. This has seriously relativized the originally centralizing form of leisure governance. The state is still

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White Paper of Culture 文化政策白皮書, Taipei, Council for Cultural Affairs 文建會, 2004, 38.

governing leisure activities, yet, its legitimacy is now founded upon the creation of sufficient flexibility for individual choices upon sustaining and/or opening up new opportunities for public leisure practices; and upon guarding off disturbances in order to guarantee a secure space for individual addresses of self-determinism in leisure participation. The style of leisure governance seems to be transforming into a wider, yet, lighter way of political intervention. Taking into account of the pragmatic side of governmental leisure policy in Taiwan the fragmented policing strategy, the tiny budget of leisure and culture, and the de-centered governmental portfolios and competences, we foresee no substantial changes in direction for leisure governance in the few years to come.

Given the historical account of the transforming socio-political-economic-cultural conditions and the coincided transitions of leisure governance in Taiwan specified, it should be noted that the result of a multifaceted leisure policy today cannot be simply reduced to an evolutionary process. It may well be true that in its historic development, leisure policy in Taiwan has shifted from a more centralized and dogmatic form of the 1950s and 1960s, to a more decentered and multifaceted one in the post-1990s. Nonetheless, such development of leisure governance and condition does not imply a strategic progress or advancement of a new mechanism of leisure that has been converted

from a "negative" policing to a "positive" acceptance of leisure diversity. To us, it is more an "unintended consequence" in the sense that no one in the 1950s had actually planned or even foreseen its transformation.

Moreover, the appropriateness of a given leisure policy needs to take into account the specific historic contexts of the earlier Taiwanese societies. A deregulated form of leisure governance does not necessarily fit Taiwanese societies better in the 1950s or 1960s, since military tension and sense of insecurity would easily out-value freedom of choice in conducting leisure activities on unsafe beaches. The multifaceted leisure milieu in the 1990s and 2000s is a faithful reflection of the impetuous mood of Taiwanese people, who are now far more adapted to "light surfing" than "deep participation" in their leisure practices. Hence, there come new problems for leisure governance in the 21st century. The postmodern cultural or leisure "chimera" after destroying all political-military and economic straw men has incurred new anxiety and feeling of rootlessness for individuals. Accompanying the multifacetedness of leisure is the sense of lost in the new hybrid form of culture, which although brings all the old and new elements of leisure to the pool, proposes no compelling reinterpretation of meaning for leisure. Now that this is no longer a simple question of freedom of choice or self-determinism as many scholars of leisure studies have suggested earlier. It is a new

question of recognition of needs for re-translations of intrinsic satisfaction in leisure, and the acquisition of new meanings for leisure in the post-1990s Taiwanese society.

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