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**State, Sport and Politics: Sport Policy in Republic of China/Taiwan  
1973-2002, through a Strategic Relations Approach**

**by**

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## ABSTRACT

This study has sought to address the nature of the evolution of sports policy in ROC/Taiwan since 1973, within the context of a strategic relations approach to the analysis of policy. These aims have been addressed by the development of the analysis of the ROC/Taiwan's position in international relations and its implications for sports policy; of the internal structure and history of the state at national level and their implications for national level policy; and finally, analysis of the local government context. In each case explanation sought to identify both the structural context of policy development and the explanation provided by individual policy actors.

The empirical analysis of policy draws on the evidence provided by key actors in the ROC/Taiwan state who have played a significant role in enabling sports policy output. In order to understand sports policy mechanisms since 1973, politicians' perceptions (evidenced in a review of parliamentary debates from 1984 to 2002) provide a useful empirical picture of sports policy. Other data sources employed included government reports, and press accounts as well as interviews with policy actors. The interviewees were drawn from the central government civil service, local government, the national governing bodies of sport and the business community (n=21). Qualitative data analysis software (QSR) was used to manage and organise the data in an inductive and deductive thematic analysis.

The theoretical framework on which the study draws involves a recognition that the state is influenced by particular interest groups (characterised in the thesis as the neo-pluralist position), in which elites (the neo-elitist position) often, though not exclusively, drawn from business interests (the neo-Marxist position) are in evidence. The particular make-up of these groups will vary according to the issues concerned at the particular point of time in the history of the ROC/Taiwan state on which one focuses. In the early stages of the ROC/Taiwan state, the military elite was closely allied with the business elite and with ethnic interest groups (Mainlander Chinese groups rather than native Taiwanese). Such political and ethnic divisions subsequently had an impact on party political affiliations and on the geographic location of facilities and services as the North and South of the island, and those cities under the Kuomintang and Democratic Progressive Party control, vied with one another to capture resources.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CCP	Chinese Communist Party
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
DPE	Department of Physical Education
EU	European Union
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IBA	International Baseball Association
KMT	Kuomintang
MAC	Mainland Affairs Council
ME	Ministry of Education
NCPFS	National Council on Physical Fitness and Sport
NGBs	National Governing Bodies of Sport
NUD*IST	Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theorisng
NCPFS	National Council on Physical Fitness and Sports
NOC	National Olympic Committee
NP	New Party
PRC	People's Republic of China
PFP	People First Party
ROC	Republic of China
ROCSF	Republic of China Sports Federation
UN	United Nations

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Research Aims and Objectives

The aim of this thesis is to explore and explain the development of sports policies within the context of the ROC/Taiwan state from 1973 to 2002 through the perspective of the strategic relations approach. The thesis focuses on policy for 'elite sport' and 'sport for all' in ROC/Taiwan, and specifically identifies the political ideologies that distinguish between the Chinese nationalist and Taiwan nationalist oriented parties within sports policy formulation. The implementation of sports policies across the range of issues incorporated with sport for all and elite sport, including international sports events bidding and the allocation of funding to governing bodies of sport (NGBs), are core issues in the study. In addition, how political values and/or ideologies influence and contribute to the formulation of those policies is also discussed. The Department of Physical Education (DPE) in the Ministry of Education was created in 1973; and from that date sports policy initiatives were more clearly placed on central government's agenda. The thesis therefore considers some of the following questions: How did sport emerge in the post-1973 era as significant policy domain? In particular how did sport for all and elite sport emerge as government priority? What is the relationship between the policy for elite sport and the policy for sport for all? What were the goals of such policies and to what extent have such goals been achieved? How have policies in this area developed over time? What shifts are evident in policy aims, resources, and outcomes? In what ways might the values of political parties and actors in ROC/Taiwan be associated with differing types of the sports policy?

In order to address the overall research aim outlined above, a number of more concrete objectives can be delineated. The study thus aims:

- to review the global context within which the development of ROC/Taiwan has taken place;
- to understand the nature of the ROC/Taiwanese State, its development over time and its evolving role in sports policy;
- to examine the roles of various groups of actors in constructing the sports policy agenda;
- to analyse particular cases relating to sports policy at the National Governing Bodies of sport and local government levels; and
- to explore the strategic context within which sports policy in ROC/Taiwan has been formulated.

## **1.2 Rationale for Investigating Sports Policy in the Case of the ROC/Taiwan**

The Republic of China (ROC) was formed in Taiwan when President Chiang Kai-Shek was driven from Mainland China in 1949 by the communist forces. The Republic of China on Taiwan was certainly unstable in its early years and under threat from the People's Republic of China (PRC). Policy concerns of the early years therefore, were understandably limited to basic fields such as defence and economy. It was only with the development of some political reforms by the end of the 1960s that economic and social reforms began to be reflected in the policy agenda.

The beginning of the 1970s marked two significant developments in the history of sports policy. In 1973, the country established a formal organization in central government- the DPE. At the same time, the 'Sport for All' movement began to take root in the global environment and had a significant impact on Taiwan, and the DPE launched the 'Sport for All' policy on the island especially for local communities.

During the same period, significant developments in the global scene were said to mark a new era in the role of nation-states, particularly in North America, East Asia and the European Union. Taiwan is an island and has limited resources. For this reason, positive interaction with the global community was an important factor, particularly since ROC/Taiwan still had its neighbouring potential enemy, the People's Republic of China. ROC/Taiwan's concern with sport was bound up with its concern about its international position. It is small, and still lives in the shadow of uncertain threat, and is heavily reliant on its ability to compete economically. Under such circumstances, physical fitness is seen as the key to military, social development and economic success.

The first opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), was established in 1986 and started to influence national policy agendas, including that of sport, in the parliament. Martial law was removed in 1987 and subsequently in the later 1980s the growth of the economy increased sharply and created major ROC/Taiwan economic growth. ROC/Taiwan also has seen significant political reform, in particular, with President Lee's inauguration as the first elected president on May 20th 1996, which established a new liberal political context.

After the emergence of liberal politics, economic growth, and educational and social reform, there was popular attention and government focus on physical fitness and sport. For this reason, the central government department, the DPE, launched in 1998 a four year physical fitness programme, called '333'. ROC/Taiwan has more than a £100 million (500 million Taiwan Dollars) budget in programmes related to sport each year. Thus, sports policy has become an economically and socially significant area of policy for the government. Sport is clearly a global phenomenon, and national policies are developed in what is seen as an increasingly as a global context. Thus, an understanding both of the internal dynamics of policy-making in ROC/Taiwan, and of the interaction of ROC/Taiwan and its policy-makers with the wider global environment is essential to an understanding of policy process in sport and fitness.

According to an investigation by the Ministry of Education (1997), the population of Taiwan below the age of 18 had a lower physical fitness level

compared with that of Singapore, Japan, South Korea and Mainland China. ROC/Taiwan is in competition with each of these countries in economic terms and in terms of national defence. President Lee, personally proclaimed the formula that, 'physical fitness with education equals national power', when speaking at the opening ceremony of the 'Sports Conference for College' in Taipei. In terms of 'Sport for All', the NCPFS launched a number of programmes including 'Sunny Health', in the year 1997, to maintain and promote the physical fitness of the students and people of Taiwan. In 2000, the DPP began its first term in office in central government, and change was anticipated in the sports policy field.

### **1.3 Thesis Structure**

The structure of the thesis is constituted of a theoretical, historical and methodological discussion in chapters 2 to 4 followed by a detailed discussion and analysis of empirical data in chapters 5 to 8.

Chapter 2 represents a theoretical review, providing the conceptual framework under-pinning the empirical work. The study seeks to explain decisions regarding sports policy in ROC/Taiwan and, in so doing, observes the nature of sports policy development over the period since 1949 and illustrates particular strategic relations between global society and the Taiwanese state; between agents and state; between state and local government; between individual actors and broader environments. This chapter, discusses the changing nature of state theory, reviewing those traditional theories of the state prominent in the literature, namely Marxist, elite, and pluralist accounts, as well as theoretical accounts of globalisation (as a means of explaining the increasingly global context within which the ROC/Taiwan state has operated). A strategic relations approach to analysis is adapted to accommodate explanation at the level of both structure and agency and their interdependency.

Chapter 3 provides political, social and economic analysis of the post-war ROC/Taiwan state, reviewing the development of the ROC/Taiwan state since the end of the World War II, to provide the context for the explanation of

developments in sports policy. This chapter divides the post-war ROC/Taiwan into four periods: i) the establishment of the Chinese nationalist government in ROC/Taiwan from 1949 to 1975 by the Chiang Kai-Shek regime; ii) a discussion of developments of economic boom led by the Chinag Ching-Kuo (Son of Chiang Kai-shek) in control from 1978 to 1988, iii) the period of political and economic pluralism with Lee Teng-hui in office from 1988 to 2000, iv) a new era when the DPP took power in central government in May 2000. Each section provides the political, social, economic and educational perspectives to explore the ROC/Taiwan state.

Chapter 4 deals with methodological concerns, and seeks to link theoretical and epistemological positions to methods used. In so doing, it outlines key methodological issues and details the specific research methods and processes, which underpin the empirical work. In seeking to evaluate the salient features of strategic relations in relation to aspects of sports policy in ROC/Taiwan, a qualitative approach is adopted. In effect, in the evaluation of the interviews selected and analysis of government documents seek to answer a number of research questions outlined in this chapters of the thesis. Similarly, the methods adopted in the analysis of the interviews from central government, National Governing Bodies of sport, and local governments are discussed, including the criteria adopted in the selection of the institutions at different levels, issues of access and the sample selection of interviewees, the application of the methods and, finally, the analysis of data which employed the Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theorizing (NUD\*IST) to help to categorize the data.

The methods adopted to generate answers to the research questions involve two stages. The first is an overview of the state in ROC/Taiwan. This helps researchers to understand the structure of the state and to have an outline for the subsequent documentary analysis employing both induction and deduction. The evolution of the ROC/Taiwan state and its sports policies provides a detailed review of how development of policy over fifty years might be conceptualised. This inductive approach begins by dividing ROC/Taiwanese political history into four broad periods from 1949 to 2002 as a context for the review of materials. The usefulness or appropriateness of this periodisation is subsequently to be



reviewed in the inductive analysis of materials and interviews. The second is a review of sports policy in relation to a wide range of aims and goals under the KMT and DPP governments. This incorporates an analysis of qualitative data derived from interviews with policy-makers and civil servants in central government, in local government and key actors in national governing bodies of sport.

Chapter 5 addresses the development of sports policy in post-War ROC/Taiwan and develops aspects of the conceptual framework under-pinning the empirical work. The study seeks to explain decisions regarding sports policy in ROC/Taiwan and, in doing so, observes the nature of sports policy development over the period since 1949. The aims of the chapter are i) to explain the nature of sports policy; and ii) to identify key features of its trajectory and/or policy transitions, as evidenced by primary government sources. The main issues addressed in this chapter are intended to provide the grounds for formation of a strategy for interviews with key actors in sports policy in ROC/Taiwan, in a subsequent stage of the research. It is crucial to evaluate information for the analysis of sports policy before 1973. The Department of Physical Education was established in the Ministry of Education in 1973 and sports policy did not have a significant place on the central government agenda until a number of policy actors, such as Member of Parliament Ji, had struggled to achieve this. Thus an appreciation of the historical context is necessary for an understanding of sports policy in the post 1973 period. From analysis of primary resources, five main stages of sports policy in the ROC/Taiwan are outlined in this chapter and these are directly related to the four periods of general policy shift referred to above. In each section, there is a discussion of: i) the relationship between sport and the state; ii) key strategies or shifts in sports policy; iii) the main aims or goals and programmes.

In chapter 6 the discussion focuses on political values in the ROC/Taiwan sports policy. The chapter explores differences regarding political values and power struggles in sports policy between the two major political parties, the KMT and the DPP, and how different perceptions of sports policy diverged or overlapped at both international and national levels. Secondly, significant factors outside ROC/Taiwan, which affected sports policy, are discussed, for example, the effect

of changes in the global political/economic context on ROC/Taiwan. Inside the ROC/Taiwan state, the development of the two political parties is discussed with reference to their ideological positions and their implications for sports policy. A major feature of the difference between the two parties derives from their respective positions in relation to the question of links with Mainland China. The KMT, together with the People First Party and the New Party are most closely associated to 'Chinese Nationalist Ideology', while the DPP and the Taiwan Independent Party reflect an approach arguing for a permanent, separate Taiwanese state. These positions have implications far beyond the issues of political relationships with the People's Republic of China. Finally, funding allocations for sport are examined in two aspects: i) the differences in funding allocation between the KMT and the DPP; and ii) how funding resources are allocated between 'sport for all', 'elite sport' and other sports policy areas.

Chapter 7 deals with analysis of the dynamics of decision-making in national government agencies and NGBs. The first section explains the relationship between central government and national governing bodies of sport in ROC/Taiwan. Subsequently, power struggles between the Department of Physical Education and the National Council on Physical Fitness and Sport are examined. Since the creation of the NCPFS in 1997, the DPE and NCPFS have co-existed at central government level in an uneasy relationship. The third section focuses on relationships and changes within power struggles between the Republic of China Sports Federation (the major quasi-independent national body) and the NCPFS since 1949. This chapter thus provides an understanding of the development of NGBs and their relationship both with the KMT and, more recently, with the DPP governments in the post-war period up to the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. In doing so, the nature of the development of the ROC Sports Federation (the umbrella body for NGBs) is reviewed and relations of financial subsidy or patronage are identified in which relations with the DPE and NCPFS are critical. Finally, the strategic implementation of plans by the ROC Sports Federation under the DPP government rule since 2000 is appraised.

Chapter 8 explores central-local relationships and sports policy. As Copper (1996) highlights, under the KMT rule from 1945 to the end of 1996, the relationship between central and local government was relatively harmonious

since the KMT controlled the most significant elements of government at both levels. The relationship between the central and local government was, therefore, seen as running fairly smoothly in the period of the KMT rule (Copper, 1996:183). In 1994 the opposition party, the DPP, won the Taipei City election; and in 1998 the DPP made further gains nationally in the local elections, and became the major party in local government. The DPP also won overall control of national government in 2000, and thus central–local relations changed markedly over the period 1994-2000. Taiwan provincial level government was effectively disbanded, and in 1998 among the gains made at local level was the winning by the DPP of political control in Kaohsiung, the country's second largest city. In effect, whether local authorities regarded sports policy as important or not, by the beginning of 2000 their ability to influence policy was to be affected by central government changes. This chapter firstly, highlights central-local relationships within ROC/Taiwan and in particular the impact of the transition of the ROC/Taiwan structure at central and local government level from the KMT control to that of DPP. The chapter then goes on to highlight the changing nature of sports policy at local level as perceived by local actors. The third section of the chapter considers local government financial resources. Finally, the argument focuses on power struggles in different government agencies during the change in political control from the KMT to the DPP between 1999 and 2001. This section will include an examination of the case of the 2001 International Baseball World Cup bid, which highlights particular policy issues. In addition, elite sport performance in the Olympic Games from 1960 to 2000 is considered, and arguments concerning allocation of sports facilities between north and south Taiwan, and differences in local government sports goals between Taipei city government and Kaohsiung County government are examined.

Chapter 9, the concluding chapter, provides an overview of the research and attempts to address the objectives of the thesis by utilizing a macro, meso and micro level distinction. At the macro level, the chapter provides an evaluation of political values within ROC/Taiwan sports policy at the national level and of how the changing global context has impacted upon national politics. At the meso level an analysis of the nature of political affiliation between the KMT and National Governing Bodies of sport is provided. At the micro level, there is an

evaluation of perspectives of local individual actors within the Taipei City government (KMT) and Kaohsiung County government (DPP) in relation for example to bidding for the 2001 World Baseball Cup. The conclusion developed in this final chapter reflects on the contributions of state theories in general and strategic relations approach in particular, to an understanding of the contemporary context, including the significance of structure and agency in effecting local and national sports policy in ROC/Taiwan.

## **CHAPTER 2**

# **THEORETICAL REVIEW**

### **2.1 Introduction**

The analysis of state and sports policy is multi-dimensional in nature. Therefore, to aid the understanding of events in these fields it is possible to draw on literature from a number of different theories. These include theories of the state, and globalisation theory as well as using specialist knowledge from the sports field. These fields of knowledge are drawn on at various stages throughout the thesis to aid the understanding of the ROC/Taiwan case. This chapter seeks to address the conceptual framework under-pinning the empirical work. The study seeks to explain decisions regarding sports policy in ROC/Taiwan and, in doing so, observes the nature of sports policy development since 1949 and illustrates particular strategic relations between global society and the state; between agents and state actors and institutions; between the state and local government; between individual actors and broader environments.

This chapter discusses the changing nature of state theory, reviewing those traditional theories of the state prominent in the literature, namely Marxist, elite, and pluralist accounts, as well as theoretical accounts of globalisation (as a means of explaining the increasingly global context within which the ROC/Taiwan state has operated). A strategic relations approach to analysis is adopted to accommodate explanation at the level of both structures and agency and their interdependency. The chapter concludes with an evaluation of this theoretical orientation with regard to the specific nature of the ROC/Taiwan context. Such an evaluation is necessary in order to begin to develop a

methodological approach to an investigation of the development of sports policy in ROC/Taiwan.

One of the principle arguments developed in this chapter is that there is something of a convergence of traditional theories in their modified (neo-) forms, and that a strategic relations approach 'captures' this convergence. Thus in the following sections traditional theories of the state are discussed in terms of a shift from their traditional form (eg. Elitism) to their amended form (eg. Neo-elitism) and thus the sub-headings of the following sections reflect this direction of the shift described.

## **2.2 From Elitism to Neo-elitism**

"Elite was a term meaning the best members of a group or the best group of people within a society, in other words those most worthy of respect and emulation" (Wintrop, 1992: 462). Classical elitism or early modern elite theories emerged at the end of the nineteenth century as a response to Marxist theory. Contrary to the strong egalitarian claims proposed by Marxism, classical elitism advocated the control of society by a small elite (Michels, 1959). Classical elite theorists have attempted to articulate a theoretical account, which would demonstrate that "in every society, government by an elite group is inevitable" (Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987: 138).

As argued, elites are all pervasive in the sense that, irrespective of the type of society in question or the mode of economic activity (for example, socialist or capitalist, agricultural or industrial) there would always be an elite group controlling the state and civil society (Dye and Zeigler, 1981). In this argument, even a Marxist revolution could not produce a classless society but simply would generate a new elite. On the other hand, the belief that all groups are equally able to achieve their interest in liberal democratic processes has been strongly opposed by elite theorists who argue that liberal democracy cannot alter the stratification of modern society. The existence of a ruling class and a mass is enduring and inevitable. In the following section, three types of model of Elite theory will be outlined classical, democratic and radical.

The elite theory of the state was extended by the work of Max Weber, in *Economy and Society* (translated by Roth and Wittich, 1968). Weber's notion of democratic elitism evolved in this work as a synthesis of the main principles of elite theory and pluralism. Weber's arguments are based on the notion of rationality and the logic of industrialisation, which have produced organisational elites capable of promoting business interests. In contrast to instrumental Marxist thinking, which supports the view that government elites were established through economic power and aimed at reproducing logic, elites were established through rational logic in order to control the functions of the state. Those groups are promoted at the top level of the organisational hierarchy, while others, mass-based groups, which promote issues that threaten established elites, are excluded from positions of power.

Formulation and promotion of elites do not necessarily preclude individuals from lower classes and/or mass-based groups from rising to the top of the social structure. In fact, the elite system is argued to be strengthened by drawing capable individuals from mass groups and permitting entry to elites. This upward mobility, which takes place as a slow and continuous assimilation, rather than as a rapid or revolutionary change, is considered to be essential for social stability (Dye and Zeigler, 1981). However, the most common criticism of elite accounts, points to the absence of coherence that would allow for a strong class consciousness, capable of developing class-oriented policies and ideologies to be impressed upon the government and the general public (Domhoff, 1979:13).

Elite theory has classically defined the state as an institution necessary for the successful maintenance of a monopoly of legitimate force within a given territory. State policy is dictated by the existence of numerous sources of pressure which seek to influence the political agenda in favour of their own interests. The notion of the existence of numerous elites, which seek to exercise pressure on the state apparatus, has been a source of differentiation within elite accounts of the state. As such, radical elite theorists claim that the main source of influence lies in the hands of administrative elites who can either operate in their own interests or respond directly to outside elites. These outside elites must

be either business interests or the interests of those who have similar socio-political backgrounds to those who hold official positions. Thus, state organisations seem to respond in a biased way to the interests of those who have the networks to penetrate the policy decision making process. Control by any external political force is difficult to exercise, and even when exercised successfully, political pressure is interpreted as an expression of the dominant business interests. On the other hand, democratic elitists remain optimistic that strong political control and improved overview procedures can constrain such abuses of power within tolerable limits and enforce a concern to advance the public interest.

The above differentiation has led to a number of analytical conceptions of the state. Dunleavy and O'Leary (1987) identify three models of the state revealed in elitist accounts. The first conception, namely the externally controlled machine model, seeks to define the state as an institution subjected to control by external elites, who according to radical elitists remain quite apart from political struggles. These socially dominant elites effectively control both party and state organisations. Here, the state is seen, in the radical elite theory's machine model, as a passive vehicle used in an exploitive manner by either business or technocratic interests.

The second model, the democratic model, regards the state as an autonomous institution which responds to the preferences of the administrative and governing elites who can directly control state organisations. In this model, the state is seen as an institution which is controlled by elected politicians and bureaucrats who are both insulated from broader social movements, political parties or any socially dominant elite, and operate the organisation according to their interests. Dunall and Freeman (1983) illustrate the way this model of the elite state has influenced the explanations of state involvement in the economy. Political influence of the elite bureaucratic and technocratic groups is identified as the source which manages the public sector and guides the process of economic development: "in the extreme, this view holds that the state has been effectively captured by this elite which forms an independent state, relatively free from the influence of private sector interests, and allocates resources in a way that expands its own power and health" (Dunall and Freeman, 1983:571).



However, the main limitation of this argument lies in its emphasis on the demands of the state administrative elite, while such factors as structural constraints and/or economic conditions are not fully appreciated.

The third model seeks to combine the other two elitist models. In this account, the state is defined as a corporatist network, which responds to pressures from both economic and bureaucratic elites. In practice, economic and political power is so integrated that no clear line can be drawn between the two. Any state policy making is seen as the outcome of a bargaining process over strategic issues between elite interests both outside and within the state apparatus. In order to be successful, strategic plans should meet the needs of both business and governing elites, since their implementation depends on the voluntary co-operation of the elite. The three models above move from describing elite groups as describing inevitable in government institutions, to the active incorporation of elites in modern liberal government.

To sum up, elite theory conceptualises social structure as the reflection of the domination of an elite group over the rest of society. In the same way, the institution of the state is argued to be controlled directly or indirectly by either an administrative or business elite or by the corporatist interests of the two. What should be pointed out is that an elite theory of the state suffers from reductionism common in Marxist accounts. This reductionism stems from the claim that the state is used as an instrument for satisfying the demands of an elite group, whether an administrative or business elite. Domination by those elites over the society and state apparatus is taken as granted, while the possibility of 'battles' within state and society, or even resistance to elite aspirations, is neglected, a fact which further limits the adequacy of the theory as an explanatory framework for state analysis.

As 'modern' society, at least in the west, has developed a liberal democratic form, elite theory has undergone some reappraisal described as a turn to neo-elitism, particularly in North America. Wintrop (1992) underlines an idea that Albertoni, an Italian scholar, developed concerning the neo-elitist's understanding of democracy. Albertoni (1987:160) uses the term, neo-elitism to reconsider democracy in modern society and institutional organisations. The core

assumptions of neo-elitism are firstly, even in a mass participation based institution, political power is controlled by the minority. Second, power in small groups is constant struggling. Third, the institutions of modern democracy provide and secure the right of the ruling groups. His argument highlights the elitist evaluation of the modern democracy. Albertoni's approach modifies the classical elitist's in the contemporary context.

### **2.3 From Marxism to Neo-Marxism**

Marxist accounts of the state enjoyed a revival in the 1970s, partly as a reflection of the policy impacts of an economic recession. Marxism has been characterized as the most radical and threatening critique of the capitalist state (Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987). Taylor (1995) claims that Marx's original writings incorporate at least two analytically distinct accounts of the relationship between the state and particular classes. The first is the view of the state as an instrument of the dominant class, such as the capitalist bourgeoisie, which performs the key function of co-ordination to achieve its long-term preferences. The second embodies a more subtle appreciation of the relationship between the state and particular classes, dominant class and ruled class, seen clearly in Marx's early work where he is eager to stress the plurality of class and the manner in which the state appears capable both of dominating civil society and of restricting the power of the bourgeoisie.

Held (1987) claims that Marx did not argue convincingly that the state's role could not escape indefinitely the constraints imposed by those that own and control the means of production (Held, 1987: 119). According to Avineri, Marx's conceptualisation of nation was that the mechanism of modern nations is based on a balance between state and society. Others such as Miliband have argued that Marx depicted the state as an instrument serving the interests of the dominant class. In addition, Taylor (1995) mentions that Marx's early essays do not establish a coherent and reasoned analysis of the state. Part of the reason is, first, "because the classical texts are incomplete and second, because they are ambiguous and often self-contradictory" (Barrow, 2000:87). As Jessop (1982) has noted, Marx's comments on the state can at best be considered as a set of

arguments, which display an interest in the relationship between the state and class struggle in a general framework of historical materialism. Marx, it is claimed, also over-emphasises the determination of social life by the economic base and therefore, underestimates the importance of ideology and political action in the formation of history (Taylor, 1995). Marx's work also embraces the view that there exists a set of objective laws of historical development. Thus, a second generation of Marxists produced an evolutionary-determinist conception of history in which capitalism was governed by a set of immutable laws that lay beyond the scope of humankind (Merrington, 1978).

If we return to traditional Marxist concepts of the state the argument must be clarified. As Dunleavy and O'Leary (1987) point out, there are three models to identify the state, which are consistent with traditional Marxist writings; the instrumental; the ideological; and the historical/structural model. The instrumental model of the state is best known as the orthodox Marxist interpretation. On one hand, the state is "viewed as being relatively autonomous from the dominant class", and on the other hand, it is "depicted as an instrument serving the interest of the dominant class" (Marsh & Stoker, 1995:249). It conceptualizes the state as a unified organization, which facilitates domination on the capitalist class in the society. For Miliband, the concentration of power in the capitalist class secures capital's direct and indirect control over the state apparatus and the economy. "The ruling class of capitalist society is that class which owns and controls the means of production and which is able, by virtue of its economic power to use the state as its instrument for the domination of society" (Miliband, 1969: 23). However, Miliband (1969) and King (1986), argue that there is no necessary connection between economic power and state power in capitalist society.

Miliband has pointed out a number of institutions which form the state's system, such as the government, the administration, the military and the police, the judicial branch, sub-central government and parliament assemblies, and here state institutions are occupied/controlled by what Miliband describes as the 'state elite'. As Miliband argues, even capitalists might not have position/power in the state. The state in capitalist societies is able to act as an instrument of capital through the elite of the major economic, political and cultural institutions.

Access to the state is available, and on this basis state power is instrumentally connected to capital, whose interests are served by state officials, public bureaucrats, the judiciary for example. Thus, capitalists are able to have a dominant position in the state system.

The ideological model of the state developed by Althusser (1969), distinguished between the 'repressive' and the 'ideological' state apparatus. The repressive state apparatus includes the police and armed forces and its role is to impose the domination of capital over labour. The ideological apparatus involves such institutions as education, family, religion and even sport. The ideological domination of the capitalist class is not only derived from its economic and social predominance, but it is the result of a permanent and pervasive effort of a multitude of agencies to create an ideological hegemony of capitalism (Miliband, 1969). Hegemony can be viewed as political dominance of one power over others in a group. McLennan (1986) states that when one social class exerts power over others beyond that accounted for by coercion or law, it may be described as hegemonic. Thus the "bourgeoisie was regarded as hegemonic in capitalist society by those who believed their power depended on the permeation by bourgeois values of all organs of society "(McLennan, 1986:218).

The establishment of ideological hegemony is therefore the outcome of the 'activities' of the cultural institutions controlled by the dominant class. The state is seen as having increased its intervention in ideological competition between the ruling and ruled class (Miliband, 1969). However, where does the state respond to the pressure from working class groups and promote the notion of control of economic forces by liberal democratic means? In reality, the state's role is to defuse working class opposition by providing an alternative focus for working class action. According to this model, there are many resources used as ideological tools in order to pacify and mislead the opposition.

Moving to a historical/structural account of the state, which has been offered by the works of Habermas (1976) and Offe (1984) that states have been seen as an autonomous, but certainly not neutral institution, in which economic and political power is clearly separated. The main argument of the structuralists' writers focuses on the contradictory functions of the modern state which

prevents the need to meet opposing or conflicting aims. It addresses the support for capital accumulation and its legitimization as a neutral state. Following this framework, the state is seen as a system, which connects the individual and social aspirations in a society. The state therefore can be described as a political/administrative system to meet the demands in its own priorities. Habermas and Offe, provided the distinction between two different functions of the state, 'legitimation' and 'accumulation'. The state, on the one hand, must meet the interests of capital growth and in order to avoid the image of popular preference, which identifies it with any interest groups, the state must follow policies determined as its political priorities. In terms of the legitimization function, the state needs to respond to the demands of the working class groups and their social aspirations by providing public services. However, these two functions are difficult to meet at the same time and the potential for conflict is thus increased.

An illustration of the contradiction between the role of the state as serving the interests of capital, and its legitimating function, is provided by the Marxist critique of the failure of the welfare state to meet the needs of the working-class. At the heart of Marx's critique of capitalism are two basic claims drawn from classical political economy: first, that capitalism is an economic system based on the production and exchange of privately owned commodities and is an expression of the amount of human labour power expended on its production. Upon this premise, Marx develops an account of capitalism as a necessarily exploitative and class-based system, one in which unpaid labour is extracted from the sellers of labour power by the owners of capital under the form of a "free and equal exchange" in the marketplace. Such market exchanges do not, however, optimize individual welfare. Rather, the radically unequal exchange that is masked by a formally "free and equal market in commodities means that "capitalist economic organization only secures the welfare of capitalists while prescribing welfare for the great majority of the exploited working class" (Pierson, 1999:9).

In addition, Muller and Neususs (1978) described social policy as a process of paternalistic supervision, control or welfare of the producer. Holloway (1978) and Picciotto (1978) and Urry (1981), highlighted state intervention as a means

for reproducing labour power, by refreshing the workers physically and mentally, and preventing individual capitalists from destroying the bases of their own activity through the exploitation of labour to their physical and mental limits.

Furthermore, "the gradual and partial successes of the working class in safeguarding and improving their condition of labour and reproduction with the help of the state apparatus have shown themselves to be at the same time an essential moment in social pacification and in keeping class struggle latent" (Hirsch, 1978:84). The same objective is served through the political representation of the working class. This is necessary for capital to avoid the confrontation between working class and capital when it accesses power over the working class. It also opens a space for the working class in the state to represent their power instead of resistance. This form of power is seen as much easier for the state to handle. Thus, "the parliamentary form of representation serves to reinforce the divisions in the working class in expressing the competition between groups of workers, and demobilise the working-class by divorcing the political representation of this class from the sources of its power" (Clarke, 1991:199-200).

The whole society as the main function of the capitalist state was further developed in Poulantzas' (1976) functionalist account of the state power: the state, he argues, acts and functions through repression and ideological inculcation and nothing else. It assumes "the state's efficacy lies in what it forbids, rules out according to this conception, the economic is an instance capable of self-reproduction and self-regulation, in which the state serves merely to lay down the negative rules of the economic game" (Poulantzas, 1976:30). The functional account of the state addressed mainly the state's political, and ideological role in reproducing the social formation. Functionalist accounts are not suitable for constructing a comprehensive analysis of the state since they pay little attention to the internal and external dynamics of the state. A change in state policies, for example, may be for the purpose of meeting the needs of the working-class for the legitimization function; however, it could be an automatic response to the needs of the capital accumulation function. The state can be seen as an instrument of capital, which functions to ensure the outcomes of class

struggles in favour of the capitalist class. In these accounts, the structure of the state is seen as determining the outcome of such struggles.

As mentioned, Marxism, like elitism, incorporates a range of competing theories, including instrumentalism (Miliband), structuralism (Poulantzas), ideological accounts (Althusser) and systems analysis (Offe). Each of these theories is grounded in a conception of the "Marxist tradition", but each theory diverges in its definition of what counts as Marx's political writings (Barrow, 2000:87). Those Marxists regard "the capitalist state as one of the main means by which class domination is maintained" (Hill, 1997:56). Therefore, they develop different approaches from both pluralists, who regarded the state as simply reacting to pressure from interests groups, and elitists who view the state elite as powerful, but not connected to a particular group in the structure (Hill, 1997).

Given the serious criticisms of traditional Marxist analysis as determinist, neo-Marxists have sought to continue to emphasis the influence of capitalism and its interest on the activities of the state, which also recognising that the activities of capitalist or the influence of capitalism will not always be the determining factor and/or non-business elites the state's activities. Other interest groups may be more significantly in certain decisions, activities, or context. Thus for neo-Marxist financial power/class interest are likely to be significant in explaining state activity and sometimes may be less significant than the factor.

#### **2.4 From Pluralism to Neo-pluralism**

Pluralist theories of the state in Britain and elsewhere in the West enjoyed their strongest support in the post-war period when economic growth favoured the expansion of the welfare state. Pluralism offers a defence of multiplicity in beliefs, institutions and societies, and opposes 'monism'- the belief that there is or ought to be, only one approach, or set of interests. Political pluralism recognises "the existence of diversity in social, institutional and ideological practices, and values that diversity" (Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987:13). Moving to the main thrust of original pluralism, an account was developed of the forms of political association, which might challenge and possibly replace the

sovereignty of the political state (McLennan, 1989). The element of original pluralism was thus an account of group identity and political obligation, a functional concept of political representation, and a critique of the monistic sovereign state (McLennan, 1989). Pluralists insisted that the state had no corporate personality of its own, but that social groups did. Following this concept, Pluralist writers conceptualise the society as a plurality of interests groups rather than as a set of self-interested individuals. Most pluralists identify a core role for groups in the policy-making process, and see those groups as holding an amount of power. These important resources significantly influence the policy outcomes (Smith, 1990).

Other theorists have also pointed out that pluralism takes multiple consensus as its starting point. Modern society has different interests, popular power through group activity, such as the working of political parties and pressure groups or interest groups. Each of these groups represents one of the many interests in a developed society. Pluralist perspectives emphasise this diversity of interest and, like liberal theorists, they see this variety as a necessary and positive dimension of social life (Schwarzmantel, 1994).

Dahl was perhaps the most influential exponent of pluralist theory, and certainly a very important one for the study of policy processes. Dahl (1958) argues that power in many western industrialized societies is widely distributed among different groups. No group without power can influence decision making, and equally no group is dominant. Dahl's major empirical study was an analysis of power in the town of New Haven in the United States. Dahl examined a number of more specific questions, including whether inequalities in resources of power were cumulative or non-cumulative, how important decisions were made, and if the pattern of leadership was oligarchic or pluralistic. The outcome of Dahl's research revealed that only a few people had direct influence over key decisions, but most people had indirect influence through the power of the vote, media and so on (Hill, 1997:32). Building on the New Haven case study, Dahl and colleagues such as Nelson Polsby (1961) expounded the pluralist theory more deeply and argued that the sources of power were unequally, though widely, distributed among individuals and groups in society. No individual or group is completely powerless. This work can be seen as deriving from a concern to



explain how democracy may still work in a society in which representation is indirect and individual and pressure/interest groups are active.

In terms of the policy making process, pluralists pay much attention to the groups, interests or pressures which affect the government/nation-state in policymakings. However, pluralist perspectives on the state are subtler than many pluralists or their critics realize. For example the relationship between different groups in civil society or the state is competitive. Groups compete or struggle with one other to advance their own goals and put pressure upon governmental agencies to negotiate over outcomes. Competition will be unequal since some groups have access to more resources than others. In addition, the intensity with which a group pursues its preferences constitutes a reliable measure of its power (Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987). As Smith (1990) has summarized, "the pressure group's access is argued to be affected by the social position of the group, the extent to which it is organised, the skills and qualifications of the leaders, the size of the organisation, the level of finances and the degree of mobilisation" (Smith, 1990:302-4).

However, even in the case where a group is able to control the policy agenda, the multiplicity, of interests and competition between blocks of interest ensure that power is diffused and, as such, no particular group is able to dominate the decision making process (Smith, 1990). Take disadvantaged social groups as an example, a weaker position is held because they lack recourse to economic sanctions. These groups, however, can sometimes establish influential relations with a public agency through their ability to speak for a dependent clientele, or through their usefulness in promoting a "respectable cause", or else, they must have recourse to the party and political arena rather than the administrative officials and try to exert electoral leverage. Even "successful action of this kind may later encounter obstacles to implementation by interest groups business for example such as have stable contacts with government departments" (Self, 1985:87). Peterson (1978) suggests a number of models for the relationship between government and interest groups. A parent relationship arises where a political party requires the bureaucracy to favour the interests of the sector of society, which is linked with or dependent upon the party. These linkages influence party policies, but government relations with interest groups are to a

considerable extent independent of party politics and the interest groups often act indirectly and not as the clients of a party. All pluralists have at least implicit theories of the relationships between state and society in oligarchies and of the way state organisation works.

Following the discussion above the interaction between officials and groups can be understood, in terms of pluralist perspectives. How power is exercised between government/nation-state and groups and how they affect policy-making processes can be characterised in the following "three ideal types": the weathervane/cipher model, the neutral state view, and the broker state model (Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987). The weathervane/cipher model characterises policymaking as law or rule making. It is the legitimization of victories in pressure group contests. This model offers a simple pluralist explanation of the growth in the size of state organization and government activity in the post-war liberal democratic state. The cipher model defines the state as a passive vehicle for the expression of struggles between interest groups in civil society, and simply mirrors or responds to the balance of pressure group forces, and civil society. "State organisations are seen as mainly inert recipients of pressure from interest groups" (MacPherson, 1973:188). Indeed, Latham (1953) describes the state as a cash register, which simply adds up the balances of various pressure groups. This conception does not mean that the state is neutral in the sense that it mediates and compromises with pressure groups in some conciliatory or dispassionate fashion. State neutrality means, "state organizations are responsive to the strongest pressure groups in their domains" (Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987:43). State neutrality in this model means, therefore, that state organizations respond to, and meet the needs of, the strongest groups. In the weather vane model the state responds to the prevailing 'wind' or pressures in society. In this sense, "the state is not neutral but certainly favours certain groups, and rules of the games that might advantage some groups over others" (Smith, 1990:304). The bargaining among the various powers, interests and organizations in pluralist theory is not, after all, an even-handed process. "Some groups in society are in a stronger position to bargain than others, and in the political system itself are often in a position to brush off the pressures created by social constituencies" (Hill, 1998:54-5). It can be seen in the Weathervane model the state is passive in response to the prevailing patterns of internal pressures.

In terms of the neutral state view, the state can be neutral in a proper oligarchy. According to this model, neutrality is expressed by the state acting as a bystander in a contest between interest groups, or as a referee ensuring that the struggle is conducted according to agreed rules, or even as an interventionist trying to make both sides less uneven in an unequal context. The state's concern is argued to be the accommodation of all those pressures without bias toward some and against others. This picture of the state as mediator, balancer and harmonizer of interests is what critics have in mind when they describe the pluralist conception of the state as 'neutral' (Miliband, 1969). State bureaucracies are not only responsive to electoral and pressure group contests but also play an active role as guardian of this process, ensuring that the disorganized do not become alienated.

In the broker model, state officials continuously elaborate and facilitate the acceptance of policy compromises among key groups. They serve as advocates and as judges for diverse functional and territorial constituencies, pressing and amalgamating these interests upon one another so that disputes can be resolved and mutually acceptable outcomes can emerge (Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987). The Broker pluralists expect government departments, public organizations and agencies to be fertile grounds for group formation. However, the stronger groups' ideology can influence the policy decision-making and the state as an institution and all its governing bodies are always, according to pluralists, subject to the media, the voters and the organizational oligarchy (Henry, 1990).

However, to prevent state official interests from dominating the policy agenda is difficult. The government increasingly began to involve other groups, organizations of public interests who might try to influence voting decisions at elections or the legislative programmes of political parties. Once space was established, these pressure groups were likely to try to influence the policy process at any stage, negotiating the details of legislation, establishing links to influence the implementation process, monitoring policy outcomes and so on. It is argued that the "pressure groups, which have emerged alongside the formal institutions of government, have come to play an important direct part in representing the views of specific interests" (Hill, 1997:31). However, some

major policy decisions may reflect neither pressure groups' demands on the state or the pursuit for the public interest. The state interprets public policy as the aggregation of pressure group activities going on inside the state apparatus and having its own characteristics. However, a key problem with pluralist work is that no single pluralist theory exists. It is often relatively atheoretical and so its assumptions are implicit rather than explicit. This leads to confusion among pluralists and their critics about what pluralism is and what it is trying to do.

In methodological terms, most pluralists advocate an individualist strategy, that is it is assumed that all hypotheses about collective action and interest should ultimately be reduced to the actions and interests of individual human agents. Pluralists therefore treat the behaviour of the individual as the outcome of his/her interest and since, in many instances, these interests are likely to coincide with the interests of a number of people, pluralist approaches to the behaviour and formation of interest groups in society are based on a doubtful methodological assumption, since identical behaviour does not necessarily imply identical interests (Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987). Furthermore, for epistemological and methodological problems, it is unable to "take account of ideological and structural factors, as these are not immediately discernible" (Smith, 1990: 227).

The critique of pluralist theories intensified in the late 1960s when a number of political and social crises appeared in almost every liberal democracy (Dunleavy and O'Leary, 1987). Thus Marxists reject pluralist theory both as a prescription and as a description of the state. As a prescriptive theory, pluralism is criticised for reinforcing inequalities in society, since certain interests in society are mutually incompatible and hence victory for one group means the oppression of another. As a descriptive model, pluralism is rejected by Marxists for its failure to adequately reflect the dominant position of the capitalist class. Other critics focus on the pluralist tendency to overemphasise the importance of pressure groups in understanding policy making, and thus neglect other factors, such as the role of ideology in the policy process, which for Smith (1990) is an important factor in determining the nature of policy and in influencing which groups are granted access to the policy process. For Miliband (1969) the main shortcomings of pluralist accounts stem from the claim that "the major

organised interests in these societies, and notably capital and labour, compete on more or less equal terms, and that none of them is, therefore, able to achieve a decisive and permanent advantage in the process of competition” (Miliband, 1969:146). In this line of critique, business was argued to be in an advantageous position both by virtue of its ideological relations with the state elite, as seen in the proceeding section, and by its ability to exercise pervasive and permanent pressure on governments and the state, generated by the private control of concentrated industrial, commercial and financial resources and so on that no government can ignore in the determination of its policies (Miliband, 1969: 147). Overall, it is important to point out that pluralists like Dahl and his followers did not explain that power could be equally distributed.

Responding to the criticisms of traditional pluralism has resulted in the formation of neo-pluralism. Neo-pluralism first developed in the USA with the recognition that business was often in a superior position to other groups and enjoyed certain advantages over consumers and the market (Dunleavy and O’Leary, 1987:275). McConnell developed the view that ‘the major corporate units of American business exercise great power’. With this power and economic needs of war, close relations developed between business and government. Subsequently, “key parts of government are controlled by the business interests” (McConnell, 1966:129). For neo-pluralists “countervailing powers are not sufficient to check the interests of business” (Dahl, 1982:51). For Lindblom, business is advantaged by two important factors: first, government needs to achieve a successful economy, at the same time, advantage should be provided to business. Second, in the market economy, those decisions pay much attention to business. These factors led Lindblom (1977:175) to assume that “business benefits from structural power”. Any government official who understands the requirements of his position and the responsibilities that market oriented systems throw on businessman will therefore grant them a privileged position. He does not have to be bribed, duped or pressured to do so. Nor does he have to be an uncritical admirer of business to do so. He simply understands, as is plain to see, that public affairs in market orientated systems are in the hands of two group leaders, “government and business, who must collaborate and that to make the system work government leadership must often defer to business leadership” (Lindblom, 1977:175).

As mentioned, business plays a key role in government decision-making. A government response to business interest is viewed as inevitable. Thus, influence from business to government can be viewed as a privileged position. Neo-pluralism penetrates a more sophisticated but clear view of the modern society. Martin (1983) argues that neo-pluralism viewed business as a too simple and unproblematic means. It does not clearly specify the point of structural power. In addition, Vogel (1989) argues some other issues such as environment and consumers demanding much of the attention since the 1960s. Business is thus not the only potentially dominant interest group.

## **2.5 Globalisation and the Nation State**

This section attempts to shift the attention from the focus on state theory to a wider concern with the global system. Particularly, nation-state/national societies are considered as a main part for the analysis of globalisation. On the other hand, globalisation refers to a process where decisions and policy making in one place can affect the implications for communities and societies in distant parts of the world. This research draws attention to policy making in the Taiwan State. The globalisation process can be viewed as one of the key factors to affect and interact with the nation state. The strategic relations between global expansion and national resistance in the policy-making process can be a core element to consider. In doing so, conceptualising globalisation will firstly explore the economic, political and other dimensions such as culture and technology and will move on to consider the relation between globalisation and nation state and also between the nation state and cultural identity.

### **2.5.1 Conceptualising of Globalisation**

Globalisation has over the past decade been a major feature of commentaries on contemporary social life. This global focus extends almost everywhere in business, sport, politics, fashion, the environment, music and cultural identity (Holton, 1998:1). In the theoretical accounts, there are two key influential

explanations of the nature of globalisation provided by Anthony Giddens and David Harvey (Henry, 2001). Giddens (1990) argues the globalisation process in terms of time-space and has made people reduce the closed relation with local communities. Harvey (1989) stresses further that this process of speeding up, particularly since the 1960s, has both reinforced, and been reinforced by changes in technology and economy. Both of them highlight the increasing combination of changes in space by culture, economy and politics.

In contrast to the above, some authors argue that economic factors occupy the core position in this process (Sklair, 1991; Wallerstein, 1979). A number of factors within economic dimensions play a significant role in the globalisation processes. Firstly, transnational corporations are able to export jobs to parts of the world where labour costs and workplace obligations are the lowest. Secondly, the world wide computer-generated activity enable them to break down and disperse goods and services and to produce them through a division of labour in different parts of the world, so that national and corporate labels inevitably become illusory. Thirdly, they are in a position to 'play-off' countries or individual locations against one another, in a process of 'global horse-trading' to find the cheapest fiscal conditions and the most favourable infrastructure. Fourthly due to the manufactured and controlled "jungle of global production", they are able to decide their own investment sites, production sites, tax sites and residence sites, and to play these off against one another. As a result, for example, top executives can live in 'choice' locations where they may also pay lower taxes (Beck, 2000:3-4). It can be seen that globalisation processes through economic and capital dynamics have a wide-ranging influence on 'the global community'. Thus far we have been concerned primarily with the economic aspects of globalisation. However, the global should not only be viewed through economic capital. Indeed, it can also be viewed through geographical, political, and cultural aspects.

Sklair (1991) has identified three distinct levels of transnational practices; the economic, the political, and the cultural ideological primary institutions. Others have stressed globalisation as the result of factors such as technological and political development. Robertson (1992) argues that global systems have resulted from the consolidation of culture, national societies, intra and

cross-national movement and international organisations (which will be dealt with in detail at a later stage). The global system therefore is not only separated from the nation-state but transcends the territorial boundaries that the nation state has. Using the European Union (EU) as an example, European countries individually tried to resist economic capitalism from North America, but the EU finally shaped its community in the years following the global economic development, so that by combining at a level above the nation-state successful resistance become more possible.

Without the notion of a globalised economy, many of the other consequences put forward as an example in the domains of culture and politics would either cease to be sustainable or become less threatening. However, on the other hand, economic interaction and development between nations cannot be equal to globalisation. Globalization does not only blend multi-dimensional globalisation with one-dimension economic globalisation, it also blends economic globalisation with internationalisation of the economy. The evidence is supposed to show that strictly speaking, “one can not only talk of globalisation in the regions of the world economy, but only of internationalisation, great economic blocks, so that there is sometimes talk of a tradition of the world economy” (Beck, 2000:119-120). Economic globalisation is not an automatic mechanical process, it is a thoroughly political project involving cross-national players, institutions and discourse-coalitions that pursue a neo-liberal economic policy (Beck, 2000). Take the following example: there is a clear strengthening of transnational trade and production relations within and between certain parts of the world, for example, America, Asia and Europe. The proof of this is that trade and foreign investment still takes place primarily among these three areas.

The globalisation process would include the growth of global economic interdependence, cultural globalisation, homogenisation and heterogenisation in the global process (cf. Giddens, 1990; Houlihan, 1994; Maguire, 1999). Moreover, other authors, such as Rosenau (1990) and Smith (1990) argue that technology and its transformative capacities are a globalising tool. The global human condition can be seen as being transformed by rapid technological formations such as the computer industry, biochemistry and the media, thus



shifting the industrial society to a post-modern community a global telecommunication community.

In contrast to the argument that claims globalisation represents the results of multiple dimensions of change (Giddens, 1990; Robertson, 1992). Sklair (1991) claims globalisation is often explained only as an economic phenomenon. The vehicle driving this dimension is the emergence of global organisations such as the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, World Trade Organisation, the North American Free Trade Agreement. It is undoubtedly true, for example, that the same products are manufactured and sold across every continent. One can receive and send electronic mail from the middle of a forest in Taiwan, eat McDonald's hamburgers in London as well as in Taipei, and pay for all this with Master Card linked to a bank account in New York. Generally speaking, capitalism and multi-national corporations in particular are also seen by classic Marxist accounts as the driving force behind the global system (Schiller, 1985; Sklair, 1991). For Marxists the capitalist classes in the most powerful states have replaced the nation states as the most important actors in the global system. The dynamics of globalisation processes discussed above articulate the main dimensions of its development. Nonetheless, these globalisation processes have affected or undermined the image or identity of culture and nation-state.

### **2.5.2 What Is Happening to Culture?**

Holton (1998) mentions those who analyse globalisation in terms of the capitalist world system and the activities of powerful multinational companies that generally assume that economic globalisation creates a version of cultural globalisation in its own image. However, nationalism and ethnicity push in a different direction. Beyond these, what is the reality to which transnational developments are linked with local and sub-national cultural processes and identities? What is happening to culture and realities articulated with other aspects of globalisation?

A major debate has been raised concerning the consequence of the globalising flows in the cultural field. According to Appadurai (1990), culture as a set of flows in the global process can be identified along in five dimensions: Firstly, ethnoscapas can be understood as one of the flows produced by the movement of people from one country to another such as immigrants, the professional sport elite, guest-workers and refugees. Secondly, machinery and plant produced by the global system, transnational-corporations and government agencies can be seen as the flow of technoscapes. Thirdly, finanscapas refers to the outcome of rapid flows of money in the currency markets and stock exchange. Mediascapas represent the fourth dimension, which are produced and distributed by newspapers, magazines, television and films. Finally, ideoscapes can be seen as the flow of values. It is evident that there are many possibilities in cultural flows. Hall (1992) argues that globalisation seems to affect cultural identities in three possible ways: cultural homogenisation, cultural resistance, and the development of new cultural identities. As a result, globalisation can affect cultural identities and lead to two major possibilities: cultural homogeneity, and cultural pluralism. Following these concepts, globalisation and localisation are two concepts concerned with the whole and with the parts.

With regard to cultural homogenisation, this is likely to destroy national identities. Resistance to globalisation which fosters national identities might reduce the importance which is replaced on new identities (Hall, 1992). Hall (1992) asserts, that cultural ties developed below and/or above the nation-state now replace national identities. As it is supported, global culture has two distinguishing characteristics. The first and most important is its homogeneity. The homogenisation of global culture is the consequence of the core to periphery flow of commodities and culture, which is the outcome of Western capitalism (Hannerz, 1991). This view argues for relations of dependency between core and periphery states and cultural value and belief of powerful societies are imposed on peripheral nations in an exploitative way. In this view, the initiative homogenisation of globalisation is revealed to be a version of contemporary core-nations culture. Sklair (1991) has furthered this point through stressing that the most important economic, political and cultural commodities are owned, or at least controlled by, a limited number of countries, specifically, western countries. Western or US capital control over mass media

speeds up the circulation of material goods and inculcates the dominant ideology of capitalism in every part of the world.

By contrast to the tendency for homogeneity cultural pluralism/heterogeneity, may result from cultural interaction or an increase in intercultural communication in the globalised society. Robertson (1992) has identified cultural pluralism as one of the constitutive features of globalisation. The variation of response to, and interpretations of, globalisation brings about cultural pluralism. Not only does national variation lead to cultural pluralism, it also strengthens regional and/or local identities, which promote cultural differentiation. Ethnic and/or religious groups, feeling threatened by cultural homogenization, and may react in a defensive way by expressing a stronger identification with their ethnicity and religion. The strengthening of local identities might well lead to the resurgence of national cultural forms in those contexts where the process of national integration has reached a point where cultural homogenisation at national level obscures existing local differences.

Following these multi-directions, 'glocalisation' has possibilities in this process. Telescoping global and 'local' to make a blend form the term 'glocal' and the process noun 'globalisation'. Glocalisation has been modelled on Japanese *dochakuka*, originally the agricultural principle of adapting one's farming techniques to local conditions, but also adopted in Japanese business for global localisation, a global outlook adapted to local conditions. Intensification of interaction and interdependence among states has resulted in the strengthening of linkages and interconnections that transcend nation-states (McGrew, 1992).

Following this line of thought, Giddens defines globalisation as the intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that "local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa" (Giddens, 1990:64). In this definition Giddens emphasises that local happenings can be interpreted in a broader frame of time and space. His interpretation of the globalisation of modernity, and consequently the globalisation of localities, reveals that it is a very broad, complex and problematic concept, which includes a consciousness, a project, a process and an analytic framework, and leaves, as such, room for different interpretations.

### 2.5.3 Is the Nation-State Finished?

In most capitalist economies, the nation-state is regarded as the primary actor for territorial government and economic regulation. Nonetheless, economic globalisation's massive flow of money and capital seems almost to ignore the political boundaries (Holton, 1998). With the globalisation of the economy, nation-states have increased significance in the role of decentralised agencies, sub-nation governments, and transnational bodies (cf. Amin, 1994; Hambleton, 1990; Jessop, 1990). Globalisation is argued to have challenged four aspects of the state: its competence, its form, its autonomy, and its legitimacy (McGrew, 1992). Particularly, in the economic field, international co-operation is of primary importance for any state wishing to become independent of international developments and to resolve its problems with purely domestic actions and decisions, which are regarded as evidence of its declining competence.

In terms of the state, one of the members of the global community was perceived as the primary political community, with the capacity to determine the status and to make rules for any activity that fell within the contemporary understandings of the scope of legitimate authority. Each state was sovereign and hence it determined within itself the nature of its internal and external policies. The society of states was thus a world of self-sufficient entities, each acting upon its own will (Bull 1977). In other words, the notion of a nation-state lies in the fact that sovereign and autonomous political conditions are capable of deriving legitimacy from a distant citizenry located in a defined territory.

However, globalisation refers to a process where decisions and policy made in one place can have a major influence on communities and societies in distant parts of the world. Here, a nation-state seems to have its base in the globalisation process. For example, many theorists have attempted to identify these situations by focusing on the weakness of the nation-state in the globalisation process. Social space has become widespread because of transnational communication and information. With world-governance enlarging, the less power there is for a national parliament the stronger is the case for the democratic deficit. Security is furthermore threatened by the growth of

international criminality; national states do not feel responsible for global environmental problems while they are focused on economic governance (Lubbers and Koorevaar, 1998).

Free trade, transnational companies and world capital markets have liberated business from the constraints of politics. As O'hame (1993) points out, nation-states are perceived to have become the 'local authority' of the global system. They can no longer independently affect the economic activities or employment in their territories and are dedicated by the choice of multi-international mobile capital. The role of the nation state in a global system is like that of municipalities in states. In the global business world, the cross-national system can provide many opportunities to reduce the cost of the producing. Moreover, Gray (1998) has pointed out that global laissez-faire is a moment in the history of the emerging world economy, which forces workers to bear the cost through new technologies, and unrestricted free trade.

Horsman and Marshall (1994) state that the era of the nation-state is over, and national-level governance is ineffective in the face of globally economic and social processes which are stronger than the most powerful states. Taking the European Union as an example, this border has no single and sovereign source of law, nor does it possess a central multi-functional executive. It can be seen that the power of the EU has derived from treaties among the member states. Modern political theory is the theory of government and political obligation in a sovereign state which has evolved before mass democracy, but which has adapted relatively easily to it. This is not just because it was possible to substitute the people for the monarch, it is also because the nation state is simply the most developed form of the idea of a self-governing political community, with which the very possibility of a distinctive political theory has been bound up (Hindess, 1987).

Above, nation-state can be viewed as 'anachronistic'. The reality is "the nation-state plays a more decisive role or intervenes with more vigour and consequence in shaping economic exchange and investment at the local, national and international levels. It is impossible to conceive of the expansion and deepening involvement of multinational banks and corporations without the

prior political, military and economic intervention of the nation-state"(Petras and Veltmeyer, 2001:54). However, there are many perspectives that show that the nation-state has its own characteristics. Holton (1998) points out nationalism and ethnicity are seen as two of the factors in the modern world for resisting globalisation. Others, conservative protectionists' arguments, for instance, are caught up in a special contradiction. They idolize the nation-state yet dismantle it with a neo-liberal crusade in favour of a free world market. "Conservative protectionism, however, is not only a contradiction between thought and deed, a posture which on the one hand swears on the values of the nation (family, religion, community), while on the other displays a missionary zeal in fuelling Conservative values" (Beck, 2000:125-126). Resurgent nationalism, such as in the former Yugoslavia or in the former Soviet Republics, might be evidence that the state remains of critical significance to political and social organisation. Giddens (1990) argues that nation-states derive their power from their territorial rights, concerned with the fostering of national cultures, and having strategic geo-political control of military power is not confined to weaponry and alliances between the armed forces of different states; it also concerns war itself. For Giddens, globalisation is seen as a phenomenon with a multiplicity of causes so that the economic interest of capital is not the sole cause of globalisation. In particular, during the economic recession in Asia during the 1990s, global capital organisations such as the IMF have even supported its financial system and marketing. It can be seen that those countries need to rebuild their nation-state in many respects and there are a number of sources of accelerating globalisation. Moreover, this approach has been conceived as problematic, since the global totality is regarded as a product of its sub-units, the component zones or states which are taken to precede the subsequently larger world (Bergesen, 1990).

## **2.6 Strategic Relations Approach**

As discussed, we have attempted to understand the theoretical nature and significance of the state and how it operates. If we attempt to understand who has been dominated and why in a given policy arena, the understanding of the state is necessary but we also need to establish this empirically. It is argued that Jessop's strategic relations approach is helpful here. The strategic relations

approach has in some instances focused on empirical investigation rather than being based only on theoretical accounts. Henry (2001) highlights its potential further arguing that the approach incorporates the following assumptions: a) that humankind makes its own history but not in circumstance of its own choosing, b) the current situation in society is the product of history of human action, c) to act effectively or partly effectively one needs to make use of one's strategic position in the society, political action or policy structure, and d) to understand action, the researcher needs to understand the context of actors in relation to strategic resources. These assumptions are premises shared by the author of this thesis and deemed appropriate to the study of sports policy in ROC/Taiwan. Strategic relative theory was born out of a Marxist tradition but allows for non-class based issues to be investigated and, where appropriate, to privilege other structural factors in explaining the outcomes of action. It allows for contingent outcomes. It focuses on:

- a) social structure as resources
- b) history explaining the conditions on which a decision is taken or an action is taken
- c) individual actors explaining how they have drawn on the resource of their structural position

Thus, to understand action, the researcher needs to understand the context of actors in relation to strategic resources, and this premise together with those cited above therefore informs the methodology adopted in this study of sport in ROC/Taiwan.

The strategic relations approach to the state has been developed by Jessop (1990) and has been debated by a number of Western scholars (cf. Hay, 1995; Kelly 1999; Henry 2001; Hay, 2002), who have attempted to extend Marxist notions of the state by going beyond the instrumental and functional/structural accounts. Jessop (1990) argues that the propositions provided by his work are not fully developed, and theoretical and empirical research needs to be undertaken which might further substantiate its main principles:

...this approach is still in its infancy. It is implicit in some recent

developments in political economy and state theory and... it has major implications for more orthodox analyses of the capitalist economy and the state. But these have not yet been worked out and there are many issues still unresolved. (Jessop, 1990: 267.)

It should be noted that 'strategic relations' theory is, in a sense, a meta-theory; it seeks to inform the way an adequate analysis of the state's form and its functions can be addressed in a fruitful approach to understand the formulation and function of democratic states. As Jessop has suggested the "strategic-theoretical approach has only been able to provide some abstract and formal indications about new directions for research and enquiry" (1990:270). It therefore poses a number of critical questions in this respect. It asks questions such as in what ways do certain forces come to be represented in policy decisions? What is the kind of relationship between the state form and society and between the state and its wider environment? How might these inform a specific state strategy?

The form of the state should be treated as the product of struggle and/or cooperation between diverse forces as well as a resource for future action. In other words, according to Jessop (1990) the state is now "viewed as being a strategic terrain and the emphasis has focused increasingly on strategic considerations". Thus Jessop (1990) argues that:

...the state is not simply something towards which one must adopt a political strategy but is something (or better, a social relation) which can be fruitfully analysed as the site, the generator, and the product of strategies. (Jessop, 1990: 3.)

According to this account, the state is the institutionalisation of the outcomes of historical battles among diverse forces. The relationship and the balance of forces around the state are not stable but rather subject to change. The state, then is the site of strategy, whose structure and modus operandi are more open to some types of political strategy than others. Thus a given type of state, a given state of form, a given form of regime, will be more accessible to some forces than others according to the strategies they adopt to gain state power. Jessop



(1990) highlights this notion of strategic selectivity as being more fruitful than that of structural selectivity because it brings out more clearly the relational character of power. It is suggested, should be approached as an institutional ensemble with no power of its own, but providing resources for the exercise of power by the state individuals and groups.

The state has only a set of institutional capacities and therefore its powers should be analysed in relation to the forces which act in, and through, these institutions. It is not the state which acts: it is always specific sets of politicians and state officials located in specific parts of the state system. It is they who activate specific powers and state capacities inscribed in particular institutions and agencies. (Jessop, 1990: 367.)

As such, forces may be extended beyond the economic interests of social classes or pluralist interest groups. Rather, they are likely to include state managers as well as class forces, gender groups as well as regional interests and so forth, which are all given unequal chances by different state organisations to act for different political purposes. Yet, focusing entirely on the state system itself, its powers and capacities, is deemed as only one aspect for understanding state power. For Jessop (1990) the powers of the state should be analysed in conditional and relational terms. One should take into account access to resources provided by the state, that is to:

structural ties between the state and its encompassing political system, the strategic links among state managers and other political forces, and the complex web of interdependencies and social networks linking the state system to its broader environment. (Jessop, 1990:367.)

If this is the site of competing strategies, it is state managers who act within the state system and therefore their interpretation of the struggles is crucial for the materialisation of state policy. In addition, the state itself is a site of competition among its various branches where politicians and state officials struggle with one another as well as groups from civil society to secure access to state resources.

To sum up, after reviewing the state theories, as proposed above, an analysis of strategic relations within the state, and between the state and wider social structures is seen as an essential element to explore policy within the state. We thus agree with Keaney who argues that “Jessop is the scholar who is the most focused on the development of a persuasive explanation of the actually existing capitalist state” (Keaney, 2000:110). His approach is seen as providing a more comprehensive view of the state having “evolved as much in response to empirical changes in the composition and function of the state” (p.110), as to abstract theoretical propositions.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

This chapter has reviewed the major approaches to conceptualising the nature of the modern state in contemporary contexts. It has further sought to highlight the epistemological implication of these approaches as a precursor to the evaluation of the place of sport in the state system in ROC/Taiwan. Reference to theories at each of these levels will be made throughout this thesis. The theoretical approaches are used to explain the complex development of sports policies which have developed in ROC/Taiwan. Elitists argue that some key groups shape the policy agenda and ensure decision-makers discuss a limited set of ideas. Pluralists argue that ideas reflect the balance of group power between interest groups in society and that each group has the ability to influence the policy agenda by mobilizing resources, which can be ideological or material. Marxists argue that ideologies help explain how economic and political power holders maintain their hegemony and reproduce the socio-economic system. In addition, globalisation theory helps in understanding the relationship between an increasingly global society and nation-state.

The following chapter will seek to explore the development the ROC/Taiwan state by reference to those concepts. Concepts employed, for example, from the state theory are applied to explain and describe the state development from the Chiang Kai-shek regime to the emergent liberal democratic system developing in ROC/Taiwan. The state structure and shaped by international circumstance and the position of state in wider context (in particular the competition between

the ROC/Taiwan and mainland China), these concepts and phenomena provide a framework to understand the reality of ROC/Taiwan state since 1949.

## CHAPTER 3

# A POLITICAL, SOCIAL-ECONOMIC, AND EDUCATIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE POSTWAR ROC/TAIWAN STATE

### 3.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapter a number of different approaches to theorizing the role of the modern liberal democratic state were reviewed and evaluated, since the state provides the context within which sports policy has developed. Such a description, however, raises the question as to how the state should be conceptualised. In terms of state theory, elitists argue that some groups shape the policy agenda and ensure decision-makers discuss a limited set of ideas; Marxists argue that ideologies help explain how economic and political power holders maintain their hegemony and reproduce the socio-economic system; pluralists argue that ideas reflect the balance of group power in society and that each group has the ability to influence the policy agenda by mobilizing resources. It was argued that strategic relations theory provided the most adequate perspective to evaluate the role of the state. The relationship between structure and agency is central to this debate, and has highlighted that policy outcomes are contingent. The analysis of policy outcomes in specific state structures helps us to discover the intended and unintended consequences of human agency as well as struggles which take place between groups and individuals within the state structure. After reviewing the state theories, this chapter then explores the structure of the ROC/Taiwan state in the post-war period.

The chapter divides post-war ROC/Taiwan history into four periods: i) the establishment of the Chinese nationalist government in ROC/Taiwan in 1949 to 1975 by the Chiang Kai-Shek regime, ii) between 1978-1988, the development of economic boom by the Chiang Ching-Kuo (Son of Chiang Kai-shek), iii) Lee Teng-hui's administration of political and economic pluralism between 1988-2000, and iv) the new era of DPP administration from May 2000. These four periods provide the political, social, economic and educational perspectives within which to explore the ROC/Taiwan state.

### **3.2 The Chiang Kai-Shek Government 1945-1975**

In the late nineteenth century, China claimed Taiwan as part of its territory; in effect, Taiwan was a 'pawn' in political bargaining between China and Japan. Taiwan was first ceded to Japan by China in the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895 but restored to China at the end of World War II in 1945. This was in direct contradiction to the Atlantic Charter and flouted one of the major principles behind the war, that is, the right to choose a form of government through the democratic process (DPP, 2002).

In 1945, the Kuomintang regime on the Chinese mainland seized Taiwan from Japan. Four years later, as China's civil war ended, the defeated KMT forces retreated to Taiwan. In the initial period, it is clear that the Chinese Communist Party attempted to complete the task of unification by force (Yu, 1995). This is evident, for example, in the CCP attack on the island of Kinmen in October 1949. A further attack on Kinmen in 1954 by CCP armed forces preceded the 1958, 'August 23 bombardment', an event that sent shockwaves around the world. However, the ROC benefited from the 'Cold War' context following the onset of the Korean War in 1950. The ROC/Taiwan signed the 'Common Defence Act', an agreement with the United States, in order to not only make Taiwan a crucial defence against communism in East Asia, but also to garner support and supplies, both militarily and economically.

Pre-1949, the international community recognised the KMT as the legitimate government in China and, moreover, during World War II China was a major ally of the USA in its conflict with Japan. Richard Nixon's inauguration as USA President in 1969 witnessed attempts to improve diplomatic relationships with the PRC (Hsu, 1997). One of the key effects was that the PRC invited the American table tennis team to China to engage in 'Ping-Pong Diplomacy' in 1971. Later in this year, the PRC's acceptance as a member of the United Nations led to a request for the ROC to withdraw from this international body (Hsu, 1995). Diplomatically, these were difficult times for the ROC in its attempts to win international legitimacy.

In terms of internal circumstances, on 27 February 1947, Monopoly Bureau agents beat a woman selling cigarettes on the black market and shot a protesting bystander; news which was quick to spread across Taiwan and, as Aspalter (2001) has noted, "The KMT sent more than 13,000 soldiers to Taiwan to eliminate the local intellectual and social elites ...more than twenty thousand innocent people died in the succeeding days" (2001:4). This conflict reflected the tension between the KMT regime and local Taiwanese people. This incident generally damaged relations between the KMT regime and local citizens (Yu, 1997) and had ramifications for further development in the sports policy sector, as discussed in chapter 6.

Following its move to Taiwan, the KMT regime began its structural reform of the country. In April 1950, the KMT announced the 'Practical Principles of Local Self-government' on Taiwan in relation to counties and cities; and thus divided the administrative areas into sixteen counties and five municipalities or cities. In addition, direct elections were held for magistrates and parliamentarians in order to launch the local self-government of ROC/Taiwan. Nevertheless, despite the establishment of the 'General Principles of the Provinces and the Counties', the Taiwan provincial governor was still assigned by the central government; thus,

local autonomy remained limited. Few central parliamentary representatives were elected in 1969, in proportion to the overall population (Huang, 1997).

When the KMT government moved from Mainland China to Taiwan, the population of Taiwan increased to 8 million, of which one-third was from the Mainland China (Lu, 1994). In order to tackle inflation from June 1949, the government began to implement currency reforms, as well as promoting interest for long-term deposits in order to attract investment. In addition, following the Korean War, Taiwan was in receipt of economic subsidies from the US and the economy gradually achieved stability from 1952 onwards (Huang, 1997).

Given the predominance of the agricultural industry for the growth of Taiwan's economy, the government launched a series of land reforms to further stabilise the economy and to alleviate the unfair land system, in particular, for small landowners. In order to attain this goal, the government redistributed land property through the 37.5% Rent Deduction Program in 1949 and subsequently the Releasing Capital Invested in Land Programme in 1951. Finally, in 1953, the Land for the Agricultural Worker Program was implemented. These clusters of reforms resulted in many agricultural workers being upgraded to farmers, representing 82 percent of all farmers in the country. Consequently, rice production increased and agricultural workers' living standard improved (Lu, 1994).

As discussed, the total amount by which US buttressed the Taiwan economy, or in military aid, amounted to some US\$ 1.402 billion between 1951-1965. The rationale for America's generosity can be categorised into three elements from the report of the Common Security Ministry to the Parliament: first, to stabilise Taiwan's economy; secondly, to enable Taiwan to facilitate American military activities; and third, to foster Taiwan's self-sufficiency (Hsu, 1997).

The Executive-Yuan also sought to enhance social well-being through a three

phase economic development plan: Firstly, through an economic rejuvenation phase (1950-1952), the government sought to revive old industries and to maintain the transport infrastructure and, subsequently, Taiwan implemented currency reforms and the cluster of land reforms discussed above (Chang, 1970). Secondly, in the import as a substitute phase (1953-1960), government sought to cultivate industry on the basis of agricultural development and then transfer activity to manufacturing industry. Thirdly, in the 'export expansion' phase, on account of the small domestic market, the government sought to explore foreign markets, not only create opportunities for employment, but also to enhance citizens' income (Chen, 1996). With the agricultural sector supporting industry and together with cheap labour, foreign capital and the 'Original Equipment Manufacturing' (OEM) export industry, Taiwan's GNP increased year by year.

In respect of education, the government increased the educational budget from 9.93 percent (of the total state budget) in 1951 to 16.51 percent in 1971. Indeed, the total state budget also increased from 1.73 percent to 4.57 percent of GDP (The Statistics of Ministry of Education, 1997). Consequently, school-attendance rates grew year on year, for example, those students attending as elementary graduates through to junior high, increased from 31.78 percent in 1950 to 59.04 percent in 1966. Furthermore, due to the pressure of attending secondary education (elementary graduates had to pass the assessment before they were allowed to continue), the government extended six-year compulsory period to nine-year compulsory period; consequently, the junior-high attendance rate grew to 80.85 percent in 1971 (The Statistics of the Ministry Education, 1997).

### **3.3 The Chiang Ching-Kuo Government (1978-1988)**

In January 1979, while seeking links with the PRC, the US abolished the 'Taiwan Relations Act' thus formally renouncing official relationships with the ROC and further damaging ROC/Taiwan following its forced withdrawal from the United Nations. In April of the same year, in order to maintain and protect Taiwan's



interests and national security, America signed the 'Taiwan Special Relations' Agreement' with ROC/Taiwan in order to sustain the non-official relationship for both countries (Peng, 1995). This was predominantly a military (rather than both military and economic agreement) However, we have to take account of the international conditions of the time. For example, firstly, the two powerful political/economic blocs under American and Soviet control had gradually relaxed hostilities; and secondly, there was a growing cluster of newly industrialising countries within the so-called 'Third World'. Taiwan's receipt of warfare benefits from the USA was reduced following cessation of the Korean War in 1950 and the Vietnam War in 1975. Thus, the Taiwan-American relationship no longer guaranteed the same level of cross-strait security due to the American acknowledgement of the Chinese Communist Party for pragmatic reasons in 1979, and no longer provided economic aid.

Notwithstanding difficulties associated with relations between the PRC and the international community, the ruling party Kuomintang (KMT) was challenged in the press by the Taiwan '*Political Editorial*' which argued that people should express their anger and dissatisfaction toward the government through the electoral process. Apart from pressure from newspaper, the Magazine was viewed in most of the universities as a key outlet for intellectuals with sufficient knowledge to express opinions in respect of the politics of Taiwan. However, in 1984, a legislator argued that the KMT government should ban publication of political issues in such magazines and political magazines representing the opposition to KMT, such as '*Approach*', '*Politician*', '*Freedom Year*', were also examined for their political content (Shiue, 1996:372). An increase in social protest movements against the KMT government between 1983-1988 (see Table 3.1) was the upshot of this dictatorial action (Chuang, 2001).

**Table 3.1: Size of the Social Protest 1983-1988**

Amount/ Year	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	Total
10 or less	25	33	40	45	67	126	336
11 to 30	31	35	47	44	94	176	427
31 to 50	22	28	36	28	101	117	332
51 to 100	28	23	68	58	117	189	483
101 to 200	9	12	17	23	42	70	173
201 to 500	11	12	7	17	53	87	187
501 to 1000	2	0	5	11	36	47	101
1001 to 5000	0	3	1	10	18	31	63
More than 5000	0	0	0	5	7	12	24
Total	128	146	221	241	535	855	2126

Source: Chuang (2001:75)

During the period, 1973-1975, the Middle-East war precipitated an oil crisis, which led to the stable commodity price of oil increasing by some 40.5 percent, with consequent consumer expenditure rising by 47.5 percent (Peng, 1995). While the government sought to implement emergency measures, Taiwan's economy was not able to withstand this. In addition, a further oil crisis emerged as a result of the political turmoil in Iran in 1978 (Peng, 1995).

The dual-effect of withdrawal from the United Nations and inflated international oil prices resulted in a reduction of private sector investment. In order to revive the economy and to increase employment opportunities, in 1973 the president of Executive-Yuan, Chiang Ching-kuo stated in the 'Fourteenth KMT Regular Committee' that government aspired to accomplish the 'Ten Item National Development Plan' within five years in order to enhance large-scale infrastructure investment. The Ten Item National Development Plan proved fruitful in overcoming the economic difficulties experienced in Taiwan up until 1976. Moreover, it also provided the economy with a stable long-term foundation on which to build for the future.

The second oil crisis in 1978 led to America and the PRC establishing an official relationship, one outcome of which was a government-led programme of infrastructure development in order to buttress the economy. The government

invested NT\$8 billion in the twelve-year long-term National Scientific and Technology Plan (Peng, 1995) and although the economy was revitalised, problems emerged in the countryside during this period.

With respect to education, 94.08 percent of the elementary school graduates attended secondary education in 1978; similarly, graduates from junior high to senior high or vocational schools increased from 51.15 percent in 1950 to 60.42 percent in 1978 (The Statistics of ROC Ministry of Education, 1997); thus revealing the strength of the education budget during the two oil crises (Statistics on ROC Education 1997). In conclusion, this phase of Chiang Ching-Kuo, which lasted for six years, was regarded as a preparation stage for the transformation of the country's political and economic systems.

### **3.4 The Lee Teng-Huei Government (1988-2000)**

Chiang Ching-Kuo's hand-picked vice president and successor was Mr. Lee, now 67, who was born on Taiwan. This has helped him gain support from citizens of Taiwanese descendents, who make up some 85% of the island's 20 million people. Mr. Lee was educated in Japan and the U.S. as an agricultural economist, and taught at Taiwan's leading university before going into government. (*Wall Street Journal*, September 25, 1990, quoted in Hu, 1994:503.)

The withdrawal from the UN in 1971, and termination of Taiwan-USA relations in 1979, resulted in the KMT government reformulating its international policy in order to avoid international isolation. For example, the KMT acknowledged the new Left wing administration in Nicaragua and the ROC offered support in the form of rice supplies in order to underpin this new diplomatic stance. Such evidence draws attention to a more pragmatic approach from the ROC and was accompanied by a less adversarial stand against the Chinese Communist government. In addition, the Netherlands supplied submarines to the ROC navy, which provided another source of strength in its new international relations. Further developments, such as that in 1989, the ROC resumed official relations

with Grenada, Liberia, and Belize (Peng, 1995), meant that over a period of 20 years Taiwan gained a progressively more international outlook.

Moreover, due to the priority placed on developing the cross-strait relationship from 1987, the government rescinded the ban on relatives visiting the Mainland. There have been both positive aspects (eg. cultural exchanges, the regulation of Mainland fishing vessels and economic interaction) and negative aspects (eg. Cross-Strait crimes, and increasing illegal immigrants) consequently arising out of this easing of relations. In addition, the Mainland Affairs Council 'Report of Executive Yuan' was seen as a means, by which the Mainland Affairs Council could become better organized and in 1990 the National Unification Committee was established, as a mediating body. A year later, the Mainland Affairs Council and the non-official agency, the Straits Exchange Foundation (SEF), were empowered by the ROC government to manage cross-straits issues. Following a ten-month trial period, the Chinese mainland founded the Association for Relations across the Taiwan Straits (ARATS) as a counterpart to the SEF.

The meeting between Koo Chen-fu (ROC) and Wang Tao-han (PRC) in Singapore in April 1993 was the first contact and/or interaction between the two sides (Huang, 1997) since the ending of the ban on relatives' visits to the Mainland. It should also be noted that the PRC's imperialistic stance led government to consider its dealings on the international stage. Following the withdrawal from the UN in 1979, ROC/Taiwan established its own foreign policy in order to ameliorate growing concerns over the country's political and economic development. Wong (2000) highlights the development of ROC foreign policy from 1979 from a political/economic perspective:

Under the general circumstances of international diplomatic isolation, Taipei's foreign policy experienced several stages of change: from an uncompromising adherence to the one China policy, to a flexible practical diplomacy of enhanced participation in nongovernmental organizations, then to a pragmatic diplomacy of accepting dual diplomatic recognition of two Chinas, and finally to the pragmatic

diplomacy of actively pursuing sovereign status under the principle of a divided nation. (Wong, 2000:5.)

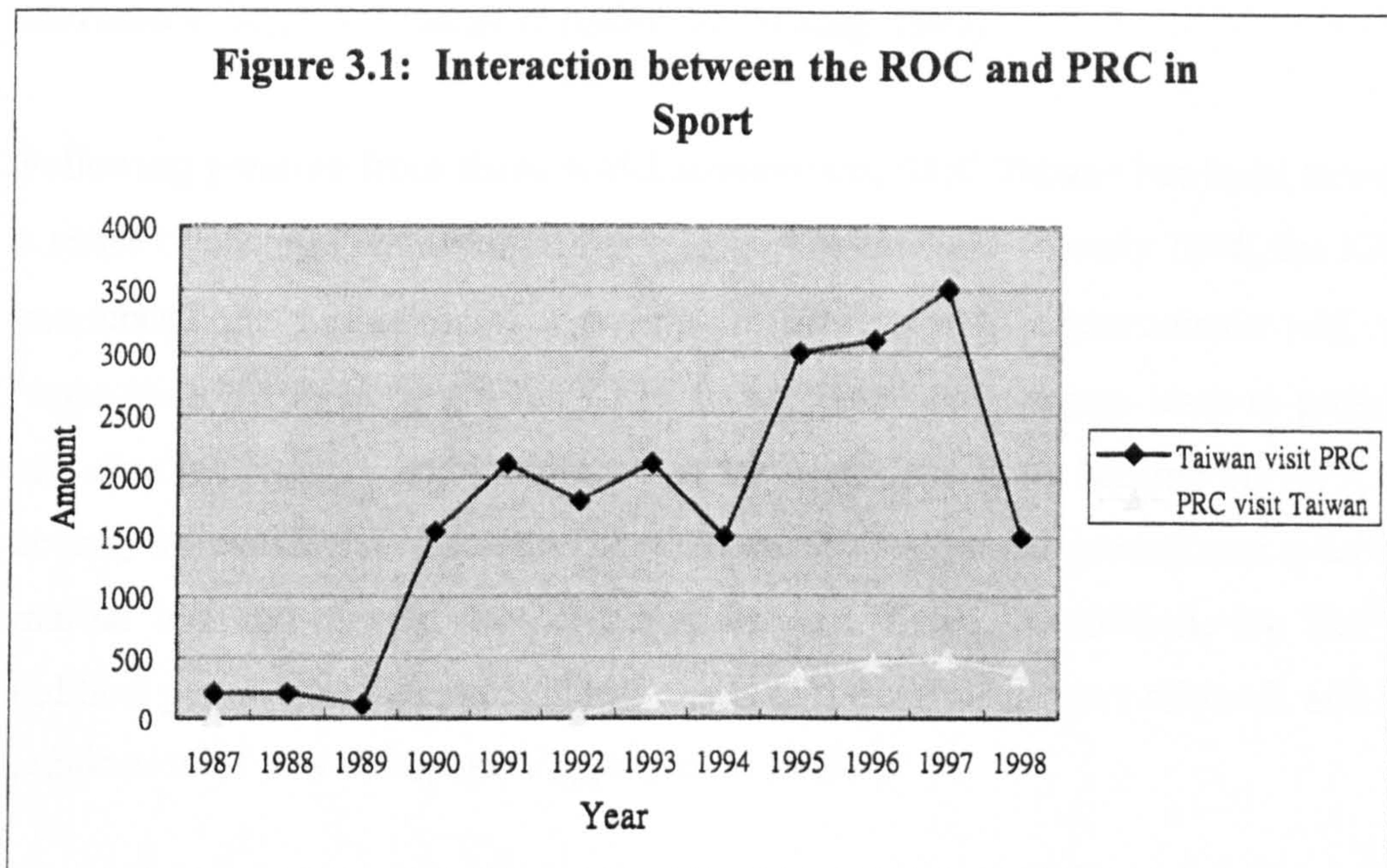
These changes in ROC/Taiwan reflect the development of a liberal society, a fast growing economy and the ending of the Cold War between the US and the Eastern block states. In this sense, Wong (2000) has argued that

...the congruence of three structural factors-the emergence of a Taiwanese libertarian-civic state, Taiwan's fast growing economic strength, and the disintegration of the cold-war setup-constituted a comprehensive framework for Taipei to direct the development of its relations with the mainland and its foreign relations in a dialectical way that maximized its political autonomy. (Wong, 2000:5.)

**Table 3.2 The Visitors from the PRC to Taiwan 1987-1998**

Items	Number of visiting	Percentage
Academics	16078	48.95
Entertainment	8016	24.41
Media	2830	24.41
Supervisor of students	2352	7.16
Students	1103	3.36
Sport	1070	3.62
Technological expertise	87	0.27
Traditional art	19	0.06
Heritage personnel	366	1.11
Total	32846	100

Source: Jang (1999: 316)



Source: Jang (1999:314)

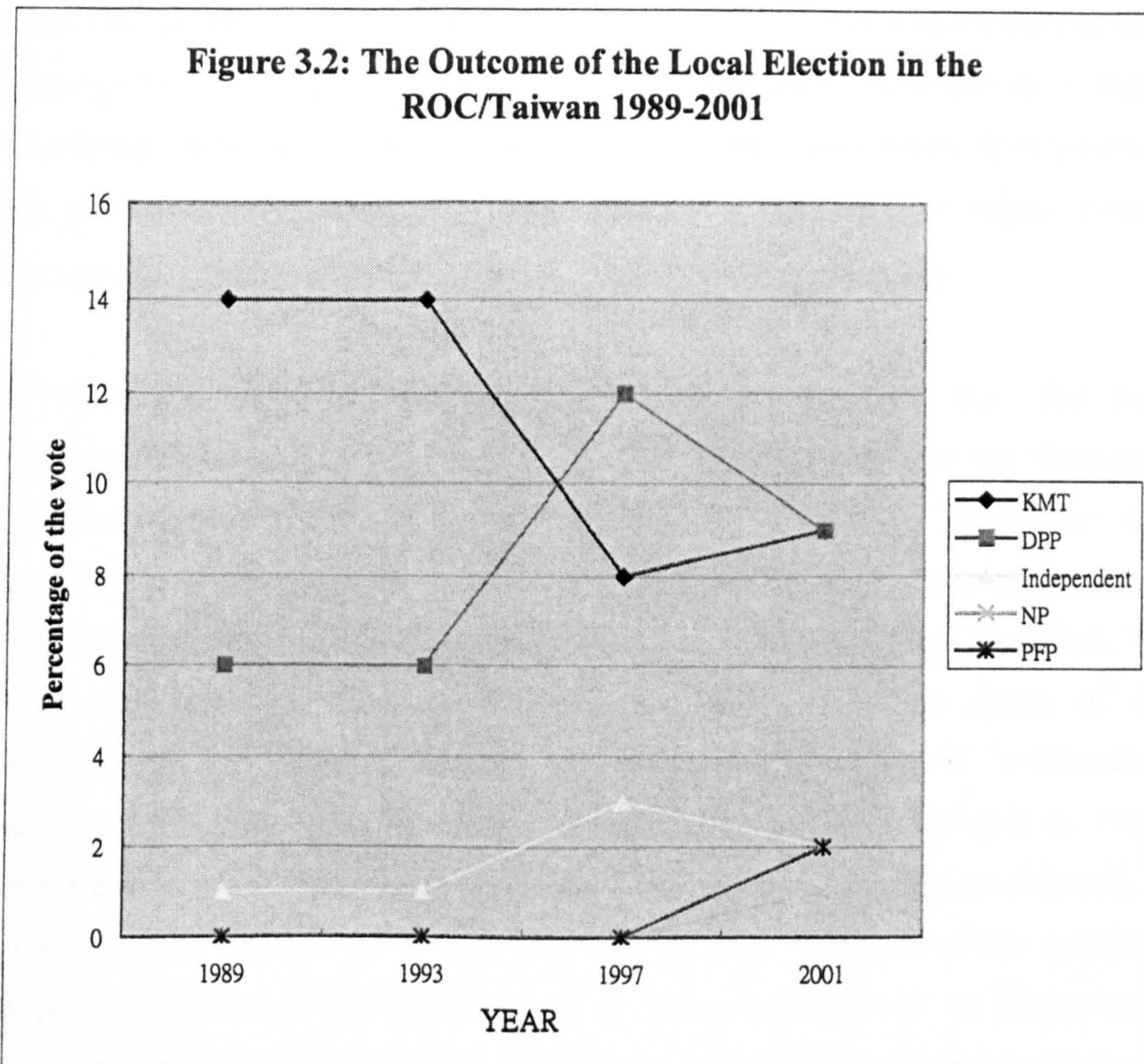
President Lee Teng-huei became president on January 13<sup>th</sup>, 1988 following the death of President Chiang Ching-Kuo; in May 1991, and was inaugurated as the eighth president of the ROC. President Lee continued constitutional reform, announced the termination of the 'Period of Mobilisation for Suppression of the Communist Rebellion', completed the two-stage constitutional amendment process, reconstructed the National Assembly, and actively promoted party politics. Lee, as a leader of Taiwanese origin, was also able to help to overcome some of the perception of KMT as a 'Mainlander' party (Huang, 1997).

As the economy grew, the Taiwanese people became more concerned with political matters. For the first time, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), proclaimed the Declaration of National Affairs and, published the *Formosa Magazine* in order to publicise its political ideals and beliefs. Subsequently, in December 1980, the Kaohsiung Social Movement exploded onto the scene in Kaohsiung, southern Taiwan. Over this period, with the upgrading of education experience of the population and increasing communication, the citizenry in Taiwan by degrees formalised its self-consciousness and a large number of social

movements began to emerge in mid-1981 (Huang, 1997).

Following pressure from these social movements, ROC/Taiwan has been through a series of changes and reforms since 1986. For example, in early 1986, the KMT announced the formation of a twelve-member team to communicate with the 'opposition' DPP; in June 1986 KMT then established a reform team to propose effective suggestions; and in September, the opposition party became the DPP, the country's first official opposition party. Then, in October the government removed martial law and created the 'National Security Law'. In addition, the ban on political parties was removed, family visits to the mainland were allowed, and the publication of new newspapers appeared in 1988.

The DPP achieved political victories over two decades at different levels. The result can be seen in the following elections: in 1993, in the city and county magistrate elections, the KMT received less than one-half of the popular votes for the first time in history, while the DPP made inroads and achieved 41% of the popular vote. In 1994 the DPP's candidate, Chen Shui-Bian captured 43.6% in winning the election for Taipei's mayor, while the KMT's candidate was placed a distant third with 25.8%. In 1997, the DPP defeated the KMT in local elections for county magistrates and municipal mayors, taking 12 seats to the KMT's 8 and winning 43% of the popular vote compared to the KMT's 42% (DPP Charter, [www.dpp.org.tw](http://www.dpp.org.tw), 2002). This is illustrated in figure 3.2.



Source: DPP (2003)

As Mok (2000) notes, before the mid-1980s, central government controlled the media:

...Political parties and mass media speaking against the Kuomintang were banned and political dissidents were arrested before the revocation of the martial law in 1987. (Tsai, 1996; quoted in Mok, 2000:641.)

However, in 1994 the Legislative Yuan passed a bill which provided municipal and provincial local autonomy. Accordingly, the power of mayors in Taipei and Kaohsiung City and the Taiwan governor symbolised a huge advance in local self-government. In addition, the National Assembly was reconstructed at the end of 1991 when the second central parliamentary election was staged. At the same



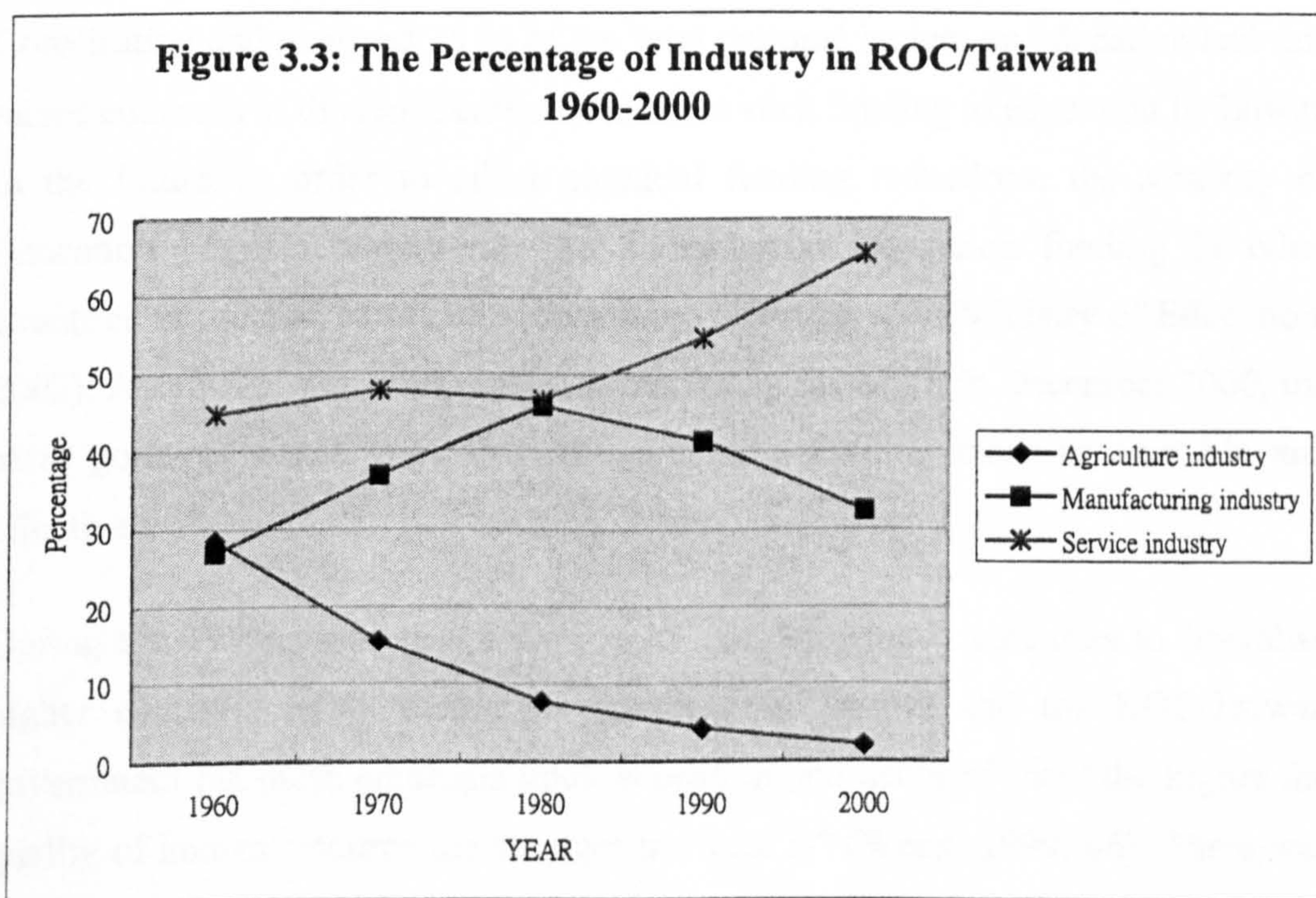
time, the first representatives were announced by the 'Council of Grand Justices' (Huang, 1997). The key moment for ROC/Taiwan in its evolution to a liberal democratic state was the DPP election victory at central government level in 2000, the creation of a third democratic party-The People First Party, in Taipei. Taiwan represented a further advance toward state plurality and democracy.

In 1979, the 'Economy Establishment Committee' launched the 'Ten Item Economic Development Plan' in 1981, the government established the 'Strategic-Oriented Industry' plan which included the areas of engineering, information, and automation, to develop high-tech industries to attain the goal of reducing energy-consumption, lower pollution, and to improve technology skills. Therefore, the 'Hsin-chu Scientific Industrial District' can be seen as the origin of the improvement of industrial sectors and became known as the 'Information Kingdom'. In 1984 the 'Off-Taiwan Trading Centre' was founded in 1989, liberalisation of both exchange rates and bank interest rates was established; in 1991, the first new banks were established (Huang, 1997). All these measures were implemented as advertisement for Taiwan's reputation as an international financial centre. Despite successes in the economy, issues centering on social disorder led to the 'Six-Year National Development Plan' in order to promote living standards (Chen, 1996). Such rapid political, economic and social reform has also resulted in a shape decline in the dominant ruling class, the weakening of the working class base, threats to the ecological environment, and rising wages.

Following the end of martial law in 1987, the KMT government's efforts to create a more liberal media environment were also more visible. The promotion of a free and diverse media environment is a symbolic representation of a liberal democratic society. However, "owing to the structure of the market and ownership patterns, the KMT government maintained a powerful influence over television and major newspapers" (Rawnsley, 1998:106) and while this reduced innovation in the traditional media, structural constraint, new media, in particular, cable television and talk radio emerged as important symbols of a newly vibrant

Taiwanese society.

The KMT government launched a number of land and economic reforms and has implemented policies since the 1970s. This transformed ROC/Taiwan from a country based on agricultural industry, to a manufacturing industry and subsequently to a service-based industry in the 1990s (see figure 3.3). The most dramatic changes concerned the percentage of people working in the service sector, increasing from 44.9% in 1960 to 65.53% in 2000. This is illustrated in figure 3.3.



Source: Department of Statistics, Statistical Yearbook of ROC (2001:179)

In terms of education, the Republic of China, allocates a substantial share of national expenditure for educational purposes. According to Article 164 of the 'Constitution of the Republic of China', the state exceeded investment of US\$ 17.1 billion, or about 5.5 percent of the GNP by 2001 (Ministry of Education, 2002).

The emphasis put upon education is clear in the following statement:

Expending of educational programmes, scientific studies and cultural services shall not be, in respect of the Central Government, less than 15 percent of the total national budget; in respect of each municipality or hsien, less than 35 percent of the total municipal or hsien budget. Educational and cultural foundations established in accordance with law shall, together with their property, be protected. (The Constitution of the Republic of China, 1996; quoted in Tien , 1992.)

However, in 1997, the National Assembly amended Article 164 of the Constitution and removed 15 % of the total national budget on education and this raised concerns of the requirement to allocate such funding to education in Taiwan in the future. In order to offset potential funding reductions, the Ministry of Education began research into the allocation of education funding in other countries in order to use funding in a more effective way (Ministry of Education, 2002). A new law was promulgated provided by the MOE in December 2000, the main goals of which were to make education funding more accountable and effective.

During the 1990s, there was a worldwide trend for many countries to liberalise higher education. This trend was mirrored in Taiwan and the ROC/Taiwan government put more emphasis upon education and declared that “the higher the quality of human resource the stronger the state is” (Weng, 1999: 46). There was thus a real push to establish more universities and colleges in the future to provide citizens with opportunities to benefit from higher education and to cultivate the professional talent needed for national development. The following eight strategies were introduced to promote education and training in higher education at a government level:

- (1) Developing a pluralistic and flexible mode of education;

- (2) Re-definition of junior high schools and higher education;
- (3) Renovation of curricula and teaching materials and the strengthening of information technology;
- (4) Rationlization of the distribution of educational resources and the encouragement for developing private education;
- (5) Establishment of adult education and the promotion of lifelong learning;
- (6) Setting up competency-based training, pre-employment and on-the job training, and second-skill training, as well as more training to the business sector;
- (7) Improvement of employment information services and the promotion of a system of skill certification by both foreign and domestic authorities; and
- (8) Fostering community culture development (Weng, 1999; Mok, 2000).

In part, these changes in the higher education sector aimed to equalise regional imbalances and provide a more equable distribution of education resources between public and private higher institutions. In addition, government promoted adolescent counselling in order to reduce the juvenile delinquency rate. The government assisted junior high graduates to receive higher education or technical and vocational education due to the regularisation of the teaching curricula (The Year Book of the Sixth ROC Education Conference, 1996). Moreover, the goal of implementing social education reform was aimed at individual life-long education. Hence, the important spheres of development for social education involved mapping out a life-long educational system in line with the 'Six-Year National Development Plan' in order to provide citizens with all kinds of opportunities of access to advanced courses and/or leisure activities.

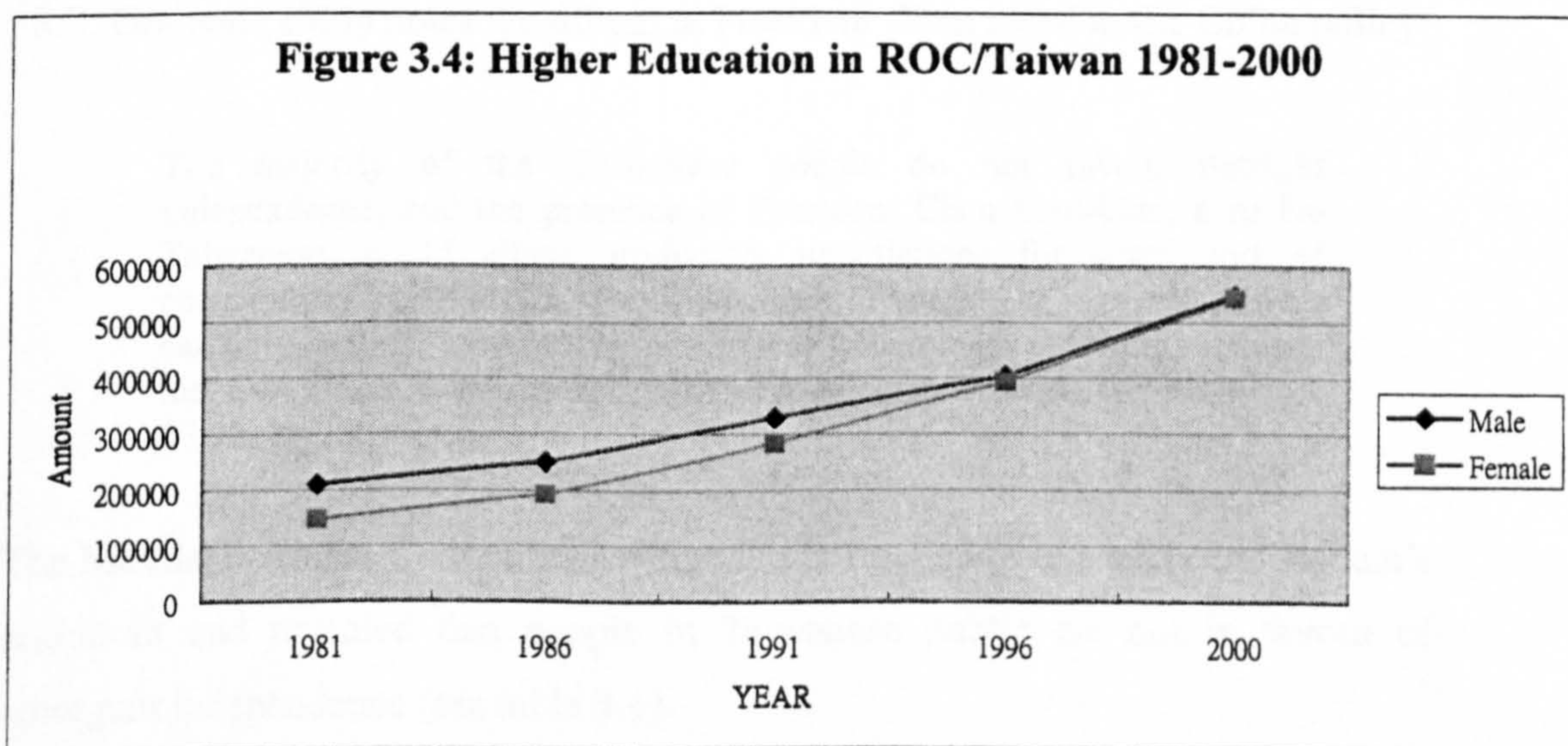
As discussed, ROC/Taiwan is in the midst of rapid political, economic and social cultural development. Due to the pace and extent of change, disruption in certain spheres is inevitable. The government has therefore sought to monitor global academic trends and adjust national education development plans, accordingly, in

order to nurture the talent needed for the ROC to embrace modern liberal democracy. Such change is evident in table 3.3 and figure 3.4.

**Table 3.3: The Development of Education in ROC/Taiwan 1979-1994**

Items/Year	1979	1982	1986	1989	1992	1994
Illiteracy rate (%)	12.9	10.9	9.7	8.4	7.2	6.2
% having only primary education	37.6	33.6	31.4	29.4	26.1	24.3
% having secondary education	40.1	44.2	46.9	49.4	51.1	52.5
% having university education	9.4	11.2	11.9	12.9	15.5	17

Source: Bourguignon et al. (2001:141)



Source: Department of Statistics, Statistical Yearbook of ROC (2001:249)

### 3.5 The Chen Shui-Bian Government (2000-2002)

From creation of the DPP in 1986, results at both local and central elections have significantly enhanced the Party's standing. For example, Chen Shui-bian won the Taipei City election in 1994 and the presidential election in 2000, and while the DPP has only been in existence for some 18 years, it has only been in power at central government level for two years. It is therefore rather more difficult to

generalize about the DPP's policy in central government because of its relatively short period in office.

Due to the enduring military threat from the PRC, Taiwan's foreign policy was a key concern for the new government. In particular, the DPP has insisted on recognition of Taiwan as an independent state. The victory of the opposition party may therefore increase the potential for a conflict between the two sides across the Taiwan Strait. Two concerns, in particular, are in respect of interest. Firstly, the DPP and PRC hold different political positions with the 'one China policy'. Secondly, the DPP President's mandate, with only 39.30% of the votes costs, win as not strong. In terms of the different political positions between the DPP and PRC, Graham (2001) notes the dilemma President Chen faced in the China policy:

The majority of the Taiwanese people do not favour outright independence, and the presence of President Chen Shui-bian, a native Taiwanese, could allow productive negotiations for some sort of compromise based around the framework of economic integration. This can only happen, however, if the Chinese government agrees to renounce the use of force in its desire to reunite Taiwan with the mainland. (Graham, 2001:212.)

The Mainland Affairs Council's investigation in relation to this supports Graham's argument and revealed that people in Taiwanese public are not in favour of emergent independence (see table 3.4).

**Table 3.4: Political Values to PRC 1997-2002**

Time /Intentions	Status quo now/ Decision later	Status quo forever	Status quo now/ Unification later	Status quo now/ Independence later	Unification ASAP*	Independence ASAP*
Nov/1997	42	18.5	15.7	6.7	3.8	9.5
Aug/1998	30.5	15.3	15.3	12.9	0.8	7.4
Aug/1999	39.6	12.2	16.3	13.8	2.4	14.3
Feb/2000	35.2	19.3	19	12.5	2.4	5.8
April/2000	30.2	21.1	10.2	14.6	2.7	3.9
May/2000	42.3	16.6	16.6	12.0	4.1	5.0
July/2001	32.1	21.5	21.5	10.2	3.3	6.4
Feb/2001	38.5	15.3	15.3	14.8	1.8	3.4
Dec/2002	33.3	21.5	10.3	10	4.2	5.9

Source: The Mainland Affairs Council (2003)

ASAP\*: As soon as possible

The DPP's victory in the election with 39.3% of the vote was significant in two important ways. Firstly, the percentage of the vote was not enough to dominate PRC policy in Taiwan. Secondly, the DPP, was the minority party in the Legislative Yuan with 29.42% of the vote in 2000; 33.38% in 2001, thus constraining policy implementation. The outcome of the 2000 election is illustrated in table 3.5.

**Table 3.5: The Outcome of the 2000 President Election**

Political Party	Candidates	Vote	Percentage
DPP	Chen, Shui-bian	4977737	39.30 %
Independent	Soong, Chu-yu (Former KMT Taiwan Provincial Governor)	4664972	36.84%
KMT	Lien, Chan	2925513	23.10%
NP	Lee, Au	16782	0.13%
Independent	Shiu Shin-liang (Former DPP Chairperson)	79429	0.63%

Source: The Ministry of Interior (2003)

The outcome of the election in 2000 might be said to limit the policy mandate of the winner. This is evident in President Chen's inaugural speech to the

international media. Chen (2000) addressed the relationship between both sides of the Taiwan Strait:

...It is time for the two sides to cast aside the hostilities left from old era...now is a new opportunity for the two sides to create an era of reconciliation together...The people across the Taiwan Strait share the same national, cultural, and historical background. While constructing conditions for cooperation through goodwill, we believe that the leaders on both sides possess enough wisdom and creativity to jointly deal with the question of a future 'one China'. (Chen, 2000, [www.president.gov.tw/1-president/index](http://www.president.gov.tw/1-president/index).)

In order to explore the DPP policy, it is also necessary to understand the implementation of the PRC policy from 2000 to 2002. According to the Executive Yuan (2001), the 'Plan of Policy Implementation' indicated the future direction of the party, promoting positive and peaceful tasks, a stable mechanism for negotiation, and a pragmatic open door policy for interaction in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres.

In terms of foreign policy, however, the DPP government has emphasized efforts to join the UN and international intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations.

Based on national policy, Taiwan should make the best efforts to rejoin the United Nations...Particularly, through attending the governmental and non-governmental organizations in the international community... These can make Taiwan take responsibilities in the international community and promote for international friendship. (The ROC Executive Yuan, 2001, [www.gov.tw](http://www.gov.tw).)

In 1999 Taiwan experienced its largest earthquake since 1935, causing much damage over eight counties in the middle of Taiwan. "The death toll topped 21,000 with more than 8700 injured and a further 100,000 made homeless" (Rawnsley 2001:1). The tragedy left a number of challenges and responsibilities for the incoming DPP government. A policy for re-building this area is provided by the Executive-Yuan:



We should combine the public and private sectors in order to rebuild this area; integrate community in order to rebuild the spirit... Establish a security system of fire and earthquake in order to rebuild the confidence to deal with natural disasters. (The ROC Executive Yuan, 2001, [www.gov.tw](http://www.gov.tw).)

Since its establishment, the ROC government has gradually taken on much of the responsibility for social welfare due to “the influence of imported welfare concepts and to the advance of domestic government agencies and private organizations” (Chan and Yang, 2001:149). Welfare policies before the 1970s were based on the ‘Social Policies for the People’s Livelihood’ (Chan and Yang, 2001). As discussed, the end of Martial law in 1987 represented a milestone in the democratization of Taiwan and promoted social policy as well as electoral change. The DPP has emphasized social welfare issues not only in order to win votes, but also to maintain its political status and legitimacy.

In embracing links with the PRC in 1987, the KMT officially opened capital investment to PRC in 1991. Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore and Hong Kong, the ‘Tiger Economies of North East Asia’ competed at an international level for economic investment. Tarzi (1999) highlights the importance of foreign direct investment (FDI) in Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea and Singapore, thus, reducing local production costs by providing low cost opportunities for production thereby gaining access to new and promising markets through local access to new technologies (Tarzi, 1999:513).

However, while KMT clearly promoted economic development, the DPP opposition argued that the KMT government did not respond to social welfare concerns.

Taiwan’s social structure and functions have been seriously distorted because of the government’s inability to cope with many problems in the face of a transition period. The government has been unable to set up a social system required by modern society making it difficult for society to adjust to a new situation, more and more people have lost their sense of ethics, security and their connections with society. (The DPP Platform, 2002, [ddp.org.tw](http://ddp.org.tw).)

Thus the economic priorities of KMT contrasted (at least in terms of political rhetoric) with the mixed social economic priorities of the DPP.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has traced key changes and events in state policy in ROC/Taiwan in the post-war period (see table 3.6). The transformation of the country had a profound effect on the function, structure and culture of central government and on the provision of sport as we shall see in chapter 5. In 1949 the Chiang Kai-shek regime retreated to ROC/Taiwan and a military regime dominated the state at this time. Military elites influenced decision-making which included sports policy. The KMT regime transferred to Chiang Ching-Kuo in 1978 and at the end of the 1970s Taiwan began an economic development plan which resulted in an economic boom. By the end of the 1980s, the KMT government rescinded 'Martial Law', thus providing political opportunities for the opposition parties, such as DPP, as well as increased interaction with the PRC. In 1988, native President, Lee Teng-Hui was elected and initiated a number of political and economic reforms. President Lee, was the first President to be elected through the democratic process. In the 1990s and the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, ROC/Taiwan based on international business and/or investment and having membership of the WTO was operating globally; moreover, for the first time in over fifty years the KMT's power was to be challenged by a growing opposition party (the DPP) which was elected as the country's governing party in 2000. This review of the political economic and social analysis provides the essential context for the analysis of sports policy in chapters 5 to 8.

**Table 3.6: The Development of the Post-War ROC/Taiwan State**

Years	Items	
	Internal	External
1947	February 28 incident	
1949	KMT regime in Taiwan	
1950		Korean War ends
1954		Taiwan-USA Defence Pact
1958		Kinmen war (ROC-PRC War)
1965		Vietnam war begins
1966		The PRC Cultural Revolution
1968	Nine years compulsory education introduced in Taiwan	
1971		Expulsion of ROC/Taiwan from United Nations
1972		Formal links with Japan are cut
1974		International oil crisis
1975	The death of the President Chiang Kai-shek	Vietnam War ends
1976		Turmoil in the PRC
1977	Chung-li incident	
1979	Opposition Kaohsiung incident	Foreign relationship with USA are cut
1980		Interaction with PRC in Trade and business is sanctioned
1984		Chinese Taipei back to the Summer Olympic Games
1986	The DPP Created	Du-Pont environmental movement
1987	End of Martial Law	
1988	The death of the Chiang Ching- Kuo May 20 incident	
1989	Index of the Taiwan Stock Exchange market over 10000	Tian An-ming Square incident .
1990	The New Party created	Student social movement in Taipei
1991	Taiwan Independent into the DPP Charter	
1992		The KMT Secretary-general, Soong visits the U.S.
1993		Taiwan-PRC Talk in Singapore
1995		President Lee visits USA
1996	Lee first elected President	
1997	The National Council on Physical Fitness and Sport created	
1999	The 921 Earthquake	
2000	The DPP won President Campaign	Bush won the President campaign
2001	The DPP became the majority in parliament	Having membership of World Trade Organization

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

The preceding chapters reviewed the core concepts of the theory relevant to this study as well as the history and structure of the ROC/Taiwan state. These provided the framework of how to evaluate the ROC/Taiwan case and also raised the issue of how to adopt theoretical and methodological rationales to analyse the empirical data in the following chapters. The aim of this chapter, thus, is to link theoretical and epistemological positions to methods used. In so doing, it outlines key methodological issues and details the specific research methods and processes which underpin the empirical work. In seeking to evaluate the salient features of strategic relations in relation to aspects of sports policy in ROC/Taiwan, a qualitative approach is adopted. In effect, the three cases of interviews selected and evaluated and the analysis of government documents both by inductive and deductive approaches, seek to answer a number of research questions outlined in chapter one of the thesis. Similarly, the methods adopted in the analysis of the interviews from central government, national governing bodies of sport, and local government are discussed, including the criteria adopted in the selection of the institutions at different levels, issues of access and the sample selection of interviewees, the application of the methods and, finally, the analysis of data which employed the Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theorising (NUD\*IST) to help to categorize the data.

The methods adopted to generate answers to the research questions involve two stages. The first is an overview of the state in ROC/Taiwan. This helps the researcher to understand the structure and have an outline for the further

documentary analysis conducted. The evolution of the ROC/Taiwan state and the sports policies provides a detailed review of how development of policy over fifty years might be conceptualised. This inductive approach begins by dividing ROC/Taiwanese political history into four broad periods from 1949-2002 as a context for the review of materials. The usefulness or appropriateness of this periodisation is subsequently to be reviewed in the inductive analysis of materials and interviews. The second is a review of sports policy in relation to a wide range of aims and goals under the KMT and DPP governments. This incorporates an analysis of qualitative data derived from interviews with policy-makers and civil servants in central government, authorities in local government and key actors in National Governing Bodies of sport.

#### **4.2 Epistemological Position**

The study's epistemological assumptions draw on critical realist thinking and provide views which differ from positivist and relativist standpoints. Marsh (1999:13) argues that a) realists, like positivists and against relativists, argue that the world exists independently of our knowledge of it; b) to the realist, unlike the positivist, there are deep structures which cannot be directly observed; c) realists, unlike relativists but like positivists, argue that there is a necessity in world-objects or structures which have causal powers; we can thus make causal statements; d) while social phenomena exist independently of our interpretation, or discursive construction, of them, nevertheless that discursive construction affects outcomes. For this reason, structures do not determine outcomes. In short, rather they constrain and facilitate the outcome; social science involves the study of reflexive agents who are capable of constructing, deconstructing and reconstructing such structures.

Chapter two reviewed the three principal types of theory of the state and argued that the strategic relations approach offered an appropriate approach for evaluating the ROC/Taiwan case. In particular strategic relations thinking implies that the outcomes of interactions within the state and between state

institutions and civil society are contingent (that is, outcomes of social action were not determined in any functionalist sense). In addition, that individual or group actors or agencies can affect outcomes; critically outcomes are enabled or constrained by the structural contexts where individual action occurs; and, the outcomes of actions will reinforce or modify such structures. This has clear implications for the study strategy as this involved an evaluating of agents' explanations of their actions, their perceptions of the impact (enabling or constraining) of structural contexts, an analysis of structural contexts, and/or analysis of the structural context from an external view point (cf. Marsh, 1999; Hay, 2002).

### **4.3 Methodological Implication**

Given that little work has been undertaken in the analysis of sports policy in the ROC/Taiwan context, research study may be described as exploratory, and thus addressing research questions, rather than, for example, a formal process of hypothesis testing. Key themes to be addressed include: a) the relationship between policy goals and the political values of the principal political actors; b) the significance of the changing nature of the economic and social structure within which sports policy goals are constructed and implemented; and c) the significance of national, local, and transnational influences and factors for sports policy. Thus, analysis of both structure and individual agents are considered as essential for the analysis of policy processes and outcomes and, therefore, policy developments are regarded as the result of the relations between economic, cultural and/or political contexts and individual or collective actors. In addition, the limits of social action result in part from the individuals' position within the structural framework and from the opportunities provided by the structure, as well as from individual intentions and abilities. The following section is going to explore the methods employed in this research, which will incorporate both structure and agency oriented analysis.

#### 4.4 Validity of Method and Reliability of Data

A method may be valid if it is consistent with an adequate theoretical approach. In this respect, for example, from the perspective of strategic relations theory, the investigation of actors' perceptions of influences on policy is valid, given that the individuals' interpretation is crucial for understanding how and why specific policies have been pursued. Validity of method may also refer to the relationship between the method of measurement and the concept, which it is claimed to measure (Bryman, 1989). These issues of operational validity will be addressed in the section concerning the analysis of interview data.

Gathering of data in ROC/Taiwan has, firstly, drawn on government archives and documents of parliamentary debates regarding sports policy, and primary data on information derived from interviews. Secondary data provide aspects of the structural picture of sport development in ROC/Taiwan. Actors from the political system or government employees' accounts, secondary policy documents, and newspaper articles, are mainly concerned with policy outcomes. In other words they provide one or more descriptions of 'what actually happened' in Taiwan sports development. Obtaining primary data from interviews with key actors in the formulation and implementation of sports policy in Taiwan provides a useful check against which 'official' statements may be evaluated.

Interviews mainly focused on the relations between actual policy outcomes, the goals of individuals and groups, and the struggles occurring within the political structure. Through interviewing key individuals, the how and why of decision-making and/or non-decision making, the reasons for government activity and/or inactivity in the sports field, as well as the individual's position within, and/or exclusion from the policy process, were the main issues considered. The two-stage research design was not used simply as a method of 'triangulation', at least in the sense of using one part of the study simply to check the accuracy of the other part. Secondary data not only provide a picture of the structure of sports policy in ROC/Taiwan but also aids examination of individual

actors' claims. Primary data from interviews provided respondents' explanations or perceptions of the structural configuration of power and resources, and thus served the need for uncovering relations, struggles, and compromises within the structure.

Reliability of data, on the other hand, refers to the consistency of a measure. It is taken to imply the extent to which a measurement procedure produces the same results however and whenever it is conducted (Kirk and Miller, 1986). In other words, a method produces reliable data when the repetition of the same procedures produces the same answers irrespective of the investigator (Briggs, 1986). According to Shipman (1988), reliability in social research can rarely be completely achieved, because the interaction between the researcher and his/her social environment cannot be fully controlled. In addition, though reliability of data may be regarded as indicated, as above, there should also be awareness of the fact that all events are unique, that is non-replicable. As is apparent, reliability of interview data is in principle impossible to obtain, since the interviews cannot be repeated exactly. In deciding therefore the level of reliability in this study, what was of critical importance was not so much whether other interviewers would have obtained the same data, but rather whether the method used for obtaining the data was reasonable, in other words, whether the questions asked were appropriate to the obtaining of frank and open responses, or whether issues of researcher bias were dealt with. In addition, reliability of data is enhanced by considering that, what was significant in the interviews was the individuals' perceptions of what happened, and not 'what actually happened'. In cases, for instance, where an interviewee claims that 'y' has happened, while all other interviewees and the government reports suggest that 'y' has not happened, the researcher may conclude that 'y' has not happened. This however, does not necessarily mean that the respondent has provided unreliable data since his/her perception is that 'y' has happened. It may be said that the data provided are not reliable when respondents' explanations are inconsistent over time, or when the respondent seeks to mislead the interviewer.



The problem of reliability in the course of the present study will be dealt with in more detail later in this chapter, where the way interviews have been conducted will be analysed. At this point it is sufficient to point out that reliability of data, in terms of obtaining frank and honest responses was partly secured by the researcher by stressing the 'scientific' interest of the study, and also the fact that the thesis produced would not be a public document. On the other hand, it could be said that one aspect of reliability of the method of data collection had been secured through gathering of data both from secondary sources and interviews (triangulation). This aspect concerned reliability in relation to 'factual' accuracy, in terms of certain key events, since triangulation in respect of people's perceptions simply cannot be obtained.

The two-stage research design was also intended, apart from enhancing validity of method, to be used as a method of triangulation. Miles and Huberman (1994) provided the distinction between triangulation by data source, by method (the use of multiple methods to study a single problem such as observation and interviews, or the comparison of data collected through some kind of qualitative methods with data collected through some kind of quantitative methods), by researcher (investigator A, B, etc.), and triangulation by theory (the use of multiple perspectives to interpret a single set of data).

In effect, triangulation is a way to approach inquiry by investigating multiple instances from different sources, by using different methods, and by crosschecking findings with others they need to be crosschecked. In this study, triangulation by data source as well as by method was employed. This implies, according to Patton (1990), a crosschecking of information derived at different times and by different sources within qualitative research. It means validating information, which was derived from interviews, by checking accounts, documents and other written evidence that can provide the basis for evaluating interviewees' claims. Thus, interviewees' claims of policy outcomes can be crosschecked with the picture of what 'has happened' as indicated by the records. This is not to imply, however, that interviews are merely an explanation device.

In some cases, interviews may complete the structural picture, or provide more accurate sources of information than secondary data and inform the way certain policy outcomes were actually achieved. Furthermore, the selection of interviewees, which included individuals from different political backgrounds and positions, and also from different levels within the sports structure, was another measure for evaluating the reliability of interviewees' responses.

#### **4.5 Data Access, Interviews and Sample Selection**

In the course of data collection, the fieldwork is approached without being constrained by predetermined categories of analysis, which in turn enhances the depth, openness and detail of the qualitative inquiry. Qualitative methods produce more detailed information about a much smaller number of cases which, in effect, increases the understanding of the particular cases and situations under study but reduces the researcher's ability to draw general conclusions (Patton, 1990). Consequently, conclusions in this study can only be limited to those situations, time periods, persons, context, and purposes for which the data were applicable. Qualitative methods consist of three principal kinds of data collection as identified by Patton (1990): in depth open-ended interviews; direct observation; and written documents. The data from interviews consist of direct quotations from people's activities, behaviours, actions, and the full range of interpersonal interactions and organisational processes that are part of observable human experience. Document analysis in qualitative inquiry yields experts' quotations, or entire passages from organisational, clinical, or programme records; personal diaries; and open-ended responses to questionnaires and surveys (Patton, 1990:10). The documents analysed in the study mainly included central and local government documents. This is illustrated in table 4.1 and the government's principle, guidelines and regulations for sports promotion are illustrated in table 4.2.

**Table 4.1: The Main Sources of Government Documentary Evidence**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Publisher</b>	<b>Content</b>
1974	DPE	Report of the DPE Policy Implementation
1975	DPE	Report of the DPE Policy Implementation
1976	DPE	Report of the DPE Policy Implementation
1977	DPE	Report of the DPE Policy Implementation
1978	DPE	Report of the DPE Policy Implementation
1978	DPE	The Annual Report for 1978-1982
1979	DPE	Active Sport for All Plan
1980	DPE	Report for Establishing the DPE
1986	DPE	Active Sport for All Plan
1989	DPE	National Medium-term Sport promotion Plan
1990	DPE	National Six-Year Establishment Plan
1991	DPE	Annual Budget Report of the DPE
1992	DPE	Annual Budget Report of the DPE
1993	DPE	Annual Budget Report of the DPE
1994	DPE	Annual Budget Report of the DPE
1995	DPE	Annual Budget Report of the DPE
1996	DPE	Annual Budget Report of the DPE
1998	NCPFS	Report of the Four Wheel-Drive Plan
1999	NCPFS	Report of the First Sports and PE Meeting
1999	NCPFS	Handbook of Evaluation for NGBs
1999	DPE	333 Physical Fitness medium-term Plan 1999-2003
2000	NCPFS	Acting sport to 21 <sup>st</sup> Century Plan
2001	NCPFS	White Paper of the NCPFS
2001	Kaohsiung County government	Annual Report of Sport
2001	Taipei City government	White Paper of Sport
2002	NCPFS	Programme of the Sports Participants Enlarging Plan
2002	NCPFS	Programme of the Active Sport into 21 <sup>st</sup> Century

**Table 4.2: Principle, Guideline and Regulation for Sports Promotion**

Date	Publisher	Content
1972	DPE	Sports Regulation
1983	DPE	The Chiang Kai-Shaik Sport elites Award
2002	NCPFS	Principle of the Evaluation to the NGBs
2002	NCPFS	Principle of the sport elite carrier development
2000	NCPFS	National Sport elite award
2000	NCPFS	Principle of the national sport events
2002	NCPFS	Sports elites for army service
2001	NCPFS	Guideline of the award for sport elite coach
2001	NCPFS	Principle of doping
2001	NCPFS	Principle of international interaction
1998	NCPFS	Regulation of the ROC-PRC sports interaction
2001	NCPFS	Guideline of the volunteer to sport promotion
2001	NCPFS	Principle of the Mountain Climbing Certification
2002	NCPFS	Sports Funding Association
2001	NCPFS	Guideline for Fitness Instructor
2001	NCPFS	Principle for Aboriginal Sport Events
2001	Taipei City Government	Principle for Promoting sport in Taipei
2001	Taipei County Government	Principle for Promoting sport in Taipei County government
2001	Chuang-hua County Government	Principle for Promoting sport in Chuang-hua county government
2001	Kaohsiung City Government	Principle for Promoting sport in Kaohsiung City Government
2001	Kaohsiung County Government	Principle for Promoting sport in Kaohsiung County Government
2001	NCPFS	Principle for Promoting sport in
2003	NCPFS	Sports Regulation (reversed)

#### 4.5.2 Interview and Sample Selection

Since the focus of the interviews was on the experiences of particular key actors in Taiwan sport policy, the idea of working through a structured, predetermined list of questions similar for each person was rejected in favour of a list of key issues to be explored with each interviewee, employing questions in a sequence

meaningful to them. The aim of this kind of interview (semi-structured) is to capture people's perception and interpretations of a particular situation. At the end of the interview, the researcher will explore the interviewees' perception or explanation of:

- a) the principal sports policy goals of their period in office and related information.
- b) the rationales for achieving those goals.
- c) whether there were differences between groups/ individuals in terms of policy goals.
- d) success or failure in achieving policy goals?
- e) who the influential individuals/groups were in sports policy process?
- f) how influence was exercised?
- g) who was excluded from the decision-making?

This kind of interview is well suited when direct comparability of responses is not essential but rather depth of understanding is at the centre of inquiry (Bryman, 1989). Semi-structured interviews, or what Frankfort and Nachmias (1992) term non-schedule-structured or focused interviews have four main characteristics: a) the interviewees are persons who have been involved in a particular experience; b) the interview refers to situations that have been already analysed; c) topics related to the research hypotheses (in our case research questions) have been specified in advance and; d) what is important is the respondents' experience of the situations under investigation. Denzin (1978) attaches one more feature to the characteristics of a semi-structured interview (which he calls the 'non-schedule standardised interview'), which refers to the sequence of questions. According to Denzin in 'non-schedule standardised' interviews, question sequence will depend on the respondent's readiness and willingness to take up a topic at a given time in the interview.

Selection of interviewees for the present study was based on a number of criteria. In terms of central government, all available Directors of DPE and Chairperson of NCPFS were approached. The local government sample is divided into two sections. Firstly, two key local sport authorities were selected under the KMT

and the DPP control respectively. Secondly, the main municipal city and county were also included. Thirdly, criteria for choosing key actors in the NGBs were two fold: i) four associations which gained gold medals in Asian Game were selected; ii) two associations that have subsidies were selected (see table 4.3).

**Table 4.3: Interviewees of the Research**

Central Government Level	
Names	Education
Chang-Chi Tsai	Master (Japan)
Ching-Man Chang	Ph. D (USA)
Iao-Huei Chien	Ph. D (USA)
Jen-Yee Wu	Ph. D (Taiwan)
I- Shung Shu	Ph. D (Japan)
Local Government Level	
	Political Party
Taipei	KMT
Taipei Country	DPP
Chunghua County	KMT
Kaohsiung County	DPP
Kaohsiung City	DPP
National Governing Bodies of Sport	
	Position
Track & Field	Secretary-General
Badminton	Deputy Secretary-General
Table tennis	Deputy Secretary-General
Bowling	Chairman
Snooker	Secretary-General
Tai-Chi	Deputy Secretary-General
The Others	
Key Actors in the NCPFS	Director of Sport for All
	Director of Research and Academics
	Section authority in the Department of Elite Sport
Local County Stadium	
	Taipei County
	Chung-hua County

The sampling strategy was aimed at contributing to the development of a sound theoretical analysis, rather than producing a representative sample of the population. According to Miles and Huberman (1994), "qualitative samples tend to be purposive, rather than random" (Miles and Huberman, 1994:27). As Bryman (2001) argues, "the qualitative researcher should give less attention to the need to meet statistical sampling criteria in assessing the adequacy of a

sample; rather the researcher should be much more concerned with the issue of whether the sample conforms to the investigator's emerging theoretical framework" (Bryman, 1998:117). The sampling strategy derived from the initial objective of the study, namely to investigate a specific context, and from the fact that social processes such as those associated with the development of sports policy, have a coherence that cannot be adequately approached by findings from a random sampling. For Patton (1990), the advantage of purposive sampling lies in selecting cases from which the researcher can derive in-depth information about issues of central importance to the purpose of the study. The interviewees were individuals who had certain access to information and knowledge, derived from their formal position in an organisation or their familiarity with the situation under question. They were also representative of different levels of the sports structures. As such, informants' positions ranged from central government to local government level, from politicians (from the two major political parties of KMT and DPP) to civil servants.

A selection of individuals from an extensive range of positions and political values not only provided a broader picture of sports policy; but also served as a cross-checking of information gathered from different sources and thus, in some respects, as a means for increasing reliability, as discussed earlier. In addition, it has to be noted that sampling decisions were in direct relation to the progress of fieldwork, in the sense that they were informed by the types of experiences and individuals that had already been included in the sample, and also by the gaps needed to be filled in order for the analysis to be progressed. But in identifying the gaps, the research was guided by considerations about what was needed to support or reject the argument, rather than statistical measures about the characteristics of the interviewees in relation to the general population.

Johnson (1990) has outlined five criteria on which to base the selection of the 'ideal' informant. The first and second criteria relate to the position of informants, and knowledge they possess as a result of their respective roles. The remaining three concern abilities of informants, including such things as willingness to

communicate or co-operate, ability to communicate and impartiality. However, respondents' ability to communicate and frankness were features that could not be checked in advance and only willingness to co-operate was considered as essential. On the other hand, interviewees' impartiality was beyond the scope of this study, since 'partiality' was one of the themes that the study wished to investigate. Therefore, this criterion is replaced by that of the level of truthfulness/frankness of the interviewees.

Empirical research involved interviews with sports policy actors at all levels in Taiwan. At central government level, eight interviews were conducted with the Minister of Sport, Directors of Physical Education Department, and government employees, who were responsible for sports policy in ROC/Taiwan. At national level, case studies included six governing bodies of sport and interviews with chairmen or general secretaries or deputy secretaries of their board. At local government level, case studies with six municipalities aimed at providing information on the role of local government in sport from two different parties, the impact of central government developments and several other factors on local sports policy, and the response of local government to those forces. Preliminary interviews were conducted only with central government actors, and their evaluation afforded the opportunity to test the adequacy of the interview schedule as a tool for eliciting credible information in later interviews.

#### **4.5.3 Interview Techniques and Interview Schedule Design**

In this study a preliminary contact with the interviewees, through formal letters or by telephone, provided the individuals with information about the nature and aims of the study, and the reasons for conducting an interview with them. In the following contacts, a list of topics to discuss in the interview was provided in advance. Finally, a convenient time and place both for the interviewee and the researcher were arranged (see table 4.4). During those contacts the researcher informed the interviewees about his intention to use a tape recorder. However, tape recording proved unsuitable for research on perceptions regarding politics in



Chinese society. Most of the interviewees informed the researcher that it would be better to reach the desired outcome during the interview if the researcher did not record. Thus the researcher decided to interview without recording. Instead, the researcher wrote down the details of respondents during and immediately after interview. It can be difficult to record the details of the interview fully in writing, but it is easier to approach the whole picture from the interviewee. Recording an interview can have negative consequences. In particular, it is clear that it would have inhibited frank discussion and thus impinged upon the reliability of information. In an attempt to overcome this problem interviewees were informed that the interview was conducted as part of 'scientific' research and reassured that, should they wish it, their anonymity throughout the inquiry and in any subsequent publications would be preserved.

During the interview two major points were given particular attention; i) the researcher tried to avoid creating the impression that what was occurring was a cross-examination, checking reality or intelligence in policy methods and, ii) questions that were misunderstood were repeated and clarified. In deciding the order of issues to be addressed, a guide provided by Stone (1984) was followed. As such, the opening questions led the respondent to realize what the nature of the study was, while questions of a personal nature were included in the final part of the interview. In addition, although the wording of questions varied, care was taken to ensure that the interviewers' own position on the issue under discussion was not revealed. At this point however, it should be noted that, as Oppenheim (1992) observes, even the most experienced interviewers might occasionally lapse into leading questions under the stress of a difficult in depth interview. In some instances, it is too easy for the interviewer to ask questions that make respondents aware of what may be expected of them. In addition to avoid leading questions, a sensible order of questions was kept on each topic beginning with the most general question and gradually narrowing down to more specific questions, though once again the order of the questions was dictated by the early responses and the need to retain interest.

**Table 4.4: Time Schedule for the Interviews 2001**

Date	Actors	Response	Place
3rd March	Mayor of Taipei Municipal government	Busy	
6 <sup>th</sup> March	Mayor of Kaohsiung Municipal government	Busy	
10 <sup>th</sup> March	IOC Member	Very positive	Office
18 <sup>th</sup> March	Chao, Director of DPE (1989-1991) Sports Minister 1997-2000	Refused	
18 <sup>th</sup> March	Wu, Director of DPE (1998-2003)	Very positive	Office
19 <sup>th</sup> March	Chien, Director of DPE(1991-1996)	Very helpful	Home
20 <sup>th</sup> March	Chang, Director of DPE (1987-1989)	Very positive	Taiwan Normal University
27 <sup>th</sup> March	Badminton Association	Very helpful	Office
29 <sup>th</sup> March	Sport Minister (2000-2002)	Helpful	Office
29 <sup>th</sup> March	Snooker Association	Very positive	Home
30 <sup>th</sup> March	Weight-lifting Association	Refused	
2 <sup>nd</sup> April	Sport Authorities (Chuang-hua County)	Very positive	Office
2 <sup>nd</sup> April	Director of Chuang-hua County stadium	Very positive	Office
9 <sup>th</sup> April	Track & Field Association	Very positive	Office
10 <sup>th</sup> April	Department of Elite Sport	Helpful	Office
11 <sup>th</sup> April	Sport Authorities (Taipei County government)	Helpful	Office
11 <sup>th</sup> April	Sport Authorities Taipei County	Helpful	Office
11 <sup>th</sup> April	Director of Taipei County stadium	Helpful	Office
18 <sup>th</sup> April	Tai-chi Association	Positive	Office
18 <sup>th</sup> April	Director of research and academic (NCPFS)	Helpful	Office
19 <sup>th</sup> April	Table Tennis Association	Helpful	Office
25 <sup>th</sup> May	Sport Authorities (Kaohsiung County government)	Helpful	Office
25 <sup>th</sup> April	Sport Authorities (Kaohsiung City government)	Positive	Restaurant
27 <sup>th</sup> April	Bowling Association	Helpful	Coffee Shop
28 <sup>th</sup> April	Director of DPE (1982-1986)	Very positive	Taiwan Sport College
4 <sup>th</sup> May	Director of Sport for All (NCPFS)	Helpful	Office

As Patton (1990) stresses, the basic feature of qualitative interviewing is to permit respondents to reply in their own way without imposing predetermined responses. Questions referring to sports policy issues were intended to reveal the respondents' perceptions of developments in the area of their concern. Questions were formed in a way, which was not too technical or complex. This was done for two main reasons; first, complex questions may cause misinterpretations and, second, people are, sometimes, reluctant to admit ignorance of an issue, which subsequently may undermine the reliability of information. In addition, the questions employed contained only one line of enquiry. Multiple questions are likely to create tension and confusion on the part of the person interviewed. This might result in the interviewee feeling uncomfortable, ignorant, confused, or hostile, which in turn might have a negative impact on the validity of information. Apart from unconsciously misleading the researcher, respondents are also particularly sensitive to the social and political implications of providing the desired information (Briggs, 1986). Many respondents seek to reply in socially desirable ways and present a positive image of them when answering questions (Bryman, 1989). However, ensuring anonymity of responses and crosschecking of information, in terms of internal consistency within the interview, were thought to be the most appropriate measures to overcome the problem of reliability that might arise through misleading information.

## **4.6 Data Analysis**

### **4.6.1 Qualitative Documents**

Documents are one of the main resources available in this research. The main documentary data in this research are government archives regarding sport policy aims, goals and outcomes collected from 1973 to 2002 and parliamentary debates among policy-makers and politicians in the legislative-Yuan during the period 1984 to 2002. Document analysis refers to "an integrated and conceptually developed method, procedure, and technique for locating,

identifying retrieving, and analysing documents for their relevance, significance, and meaning" (Altheide, 1996:2). As May (1997) notes, documents "do not simply reflect the facts, but also construct social reality and versions of events" (May, 1997:164).

The process can be described in the following stages: a) deciding how to select which document the research needs; b) deciding which categories are going to be set up; c) trying to deduce categories and coding again; d) deciding the second level or order of categories; e) relating these second order categories to wider arguments. Evaluation and interpretation of documents are of major significance for the researcher and in a review of documents, questions about how to evaluate material are critical. Such issues can be grouped under four main headings: authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning (Macdonald and Tipton, 1993; Wellington, 2000; Bryman, 2001). The following section provides a brief review of each of these criteria.

Authenticity is concerned with the authorship of a document. Checking the relationship between authorship and meaning inside a document, attention must be paid to the reliability, completion and generality of the document. For deciding on the authenticity of a document, a number of questions must be asked: a) are there different versions of the original document available?; b) is there consistency of literary style, handwriting or typeface?; c) has the document been transcribed by many copyists?; d) has the document been circulated via someone with a material or intellectual interest in passing off the version given as the correct one?; e) does the version available derive from a reliable source? (Platt, 1981, quoted in Silverman, 1993:196).

Credibility refers to whether the document is free from error or distortion. Distortion may occur when it is a long time between the event and the account or when the account has been written by authors for their own intentions for example either to enhance their reputation or to please the readers or their contemporaries (Macdonald and Tipton, 1993). The documents collected and

employed in this research were officially gathered from government sources, both the DPE and the parliamentary library. Most of them are government reports presented by year, event, and specific items. However, credibility can be affected by the intention of the producer, for example, to cooperate with the ruling party's ideology or main policy. In order to explore this, such possibilities should lead researchers to find out who, why, when and for whom to produce the document. In this research, documents are one of the resources which provide the 'government view'. Perceptions from actors in agency will provide the context to examine the quality of the document.

Representation, referred to the issues of the material-gathered are represented all dimensions to be covered in the research. A researcher must verify that the material collected is representative of all agents involved and must identify and highlight any limitation. However, in this case documents could only reflect the views of their authors, broadly speaking these were government actors.

Finally, exploring the meaning of a document is usually seen on two levels: the surface of the literal meaning and the deeper meaning through interpretative understanding (MacDonald and Tipton, 1993:196). Literal meaning varies from communities based on different cultures and periods, this is a historian's concern. Sociologists on the other hand find it more interesting to look at the deeper meaning to grasp the author's intentions through particular techniques and definitions underlying the text or document. However, May (1997) suggests that the question of typicality depends on the aim of the research. For example, untypical documents may also be of interest (May, 1997:170).

## **4.6.2 Interviews**

### **4.6.2.1 The Format of the Interview Questions**

The preliminary interviews were sequentially formed: the short letter with basic demographic information, then interview questions in the three different levels

(see appendix 1). The interview questions, which were originally developed in English, were then translated into Chinese and translated back to English by the researcher. One expert knowing both English and Chinese had checked the wording of the Chinese interview questions. The wordings of the interview questions were modified accordingly. Before the Chinese version interview questions were utilised in the study, two key actors in the NCPFS and the NGBs were invited to read the interview questions to ensure the wording used in each item was appropriate and understandable for the participants. A convenient sample was further recruited to respond to the interview questions in order to estimate the time of completing the questions.

The remaining part of this chapter aims to provide a detailed account of the steps followed in the analysis of information gathered during the fieldwork. Data collection and analysis aim at identifying themes and constructing ideas. As Patton (1990) notes, there is not a precise point at which data collection ends and analysis begins. Ideas of possible analysis are likely to occur during the course of gathering data. At this point the researcher has to be careful, as Patton warns, not to allow those initial interpretations to distort additional data collection.

Analysis of qualitative data however, seems to be a highly problematic issue. Some scholars argue that the major problems derive from the nature of qualitative data, which are described as voluminous, unstructured and not suitably organised around specific categories (cf. Patton, 1990; Stone and Harris, 1984). This is also the case for quantitative data derived from large scale surveys, but those data are systematic and standardised, and the availability of standard statistical procedures and computer programmes for handling them frequently renders, or leads researchers to treat such data as non-problematic. In contrast, qualitative findings contain more detail, and are more variable in content; thus analysis becomes difficult because responses are neither systematic nor standardised. The challenge of qualitative inquiry, as identified by Patton then, is to make sense of large amounts of data, reduce the volume of information, identify significant patterns, and construct a framework for communicating what

the data reveal (Patton, 1990). There are only guidelines and procedural suggestions for analysing qualitative data, but guidelines are not rules. However, this does not mean that qualitative data analysis is a haphazard process, but rather that there are no ways of perfectly replicating a researcher's analytical thoughts and, as such, each analytical approach used in a qualitative study is unique. Therefore, the last part of the chapter outlines the guidelines followed for the analysis of data gathered in the course of this study.

There are two different operations that play a role in the analysis process: firstly, the detailed examination or identification of themes; and secondly, the determination of essential features of understanding or construction of ideas (Tesch, 1990). Some methodologists also view data analysis as consisting of two separate phases: data management and data interpretation. In practice, although they are considered as separate stages, they occur simultaneously in most instances.

Miles and Huberman (1994) suggest a three-stage analysis. The first stage is described as data reduction, which refers to the process of selecting, focusing and simplifying the data that appear in written-up field notes or transcripts. As suggested by Miles and Huberman data reduction is a form of analysis that sharpens, focuses and organises data in such a way that final conclusions can be drawn and verified. The second stage of analysis is data display, which aims at compressing, organising and displaying information in such a way that permits interpretation and conclusion drawing. Patton (1990) refers to this step as the description of data, which answers basic questions and should be carefully separated from interpretation. Interpretation "involves explaining the findings, answering 'why' questions, attaching significance to particular results, and putting patterns into an analytic framework" (Patton, 1990:375). The final part of analysis deals with the interpretation of data and involves conclusion drawing and verification. As noted earlier, a form of analysis is already apparent from the start of data collection. This usually takes the form of deciding what things mean, noting regularities, patterns, possible explanations and propositions. Conclusions

are vague at first and then become increasingly explicit and grounded.

Certainly, as Mason (1994) argues, deciding when someone is talking about a particular topic is often a matter of interpretation since people rarely use in everyday discourse the precise words that researchers have chosen to deal with the questions. As Ritchie and Spencer (1994) argue, familiarisation with the material as a whole is important, even where the researcher has been involved in all the data collection since, even in the later case, recollections of key issues and themes might be selective and partial. Therefore, by reading the interview transcripts, it was possible to list key ideas and recurrent themes. At this stage of analysis, both an overview of depth and diversity of the data were gained and the process of conceptualisation started. For Patton (1990), it is at this stage that an important decision has to be made. This decision concerns the way interview analysis will start; either with case analysis or cross-case analysis. Beginning with case analysis, which means writing a case study for each interviewee using all the information derived from each individual interview before proceeding with cross-case analysis, is appropriate where variations in individuals are the primary focus of the study.

Beginning with cross-case analysis, which means grouping together interviewees' responses to common questions, is used when a standardised open-ended interview is employed. However, it is not a decision of which strategy will be employed, since these two approaches are by no means mutually exclusive, but rather a decision of how to start the analysis. During the analysis of this study, beginning with a case study was thought to be appropriate since the major concern was variations of interviewees' responses on research questions. As such, for each interview conducted, a written case report was constructed from the raw case data. This form of analysis focused on gathering all key information that would be used in the final analysis into a comprehensive case report.

The purpose of the case analysis was to organise and classify data that would



facilitate searching and uncovering themes across interviews, and it was at this stage that cross-case analysis was employed. Tesch (1990) has identified four sources from which themes can be derived; the research questions and sub-questions, the research instrument(s), concepts or categories used by other authors in previous related studies, and the data themselves. However, because of the lack of any previous related study most of the themes were provided by the research questions (which constituted the research instrument) and were generated at the very beginning of interview questions. In exceptional cases, the data themselves provided themes that were not expected at the beginning of the study.

Having ensured that all information was included in the case analysis, cross-case analysis was conducted here. Consequently, cross-sectional analysis, looking at topics and themes across all data, was employed. It should be stressed however, that the effort to uncover themes through qualitative analysis requires careful considerations and judgments about what is significant and meaningful in the data. Significance of an observation during a qualitative inquiry is not decided by any statistical test but by the judgment of the qualitative analyst. As a consequence, the analyst may decide that something is not significant when in fact it is or, conversely, the analyst may attach increasing significance to a finding that is meaningless. Alternative explanations and themes were also considered during the course of data analysis. Closely related to alternative explanations was the search for negative cases, in other words instances that did not fit within the issues that had been identified. For instance, with reference to the present study, the data revealed that a major consideration for explaining state subsidies to different national governing bodies of sport was the bodies' political affiliation with the political party in office. However, this was not the case for every governing body studied. The fact that those cases contradicted the above argument gave a wider ground to its support, since it would be unrealistic to expect absolute agreement and uniformity in the course of human action and behaviour.

Having constructed a thematic framework, data were lifted from their original context and rearranged according to this framework. This process, referred to as charting, enables the analyst to build up a picture of the data as a whole, by considering the range of experiences for each particular issue or theme (Ritchie and Spencer, 1994). Charts therefore, were devised with headings and subheadings drawn from the thematic framework and the initial research questions. In the course of this analysis, several responses were entered for each key subject area. Description of the data was then considered to be at a satisfactory stage, and that led to the next step of analysis, namely interpretation of research findings.

Interpretation meant going beyond the descriptive data. It meant reviewing the charts, comparing and contrasting the interviewees' perceptions and experiences and searching for connections and explanations offered by the data themselves. According to Patton (1990) "interpretation means attaching significance to what was found, offering explanations, drawing conclusions, building linkages, and dealing with rival explanations and disconfirming cases as part of testing the validity of an interpretation" (Patton, 1990:423). Piecing together the overall picture of sports policy in ROC/Taiwan over the post-war period was not simply a question of aggregating patterns or searching for multiplicity of evidence, but rather it was a search for structure and dynamics revealed by key issues. However, it should be pointed out that reasonableness, in other words the existence of sufficient reasons to draw a certain conclusion from a given set of data, is one of the tests of reliability of analysis. The reader, therefore, has to make up his/her own mind on the basis of the arguments produced.

In conclusion, and following Patton (1990) that, "it is important to understand that ... the emphasis of qualitative analysis is on illumination, understanding, and extrapolation rather than casual determination, prediction, and generalisation" (Patton, 1990:424). In the light of the advantages as well as the problems and limitations of the methods used in the course of the study, an

analysis and discussion of the research findings are presented in the following chapter, which seeks to explain sports policy developments in ROC/Taiwan after 1973.

#### **4.7 Tool for Cataloging Data**

Computer-assisted qualitative data analysis has rapidly developed in qualitative methodology and it has created its own 'networking projects' conferences and discussion groups in the Internet. Several computer softwares have been created namely: ETHNOGRAPH, QUALPRO, TAP, MAX, WINMAX, NUD\*IST, ATLAS and many others (cf. Richards and Richards, 1994), but the most widely used in social research is Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theorising (NUD\*IST) (Kelle, 2000).

It is worth mentioning that understanding the meaning of texts cannot be performed with the help of computer software, but the computer assists in a variety of mechanical tasks which are involved in the analysis of textual material. The prime aim for the use of the NUD\*IST for the project was to assist the researcher with the management of the heterogeneous and fragmented data. Kelle (2000:285) points out that "computer software packages are tools to machine tasks of ordering and archiving texts, and represent for data administration archiving rather than tools for data analysis" however, Richards and Richards (1994) suggest that in addition to computer assistance in the management of data they also can be used in the discovery and management of unrecognised ideas and concepts, as well as the construction and exploration of explanatory links between that data and the emergent ideas to make fabrics of arguments and understanding around them.

Listed below are the basic features of the programme utilised in this project:

a) indexing system of documents and addresses of text passages which can be

used to retrieve indexed text segments.

- b) construction of electronic cross-references that can be used to go back and forth between text passages and other passages that are linked together.
- c) the storing of researcher's comments 'memos'
- d) features for defining linkage between index words
- e) the use of categories and filters that the search for texts segments can be restricted by certain limitations
- f) facilities for retrieval of texts segments with specified form relations to each other.
- g) facilities for retrieval of quantitative attributes of database

As Kelle (2000) note there is a danger of losing phenomena by predefining the codes: the analyst may start to work exclusively on his or her codes and forgets about the raw data. This kind of problem is more likely when the aim of research is to test certain hypothesis predefined, but in the approach that allows the code to emerge from the data is usually well defined in terms of the relation between a code and the original document as well as the social phenomenon.

Dealing with a massive amount of data, Kelle (2000) points out that there is a danger of software for textual data management being overwhelmed by the sheer volume of information that becomes available when using computer technology. The amount of time and effort required to prepare the data and enter them into the programme is not considered. Recruiting an individual to speed up the scanning process dealt with this problem. The time and money spent on this process was worth since the data can be revisited for future research projects as well as being available for the examiner for credibility evaluation.

The use of software programmes in qualitative research is also problematic in a sense that the researcher may not develop sufficient skill to utilise effectively most of the facilities that the programme offers (in this research NUD\*IST for example). This problem needs the researcher to dedicate enough time to learn to use the software to an appropriate level to achieve his/her own aims.

#### **4.8 The Limitations of the Research**

Since the KMT took control in central government for fifty years, clientelism was established in local government and interest groups (Wang, 1994). The research interviews were conducted after the opposition party took control for the first time in central government in 2000. It was apparent from the outset that the interviewees were uncomfortable about the prospect of having an interview tape-recorded. The more sensitive the policy issues under discussion, the more acute/serious this problem was. A decision was thus taken by the researcher not to tape the interviews. This facilitated freedom in discussion but limited recording capacity. This outcome reflects the specificity of the ROC/Taiwanese context. First, there is a culture of formality in a society with a Confucian motivation of respect for authority, which is difficult to break down. Second, the shift reflects the regency of the experience of an authoritarian government which was seen as an inhibiting factor respondents were relatively unused to the opportunity to speak freely). Policy actors had a tradition of 'talking consciously' about government activity.

#### **4.9 Conclusion**

This thesis has adopted a critical realist position. It has been argued that some phenomena, such as the actions of individuals, cannot always be deeply observed in an objective way and that the methods of the natural sciences are not appropriate to this research. The data collected were analysed using inductive content analysis, where concepts both emerged from the data and were predefined in the nature of the interview schedule. The results of the content analysis are used to structure the next four chapters (see table 4.5) in which the empirical findings are recounted. In these chapters and the conclusion, which follows, reference is made back to existing political and social theories to help interpret the findings and to explain sports policy in ROC/Taiwan.

**Table 4.5: The Writing Protocol and Structure for Chapters 5 to 8**

Strategic Relations Approach				
Chapters	Analysis aims	Structural focuses	Material for the study	Interviews
Chapter 5	To identify transition in sports policy development	Deriving five stages to categorise sports policy development	Government archives from both the DPE and NCPFS	Key actors' perception regarding policy implementation
Chapter 6	To explore political values in the sports system	Power struggles in different levels of government	Interviews / Parliamentary debates	Political actors' perceptions regarding sport policy
Chapter 7	To identify the nature of relations in sports system	Political affiliation to the NGBs Political changes and power struggle	Report of Assessment/ Special Reports/ Interviews	Political links Relations between elite sport and sport for all
Chapter 8	To explore power struggles between KMT and DPP at local government level	Political values Political changes and the relations of the DPE with NCPFS	Interview/ Funding reports/ Annual reports/ Newspapers	Key actors' perception of bidding the 2001 World Baseball Games and other key events

## **CHAPTER 5**

# **DEVELOPMENT OF THE SPORTS POLICY IN POSTWAR ROC/TAIWAN**

### **5.1 Introduction**

The aims of this chapter are i) to explain the nature of sports policy; and ii) to identify key features of its trajectory and/or policy transitions in its direction, as evidenced by secondary government sources. The main issues addressed in this chapter are intended to provide the grounds for formation of a strategy for interviews with key actors in sport in ROC/Taiwan, in a subsequent stage of the research. It is crucial to evaluate information for the analysis of sport policy before 1973. The Department of Physical Education was established in the Ministry of Education in 1973 and sports policy did not have a significant place on the central government agenda until a number of policy actors had struggled to achieve this. Thus an appreciation of the historical context is necessary for an understanding of sport policy in the post 1973 period. From analysis of primary resources, five main stages of sport policy in the ROC/Taiwan are outlined in this chapter and they are directly related to the four periods of general policy shift referred to above. In each section, there is discussion of: i) the relationship between sport and the state; ii) key strategies or shifts in sports policy; iii) the main aims or goals and programmes.

### **5.2 Sports Development in the Post-war Period 1945-1972**

Since separation from Mainland China in 1949, the KMT government has experienced a number of challenges. The government focused on the development of political stability and economic improvement in its early period and sport related policy was not a visible priority. As Teng (2000) noted “the KMT regime focused

on developing physical ability for preparing potential military actions against the PRC” (Teng, 2000:1). In terms of the initial sports administrative organization, the ROC Sports Association created a branch in Taiwan and proposed in June 1946 the principal purpose of the association as fostering physical abilities of the population.

...Why has the ROC failed to compete with foreign countries? Because our physical abilities are behind these of other countries...People in Taiwan are living in the front line of national defence of the ROC and have taken responsibility for protecting our country...Physical abilities is the root of this principle. (Taiwan New Life News, 1946: 5; quoted in Liang, 1993:46, translated by the author.)

International sporting successes came to Taiwan when C. K. Yang broke a decathlon world record in 1963 in the U. S. and when Taiwan won the ‘Youth World Baseball Championship’ in 1969 as well as when the Taiwanese female athlete, Ji who won first place in the 80 meter hurdles in the U.S. and Germany in 1970. At that time, however, Taiwan’s international position was undermined by exclusion from the UN in 1971 and it had the continuing military threat from the PRC. Thus, the KMT government sought to improve the public confidence of Taiwanese citizens, initiating a considerable number of national sports programmes.

Prior to 1968, the KMT regime had controlled Taiwanese society more or less directly through military rule. Government intervention in sport was not strong until the premier of the Cabinet asked the Ministry of Education to provide a programme on sport development in 1968. At this time, the main sports programme was given two directions: ‘Sport for All’ and ‘Elite Sport’. Sport policy in Taiwan has retained these goals from that period up to the present day. Former Director of the Department of Physical Education, Tsai (1994) highlighted this direction in the following.

Since the KMT government moved to Taiwan, significant physical education/sports policy set up by the central government was started in 1965



when the Taiwan provincial government announced the plan Development of National Physical Fitness. The main goals of this plan were focused on: i) improving administrative structure; ii) promoting sport into society, iii) developing PE teachers, sport elite development. The Executive-Yuan set up for the first time a policy for Physical Education and sports policy in 1968. The main focuses were both sport for all and elite sport development. (Tsai 1994:6, translated by the author.)

The former Director of Department of Physical Education, Chien (1994) highlighted this point and provided the initial stage of sport development in ROC/Taiwan.

Looking back to the physical education/sports development in our country, which has been adjusted with the changing political situation of the two, sides cross the Strait (Taiwan and Mainland China), the tendency of physical education to be used to support military readiness has changed. This turning point happened in 1968, and physical education/sports policy since then has tended to develop in the direction of competition and sport for all. (Chien, 1994:116, translated by the author.)

In 1968, C. K. Yang, the Taiwanese sports hero, was invited back to Taiwan to head track and field coaching for the 19<sup>th</sup> Olympic Games in Mexico. Yang was of the opinion that Taiwan's sports training facilities were seriously inadequate. He therefore wrote letters to all the newspapers and expressed the hope that a "One person, one dollar Campaign" would be started to raise the money necessary to build a modern stadium (The NCPFS, 2002).

Reflecting back on the 1960s, the Minister of Education, Yan (1970) claimed that establishing the DPE in the Ministry of Education was an important policy development. Prior to that, both the former Ministers of Education, Jung and Luo had struggled to promote the construction of the DPE during the 1960s and the early 1970s. In 1973, the Ministry of Education drafted a bill on sport and tried to persuade legislators to support the bill. Despite initial failure, and following

pressure from the public and the media, legislation was successfully enacted in 1973. The establishing of the DPE can be viewed, in part, as a product of the internal and external environment in Taiwan at that time. In terms of the internal environment, a number of influential individuals promoted the establishment of the DPE including the public sector actors and individuals such as, sports expert, Hsu for example. Hsu was the IOC member of the ROC until 1985 who successfully maintained the legal status of the NOC of the ROC/Taiwan as representing China in the IOC. Hsu argued the importance for the establishment of DPE in central government.

I personally do not know why many MPs disagree with the establishment of the DPE in central government. Rationally it is necessary to create the DPE in the Ministry of Education for our sports administration. (Hsu, IOC Member, reported in the Physical Education Quarterly, 1973:2, translated by the author.)

In response to the internal and external circumstances of the ROC/Taiwan's during the 1970s, and the pressures which were exerted by a variety of sport experts, the Department of Physical Education was established in the Ministry of Education. Meanwhile, local physical education authorities were created in the Taiwan provincial and local government in 1973. The political resistance to the promotion of the Department of Physical Education which was overcome understandably reflected the realities of the external threats from the situation in respect of Mainland China. Sport until this stage had understandably simply not been one of the central concerns of the KMT regime.

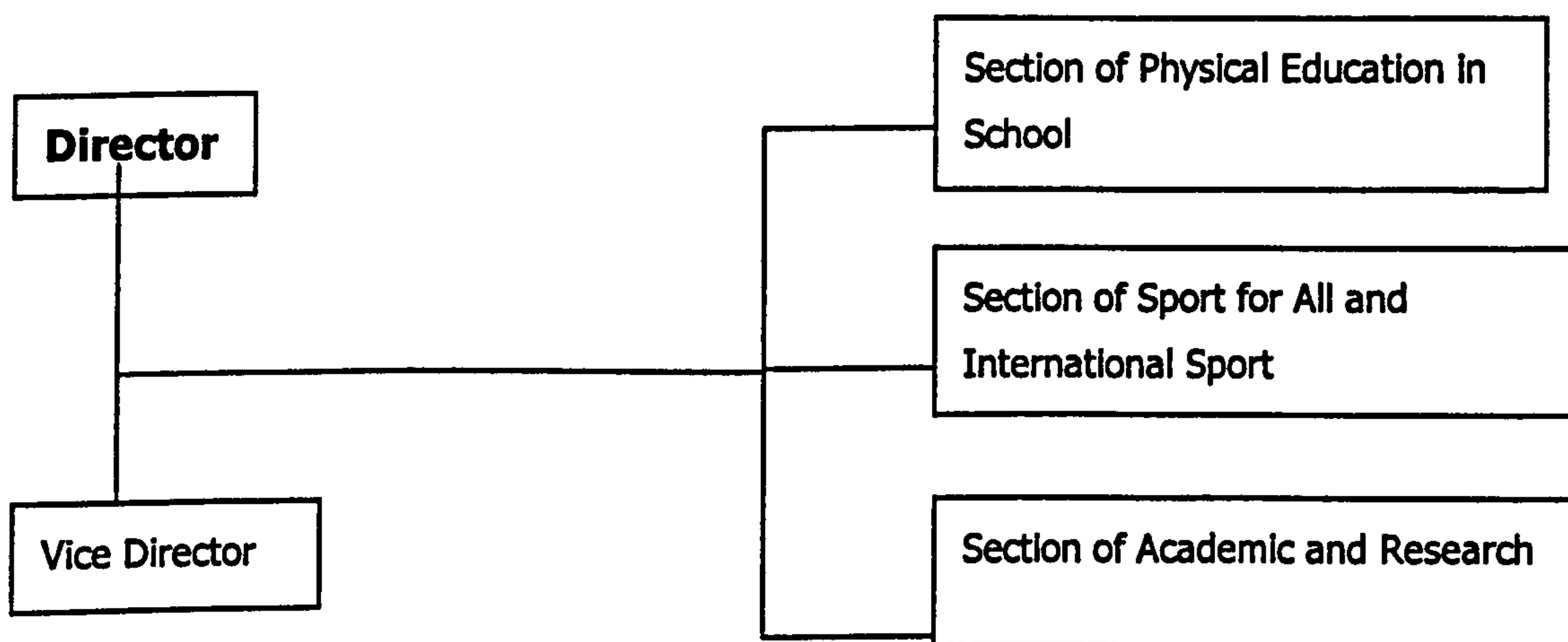
### **5.3 Sports Policy and the Establishment of the DPE in 1973**

#### **5.3.1 The Initial Stage of the DPE 1973-1979**

In 1971 ROC was expelled from the UN and broke off relations with Japan in 1972. These two international failures and the loss of international position dominated the KMT regime's policy concerns. As Wang (1989) noted 'the KMT regime needed to

gain strong internal support from Taiwan society' (Wang, 1989:7) and this became an important policy. In this circumstance, after the conclusion of the "Fifth National Educational Meeting" in Taipei, the DPE was created in 1973. Both the Minister of Education and the Director of DPE were mainlanders at that time. The Minister of Education named Dr. Tsai as the first Director of the DPE. Tsai had received higher education in the U.S. including two Masters Degrees and a Ph D. in the sports field. Initially, three sections of the Department were set up including a section for PE in School, a section for Sport for All and section of Research and Academic work. This administrative structure is illustrated in figure 5.1.

**Figure 5.1: The Structure of the DPE in 1973**



Sports policy in the initial stage can be referenced to the perception of the two interviewees, directors Wu and Tsai (2001) respectively.

The policy of the DPE at that time was divided between sport for all and elite sport. At that time, the DPE launched a programme to develop elite sport and a national award for elite sport as well. ROC/Taiwan cut foreign relations with the USA. It was a very tough and desperate situation for ROC/Taiwan. The KMT government urged the Minister of Education to promote sport for all as part of an effort to inspire the emotion of people

in Taiwan and to encourage the people to concentrate on work. (Interview with Director of DPE, 1998-2003, translated by the author.)

and;

The main focus for the state in promoting sport at this point was essentially to establish healthy residents. In addition, we promoted elite sport in order to compete in international sports events and, at the same time to promote the identity of ROC/Taiwan. The policy of the DPE at that time focused on both sport for all and elite sport...The DPE launched programmes to develop elite sport through a 'National Sport Elite Award System'. Taiwan cut foreign relations with the USA at that time. It was a very tough position for the citizens of Taiwan. The KMT government urged the Minister of Education to promote sport for all in order to encourage the people to concentrate on the work. (Interview with Director of DPE, 1982-1986, 04/28/01, translated by the author.)

In terms of the sports promotion, there were twelve main working items in the initial stage. It can be seen that both sport for all and sport excellence were promoted by the DPE at that period. This is illustrated at table 5.1.

**Table 5.1: The working items of Sports Promotion in the DPE 1973-1978**

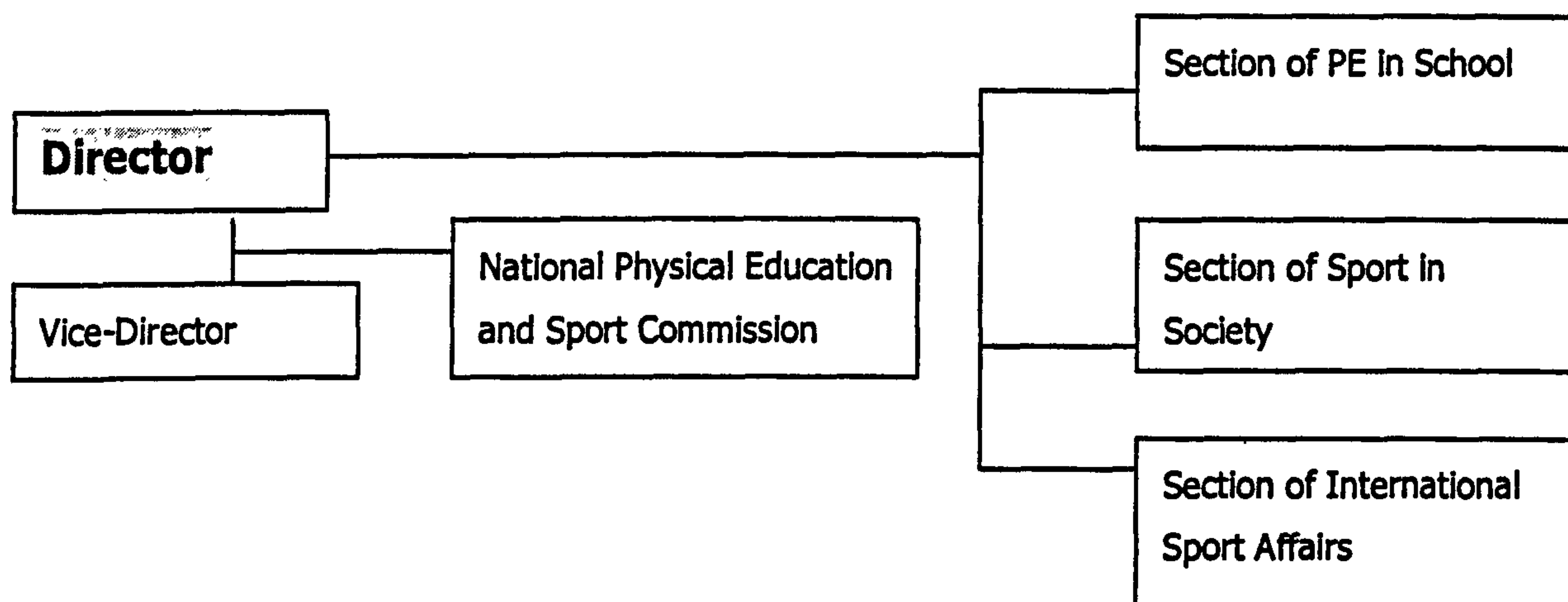
1. Hosting and constructing seminars for national governing organisation
2. Hosting seminars for sport administrators and promoting sport
3. Planning and establishing sports facilities
4. Establishing Chiang Kai-Shek Sports Park
5. Award for individuals and teams
6. Establishing a national sports training centre for sport excellence
7. Hosting seminars on PE and sport in the DPE
8. Selection of elite sport coaches
9. Running sport for all programme
10. Hosting sports events
11. Conducting research on sports facilities
12. Hosting committee meetings for policy discussion

Source: Annual Report of the DPE, 1973-1978

As the Director of the Department of Physical Education, Tsai (1974) noted, given that this was on the agenda of central government for the first time there were a number of policies programmes to set out. For this reason, at the beginning, the DPE focused on how to establish a long-term structure to achieve specific objectives, particularly in respect of sport for all and elite sport. After an initial period itself, when structures were established, the Department of Physical Education focused on sport development, starting with the publication of the "Sport for All" plan in 1979. The former Director of the Department of Physical Education, Chien (1994) articulated the plan clearly and indicated a commitment to achieving mental and physical balance through healthy exercise for the population and wanted to develop elite sport to achieve medals on the international stage.

### **5.3.2 Adjusting the Administrative Structure of the DPE in 1980**

Isolated from the international community further in the early 1970s, the ROC suffered a loss of international recognition by cutting foreign relations with the U.S. in 1979. This immediately made Taiwan's isolation in the international society since the U.S. had been the most importantly country to ROC economically and militarily. In the 1980s, in response to such circumstances, the ROC/Taiwan government initiated a number of national projects, around Taiwan, including development of sports facilities. In order to deal with the external challenges, the DPE adjusted its administrative structure in 1980. This is evidenced by the changes illustrated in figure 5.2. The DPE maintained the section responsible for schools and removed the section for academic and research activity; but established a new section for international sport affairs independently. The impact of the external relations problems is clearly reflected in the placing of emphasis on international sporting affairs in the DPE. This structure is illustrated in figure 5.2.

**Figure 5.2: The Adjusting of the Structure of the DPE in 1980**

In addition, the sport policy committee was established in the DPE at that time (see table 5.2) to provide advice and consultancy in sports policy for the DPE and Ministry of Education.

**Table 5.2: Sports policy Community at Central Government 1985****Executive Board**

1. Chair is the Minister of Education
2. Director of the DPE is the General Secretary
3. Committee meeting should be held at once each year
4. The final decisions will be communicated to the Ministry of Education and the DPE
5. Meetings may be conducted any time in case of emergency

**Committee Board**

1. 17 to 23 members
2. Experts in this field
3. Active involvement regarding this field
4. People enthusiastic in this field

**Duration of the position**

1. Two years (can be continued)
2. No payment

**Function**

1. National sports policy making board
2. National sport events consultant
3. Negotiating between public sectors and private sectors in support of sport events
4. Examining the research outcome of the national physical fitness campaign
5. Advising the government in relation to national sports events

Source: DPE-Sports Regulation (1985)

Former Director of the Department of Physical Education, Tsai (1980) highlighted that the main focus of sports policy was “implementation of the ‘Sport for All Promotion Programme’ and evaluation of the programme” (Tsai, 1994: 7). The government added to the budget and received positive evaluations of the programmes. In 1985, the central government started to evaluate the outcome of the sport for all programmes in local governments around Taiwan. Three officials from the DPE and experts in this field were to examine each local government

programme. Furthermore, the outcomes of the evaluation was used as the criteria for the DPE when considering of local government and communities subsidy for the next fiscal-year (DPE, 1984).

The evaluations employed six categories against which to evaluate local government performance, each category in incorporating several items. The categories are outlined in table 5.3 and focused on aspects of effectiveness and efficiency. The detail of the programme is divided into six parts (see appendix 2).

**Table 5.3: Evaluations of the Sport for All Programmes**

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The promotion of the programme (13 items)
The encouragement of the people in the programme (15 items)
The usage of the budget in the programme (4 items)
The administrative arrangement of the organisation in the programme (4 items)
The maintenance of the facilities in the programme (7 items)
The maintaining of information about the programme (7 items)

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Source: Annual Report of the DPE (1985)

### **5.3.3 Regulation and Promotion of Sport, 1982**

Due to the suggestion and pressures of the sports actors and legislators, the 'Sport Regulation' was established to guide sports promotion. After 6 years of preparation from 1976 to 1982, the 'Sports Regulation' was established in central government. It also helped to articulate the general scope and direction of sports policy implementation. The purpose and goals are illustrated in table 5.4.



**Table 5.4: The Sport Regulation in ROC/Taiwan in 1982**

Purpose
Promoting residents health in all perspectives
Goals
To have a sports committee in the central government
To active sport in the schools and communities
Companies, which had more than 500 workers, had to have a sport and recreation instructor
To upgrade PE teachers and coaches training system
To develop sport science and research system for elite sport
To research the residents' physical fitness
Source: The DPE Sport Regulation (1982)

#### 5.4 Sports Policy for Elite Sport Promotion 1987-1996

A major development took place in 1987 when the KMT regarded the situation in Taiwan to be sufficiently stable to remove martial law. In addition, in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, an economic boom led the state to consider improving the public services. A 'Six-Year National Establishment Plan' and 'Four Year Sport Plan' started at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of 1990s. The former Director of the Department of Physical Education Chang (2001) commented on this transition.

The main sport policy differing from other periods during my time in office was the 'Four-Year Middle Sports Programme'. The main points of the programme were to create a new system for sports events in schools, combining elite training with theory as well as changing the concept about holding sports events. I lived in the USA for eight years. The idea came from the NCAA system in the USA which combines stadium development, marketing and professional staff in school. (Interview with Director of DPE, 1987-1989, 03/20/01, translated by the author.)

Former Director of Department of Physical Education, Chien (1994) also highlighted "the transition of sports policy in a number of directions after 1987

when President Chiang removed the Martial law. This was clearly evident in the national four-year establishing plan” (Chien, 1994:5). In addition, Chien (1994) indicated government sports policy in the early 1990s, influenced by international trends, public opinion and sport experts’ suggestion, focused on: i) planning to establish an international standard indoor Dome and bidding for international events; ii) improving the relationship between DPE and NGBs; and iii) improving the citizens’ physical fitness and promoting sport throughout society.

Firstly, due to a better relationship between the two sides across the Taiwan Strait, the ROC government took an active and positive approach to bid for international sport events in Taiwan... It was important to establish sports facilities for the bidding. Secondly, after removing martial law in 1987, a plural society was developing. In order to promote sports policy in an effective form establishing a substantial partnership and cooperation with the voluntary sectors in the initial stages was important. Thirdly, more emphasis had been placed on excellence, it was successfully argued that citizen’s physical fitness had been ignored, so greater emphasis was subsequently placed on this. (Chien, 1994: 5, translated by the author.)

#### **5.4.1 National Sport Four-Year Plan of 1988: A Plan for Elite Sport Promotion 1989-1993**

There was frustration in the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games that Chinese Taipei did not gain a medal. The KMT government was shocked by the result and urged the Ministry of Education to provide a Green Paper for improving and upgrading sport performance. The Cabinet insisted that the Ministry of Education provide a four-year plan to upgrade and promote sport for the next Olympic Games (Green Paper, 1989; Tsai, 1994). According to the following conclusion of the 1904 Executive-Yuan meeting in 1986, the Ministry of Education consulted the opinion of sport academics, sport authorities and central government authorities in order to establish a development programme in 1986. The DPE drafted the plan and included five items: i) developing elite sport system; ii) promoting international

sport interaction; iii) promoting sport in society; iv) upgrading sport science and research; v) improving sport facilities (The government archive of the national four year plan, 1989:1). It was the biggest project in sport in central government since 1969. Furthermore, in the 2048 Executive-Yuan meeting, Premier Lian indicated the Ministry of Education should provide a White Paper for the following four year period of sports promotion. The premier (1989) highlighted the importance of “sponsorship and taking care of the sport elite and coaches as well as how to host more sport events for the youth in order to promote sport into society” (The Executive- Yuan, 1989, Number 7052:1). The aims and goals of this plan are illustrated in table 5.5.

**Table 5.5: The Aims and Goals of the Elite Sport Programme**

**Aims**

To create a strong sports system and enlarge the number of participants and sponsors, particularly from the commercial sector

To establish the system for development of the sport elite and coaches

To promote the holding of sports events for teenagers

**Goals**

To establish the elite sports league.

To establish long term training programme for sports elite

To create a excellent environment for sports elite

To upgrade the level of judges and coaches

To strengthen the quality of staff and of sport science research

To establish sports facilities

To create communication for global interaction

To develop traditional sport

Source: The White Paper of the DPE (1989)

#### **5.4.2 Government Infrastructure and the Elite Sport Campaign (1990-1996)**

Since 1949, the KMT government has launched ten economic plans, each for terms of 4 years. In the economic sphere, ROC/Taiwan benefited from the ‘economic

miracle' of the 1980s. However, when it came to the 1990s, the KMT government suffered a number of challenges from civil society. There was, for example, strong demand for more public services, and higher salaries for working in private companies. For this reason, the KMT government discontinued the economic plan and launched a six-year national establishment plan instead. This plan focused on increasing GNP, upgrading industry, having a balanced development between urban and rural areas, and upgrading the quality of life for the people of Taiwan. The detailed aims in relation to sport for the 'National Establishment Plan' are indicated in table 5.6.

The Premier, Lian (1989), in the 2048 cabinet meeting of national development, also subsequently asked the Ministry of Education to provide a national medium term plan for sports development and clearly indicated the directions.

**Table 5.6: Aims of the Sports Element of the National Establishment Plan**

### 1. Establishment of Elite System

#### A) Holding games:

- a) Games for elementary, secondary schools, higher education and colleges.

#### B) Assisting county/city games:

- a) Adopting the recycling system.
- b) Encouraging teams from industries and companies.

(C) Assisting professional games: helping and awarding professional teams from ordinary people and from industries and companies.

### 2. Elite Training

- a) Principles for selecting elite for Asian Game(1990) and Olympic Game(1992) and other international games.
- b) Selecting appropriate sports items.
- c) Building up training bases at schools at different levels or sending elite abroad.
- d) Principles for elite's training abroad.
- e) Principles for subsequent training of elite.
- f) Non-stop training during military service.

### 3. Awarding & Employment

- a) Assisting their life and developing their potential.

- b) Solving employment problems:
- c) Transferring awarded athletes to coaches
- d) Transferring brilliant athletes to serve as sports advisors in industries/companies.
- e) Encouraging sports insurance.
- f) Appropriately transferring amateurs to professional teams

#### 4. Promotion of the Standards of Coaches & Judges

- a) Principles for the employment of national coaches & judges.
- b) Employment of famous foreign coaches.
- c) Cultivating coaches in PE departments.
- d) Enforcing the ability of foreign languages.
- e) Assisting coaches obtaining the international certificates.
- f) Rewarding coaches
- g) Rewarding athletes.
- h) Transferring brilliant coaches to other teams by industries/companies.
- i) Arranging the sabbatical leaves for coaches while they are in competitions or training
- j) Establishing the system of professional coaches at school.

#### 5. Cultivating Sports Experts & Reinforcing Sports Studies

- a) Reorganizing experts & resources in schools & colleges.
- b) Establishing Sports Experiment Secondary schools.
- c) Building up information centre & system.
- d) Enriching sports teaching equipment.
- e) Assisting academic groups to run effectively.
- f) Holding sports academic seminars.
- g) Awarding sports publication.
- h) Encouraging further studies/researches abroad.

#### 6. Reconstructing Stadiums & Facilities

- a) Enriching northern & southern training centres in Taiwan.
- b) Establishing sport elite training centres.
- c) Building up gymnasiums, swimming pools, stadiums and so forth.
- d) Advocating social community sports.
- e) Subsidising sports parks and leisure stadiums.
- f) Reinforcing the maintenance of stadiums & encouraging their opening to public.
- g) Reasonable placement for the members of stadiums.
- h) Building modern gymnasiums around Taiwan.

#### 7. Strengthening International Interaction

- a) Building up the international sports interaction team.
- b) Actively participating in international competitions.
- c) Facilitating the communication and interaction among international schools.

## **8. Developing Traditional Sports**

- a) Systematically promoting martial arts.
- b) Systematically managing our traditional sports.
- c) Advocating brilliant sports teams for visits abroad.

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**Source: Adapted from White Paper of the DPE (1991)**

The main focus for the state of advocacy of sport in ROC/Taiwan was on the health of the general population at that period. (Interview with Director of DPE, 1982-1986, 04/28/01, translated by the author.)

The main objectives before my time in office focused on the item of elite sport; however, it was moving to the item of sport for all at the moment I was in the office. The reason for the focus on elite sport was that the budget of elite sport was huge and was strongly related to interest groups. They dominated and controlled the access to the whole budget. This circle was connected to the ruling party and even the Department of Physical Education had no way of being involved. However, why sport for all? Basically in 1972 after the Munich Olympic Games, the promotion of mass participation enlarged. It was a global trend in particular I myself attended an international conference in 1995 in Paris. I felt that the trend for sport for all was growing strongly. The main goals of sports policy in Taiwan therefore needed to be adjusted. (Interview with Director of the DPE, 1991-1996, 03/19/01, translated by the author.)

It is perhaps ironic that while the promotion of sport for all in ROC/Taiwan was growing, the European Sport for All Charter had been revised in 1992 to give less emphasis on sport for all (European Commission, 1992).

### **5.5 Sports Policy and the Establishment of the NCPFS in 1997**

Many experts in the PE and sports field urged the upgrading of the role of the Department of Physical Education since the DPE was extend to government in 1973.

During the early 1970s a number of legislators and sports experts' argued for the importance of sports development, particularly those sports authorities in the parliament. The primary concerns of the debate focused on advocating the role of sport in both providing state benefits (e.g. fitness for industry and for defense) and civil rights in sport. Establishing sports authorities at central government level was part of the agreement between the KMT and DPP politicians at the end of 1980s with a consensus between the KMT and DPP politicians on this issue being achieved relatively smoothly. Ji was an international well-known elite sportsperson, who won medals in international competition during the 1970s. After living in the US for many years, she returned to Taiwan with the aim of promoting sport. She was also a legislator in parliament, and was able to steer through parliament the upgrading of the status of the DPE in 1989. She persuaded both the ruling and opposition parties to support a Bill to achieve this at central government level, together with another 105 legislators (1989) of both ruling and opposition parties, and requested central government to upgrade the Department of Physical Education to Ministry level (in the Executive Yuan).

However, the key moment came when both President Lee and Premier Lain in 1995 and 1996 respectively announced that it was time to create a 'Sport Council' in Taiwan. The struggles of the key actors in upgrading the sport structure are illustrated in table 5.7.

**Table 5.7: Chronology of Promotion of NCPFS in Taiwan/ROC 1973-1997**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Key Stages in Creating The Sport Council</b>
1973	The Department of PE was established in the Ministry of Education
1982	The National PE Committee was established in the Ministry of Education
1988	The Sixth National Educational Meeting incorporated argument for a Sports Council.
1990	The upgrading of the DPE into a national council for sport discussed in parliament
1994	Seventh National Educational Meeting promotes the case for Sports Council
1995	President Lee supported the establishment of the NCPFS and stressed its importance
1996	Premier Lain announces the Sports Council should be located within central government
1997	Sports Council was created on 1 <sup>st</sup> July

Source: The ROC Information office (1999)

In 1997, the National Council for Physical Fitness and Sport was created by central government. The DPE has been mainly focusing on sport in the schools. The main sports policy change was to focus on physical fitness in school students. In order to attain the goal, the DPE has been launching the programmes called '333'. The details of the programme inclusive of eight elements to reach the goals can be seen in the official documents. In order to achieve the objective, the PE teaching in schools initiatives were launched. (Interview with Director of DPE, 1998-2003, 03/18/01, translated by the author.)

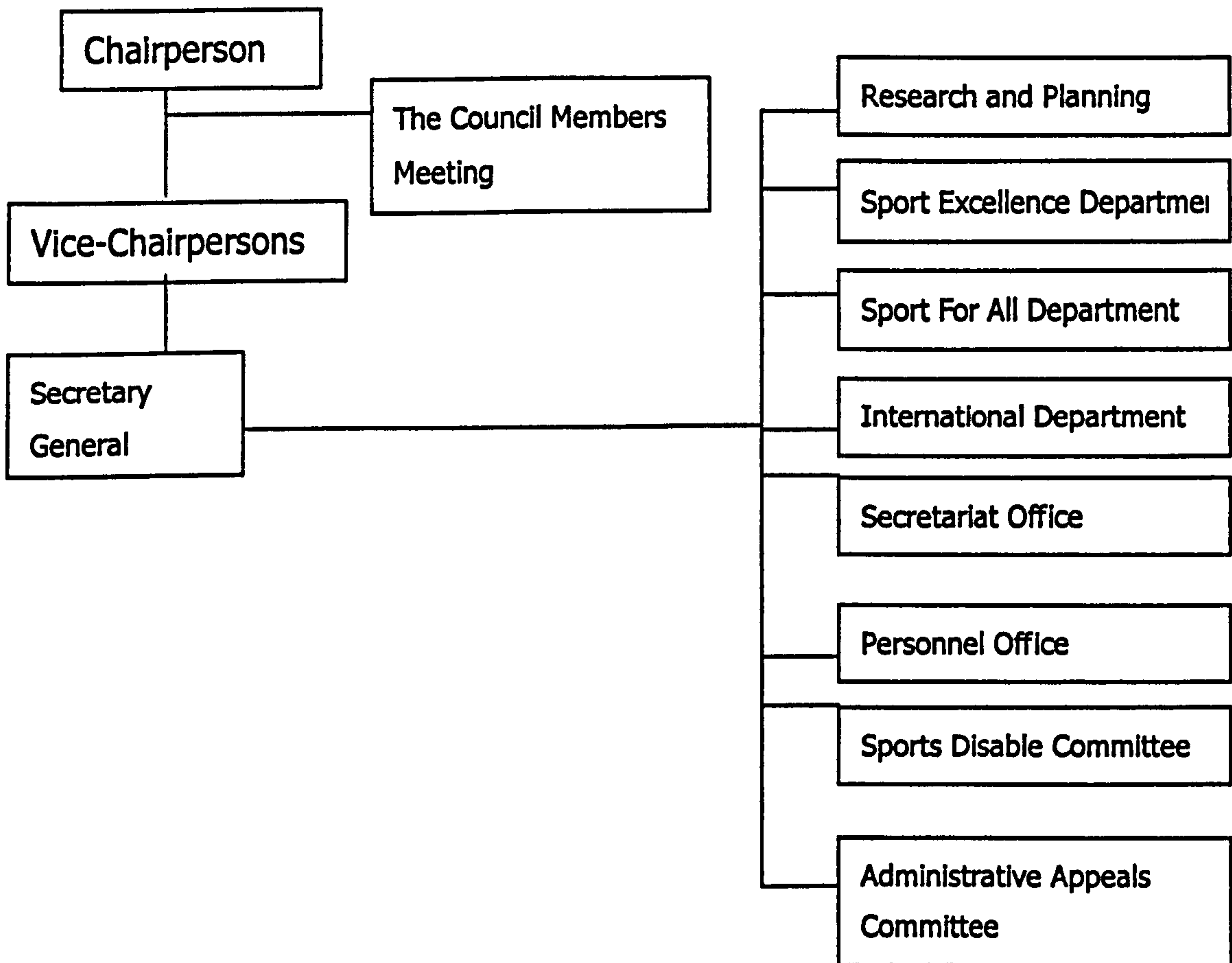
And;

After 1997, the DPE has focused on sport in school. There are many strategies being run in the sports system. We believe that sport in school is very important for sport development in Taiwan. Our strategies are to provide more sports facilities including two hundred swimming pools, twelve local gymnasiums, as well as forty athletics tracks track and; two hundred small basketball courts and sport fitness centres. Furthermore, we have to undertake more evaluation of policy implementation. (Interview with Director of DPE, 1998-2003, 03/18/01, translated by the author.)

In 1997, the KMT government finally supported the upgrading of the Department of Physical Education to allow representation at Cabinet level and the budget and staff were increased six fold compared to the budget of the DPE. It was a tremendous



transition for sport in Taiwan, not only was the NCPFS born in this year but also the authorities and sports budget were upgraded to a new level. Due to the growth in budget and of official staff in the NCPFS, all kinds of programmes related to Sport for All and Elite Sport promotion were initiated. The NCPFS has 19 council members including administrators, leaders and experts from sports fields representing government and local authorities, athletic organisations and academia. Sport policies administration plans, and laws and regulations are presented and approved at the monthly council meeting (NCPFS, 2003). There are five departments, three offices and three committees set up in the NCPFS. There are 109 staff members including contract employees and maintenance personnel. The administrative organisation has five key departments: i) Planning and Research; ii) Sport for All; iii) Sports Excellence; iv) International Affairs; and v) Facilities. It also operates with the following committees a) Laws and Regulations; b) Administrative Appeals; and c) Sports for the Disabled. The establishment of the NCPFS significantly enhanced the role of sport at a central government level. The number of staff in the DPE and the NCPFS combined was increased from 18 to 109. In addition, government sports expenditure increased sharply in 1997 (White Paper ROC, 1999).

**Figure 5.3: The Administrative Structures of the NCPFS in 1997**

After the founding of the National Council on Physical Fitness and Sport, the respective role and functions of the DPE and the NCPFS were adjusted in central government. The major responsibility of DPE was to be the promotion of physical fitness, regulation of the PE curriculum and students' health care in schools, while, the NCPFS would hold responsibility for the Sport for All and the Sport Excellence campaign.

As the Sports Minister (1997) announced the NCPFS was concerned with i) providing and maintaining a sound infrastructure for sport development in the ROC/Taiwan; and ii) raising the overall standard of sports arenas. The mission of the NCPFS was to build a healthy nation based on a dedication to promoting participation in sport for all among citizens, so as to enhance the quality of life. The

NCPFS expects to attract millions of Taiwanese people to participate in many programmes; and finally the NCPFS also plans to help ROC/Taiwan athletes to achieve their goals; and win recognition for the ROC on the international stage. All the plans are being implemented with the co-operation of the NGBs, educational system, public and private sector bodies in ROC/Taiwan (Chao, 1998).

### 5.5.1 Four-Wheel Drive Plan in 1997

In order to meet the aims and goals mentioned above, the NCPFS launched a 'Four-Wheel Drive' plan. The plan consisted of two objectives and four strategies (NCPFS, 1998).

**Table 5.8: The Objectives and Strategies of the Four-Wheel Drive Plan in 1997**

#### **Objectives**

- 1) To promote the participation of citizens in sports and to help them enhance their Physical fitness; and
- 2) To improve athletic standards and raise competitiveness in sports and athletics.

#### **Strategies**

- 3) To enhance research and development in athletics, sports science and technology and to encourage and sponsor sports activities;
- 4) To build a comprehensive set of sports law, regulations, policies, systems, projects, measures and activities.
- 5) To upgrade the training of potential athletics and recruit volunteer workers; and
- 6) To strengthen infrastructure construction, and to build and improve athletic fields, gymnasiums, community recreational areas and free-access recreation and exercise facilities.

Source: The Annual Report of NCPFS (1998)

Thus sport for all and elite sport are the two main policies of the NCPFS by reference to funding. With the NCPFS established at ministry level within central government, flexible and better negotiation between the Ministry and the Cabinet would be feasible. In terms of the DPE, the physical fitness programme of "333"

has been in operation since 1999, the main reason for this programme was based on the discovery that pupils in Taiwan had lower levels of physical fitness compared with Japan, PRC and Korea, Taiwan's main competitors in the international economy.

Since the 1990s, the global sports environment has seen a growing in the need to promote physical fitness for citizens and encourage people to do regular physical activities. The programme is able through school systems with local community resources to target the goal of sport for all and related health improvement for residents. The aim of the '333' programme is thus literally to promote 'Sport for all' (see Table 5.9).

**Table 5.9: Goals and Outcomes of the 333 Programme 1997-2002**

#### Aims

- To increase the sport rate of participation in sport and upgrades the quality of life in leisure
- 2. To develop the balance between mental and physical health for students and improve their quality of life and learning abilities

#### Goals

- Strengthen the concept of physical fitness for students
- To promote more physical activities in schools
- To promote physical fitness education among schools and local communities
- To improve the facilities for physical fitness in the school system
- To establish the award system in the school
- To enhance research on students' physical fitness

Source: DPE (1999) The 333 Programme

### 5.6 Sports Policy and the DPP Government in Power in 2000

Taiwan had a significant change in politics at the beginning of 2000. The DPP took power in the central government and the new government had a different set of political goals and a different approach to sport, both in the domestic and international spheres. Sport was seen as one of the important tools to establish the

identity of Taiwan in the global community; it had become an important part of the national policy. The policy changes can be evidenced by the sports Minister and Director of DPE.

The main directions of the DPP are to reduce the gap between city and countryside, to promote the physical fitness for people in Taiwan, to promote sport in order to reduce the budget of health care in Taiwan, to reinforce the capability of sports professionals, and to hold international sports events. (Interview with Sports Minister, 2000-2002, 03/29/01, translated by the author.)

and;

The NCPFS has continued the main direction and launched many programmes since 2000 following a number of directions: i) building national training centre around Taiwan with different dimensions; ii) providing sports facilities including position for sport and leisure in the local gymnasias in each local county. The main difference from the last KMT government is that the DPP have tried an active organisation to implement the policy. (Interview with Sports Minister, 2000-2002, 03/29/01, translated by the author.)

The benefit from participating in sport is well known. Therefore, the main focus of promoting sport is providing for the well being of citizens and strengthening of elite sport. (Interview with Director of DPE, 1998-2003, 03/18/01, translated by the author.)

### **The Revision of the Sports Regulations at the end of 2000**

The DPP government re-established a new form of the regulation of sports development following their accession to central government (see table 5.10). This new form of regulation reflects the implication of the change in sports structure with the inauguration of the NCPFS in 1997, but also gives greater emphasis to the social policy discussion of sports following the DPP social priorities.

**Table 5.10: Sports Regulation in ROC/Taiwan 2000****Principle 1 (Purposes)**

It aims to first build up good and healthy constructions of our citizens. Further, the enrichment of our lives and the cultivation of morality and spirits are what we attempt to achieve.

**Principle 2 (Active participation in sports activities)**

Based on individual needs, citizens are encouraged to participate in any appropriate sports activities in families, schools, communities, institutions, or associations. That is, the perspective of "Sport for All" should be widespread.

**Principle 3 (Prevalence of traditional sports activities)**

We are supposed to do our best to make traditional sports prevalent.

**Principle 4 (Authorities)**

In central government: The NCPFS; in municipal cities: city governments; in counties: sports institutions; in towns: sports actors.

**Principle 5 (Public Sports Facilities)**

Sports authorities should all establish more public sports facilities.

**Principle 6 (Rules for each institution or school)**

Based on the rules by Education Ministry, all institutions and schools should proclaim sports activities with all their efforts.

**Principle 7 (Open school facilities for all citizens)**

Every citizen has the right to use the facilities in schools with or without payment. The rules of opening hours, time, and fees can be set up by individual schools or institutions.

**Principle 8 (Establishment of Sports Associations)**

It should be regulated by rules for establishing associations and by rules of international sports associations.

**Principle 9 (Enrolment and Affairs of the ROC Olympic Council)**

Its constitution, missions and goals are regulated by the International Olympic Council, and by laws of ROC. Its international affairs are as follows: Participate sports activities such as Olympic Games, Asia Games, and East-Asia Games. Assist individual sport association to apply for getting the rectification of the international sports associations.

**Principle 10 (Leisure activities for workers)**

The government should encourage and assist leisure activities in each institution, association, and industry.

**Principle 11 (Cultivation of Sports Professionals)**

Rules for further studies in sports should be set up. Certificates should be governed systematically by the central government.

**Principle 12 (Budget for Sports)**

Budgets for sports activities in each institution, school and industry are allowed. Rules to bid for sports activities should be established well.

**Principle 13 (Cultivation of Sports Elite)**

Local governments and schools are allowed to use sports professionals to cultivate more sports elites.

**Principle 14 (Award for Sports Elites and Assistance for their Carrier)**

Sports Elites (the handicapped are included) who have good records either in national or international games should be highly awarded. In addition, our government should assist them in finding appropriate jobs.

**Principle 15 (Cultivation of professionals for Sports Science)**

Our government should encourage the studies and development of sports science.

**Principle 16 (Proceeding international sports interactions)**

In order to raise our status in international sports, our government should clearly set up the rules for the selection of national sports representatives inclusive of coaches and sportspersons.

**Principle 17 (Rules concerning drugs in sport)**

In order to keep the spirit of equality while participating in any games and to keep our sportspersons healthy, our government should enforce the rules for drug using.

**Principle 18 (Insurance for national representatives)**

Our government should pay damages to those who get hurt or killed because of the training in the games.

**Principle 19 (Holding Games)**

Our government should encourage all kinds of games with clarified rules.

**Principle 20 (Assessment for Physical Fitness)**

In order to enhance physical fitness for all citizens, our government should encourage citizens to take part in more physical activities.

**Principle 21 (Details for the regulations)**

They are governed by the central government.

**Principle 22 (Applied Date)**

It should be applied when it is announced.

Source: NCPFS (2003)

In 2000, following the change of power in Taiwan, the NCPFS launched a cross-century sports plan, 'Active Sport into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century'. The plan was based on the conclusion of a meeting of the "First Sport and PE Conference". According to this White Paper, the NCPFS should seek to construct a sports policy for the new

era in Taiwan. The main theme of the plan is active sport in urban and rural environments, excellence in elite sport and the development of health through exercise in Taiwan. It divides the ten years plan into two periods, from 2001 to 2004 and from 2004 to 2010.

To achieve these goals, the NCPFS is seeking to connect the resources of central government, local government, and the private and voluntary sectors. The NCPFS is seeking to achieve the following five outcomes over the 10 years plan period (see table 5.11).

**Table 5.11 The Aims and Goals of the Plan for Acting Sport into 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

#### Aims

- To establish a national elite sport training centre
- To upgrade elite sport in the international competition
- To establish an international gymnasium for the Asian Games before 2010
- To develop personnel in sport and to promote interaction with the global sports community

#### Goals

- To maintain the ecological environment and to provide more places for people
- To develop the balance between mental and physical health of school students
- To improve the quality of elite sport provision
- To develop elite sport with the support of sports science

Source: White Paper of the NCPFS (2001)

### 5.7 Conclusion

The relationship between state and sport in ROC/Taiwan has developed over time particularly since 1973. After its arrival from Mainland China in 1949, the KMT government addressed a number of challenges both internal and external. The KMT government from 1949 to the late 1960s focused on political stability and economic development without any overt concern for sport during that period. Prior to 1968, the KMT government had controlled Taiwanese society through the power of



military force. In 1968, the Cabinet asked the Ministry of Education to provide a Green Paper on sports development. This Green Paper outlined the sports programme that provided two policy directions, sport for all, and elite sport. These two policy concerns have remained in place from 1973 until the present day.

In response to internal and external environment of ROC/Taiwan at the beginning of the 1970s and following pressure from sports experts, the DPE was established in the Ministry of Education. Meanwhile, local physical education authorities were created in the Taiwan province and in local government. However, government focus on sports development really started in earnest from the Plan of Sport for All in 1979. The Plan clearly indicated a commitment to providing balanced mental and physical health through exercise, and to developing elite sport to achieve medals in international competition.

In 1979, in the context of Taiwan's exclusion from international relations central government started to develop sport around Taiwan. If we take the government's own evidence, with a more significant budget put into evaluation of programmes, we can conclude that the sport for all program was running well at that time. In addition, the sport actors argued that a Sport Law would be necessary to regulate all kinds of sport events. For this reason, covering a period of 6 years, from 1976 to 1982, the Sports Law was put in place in 1982. This has articulated the general scope and direction of sport policy implementation. However, because it did not set up sanctions for failure to follow policy goals its efficiency was limited at that time. Following failure at the Seoul Olympic Games in 1984, the Executive-Yuan insisted that the Ministry of Education provide a Four Year plan in the form of a Green Paper to upgrade and promote sport. It was the biggest project in sport in the central government since the 1960s. During the 1990s, the government launched a 'National Six Year Plan' placed emphasis on sport facilities around Taiwan. From 1991 to 1996, establishing swimming pools in the villages and towns, and sport parks and baseball fields in each county were the main goals. In 1997, there was a significant transition for sport in Taiwan, not only was the NCPFS established in

this year, but this was accompanied by a step-change in the numbers of personnel and the size of the sports budget to a new level. With this considerable growth in budget and official staff in the NCPFS, a whole range of programmes related to 'Sport for All' and 'Sports Excellence' were initiated. In addition, Taiwan experienced a significant change in government at the beginning of 2000. The DPP, established as a party in 1987 took power at central government level and the new government with different political values had a different approach to sport both in national and international terms. The DPP government wished to establish the visibility of ROC/Taiwan in the global community and saw sport as one of the important tools. The goals of the government and of the NCPFS are evidenced in the Green Paper of the NCPFS 'Active Sport into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century', and its document the 'Sport Population Enlargement Plan' in which the range of sports development over the next ten years is outlined. Table 5.12 provides a summary of the version sports policy discussed above. This chapter has sought to outline the development of policy as evidenced in a succession of government policy documents and by reference to interview data. This provides a context for the discussion of the expression of political values in sport, and of central government's relationship with national governing bodies and with local government, which form the subject matter of the following three chapters.

**Table 5.12: The Chronology of the Development of the State and Sports Policy in ROC/Taiwan 1947-2002**

Year	The Transition of the State Development		The Transition of Sports Policy
	Internal	External	
1947	The 228 Social Movement		
1949	The KMT Regime in Taiwan	The Korean War	
1954		The Taiwan-USA Defense Pact	
1958		The Kinmen War (Taiwan-PRC)	
1965			Developing National Physical Abilities Plan
1968			Programme for Sport for All and Elite Sport
1971		Expulsion of Taiwan from the UN	
1972		Foreign ties finished with Japan	
1973			The creation of the DPE
1979	Kaohsiung Social Movement	Foreign ties cut with the USA	Sport for All Plan
1980		Beginning of interaction of Taiwan with the People's Republic of China	
1981			Active Sport for All Plan (I)
1982			The Creation of Sports Law
1984		Chinese Taipei rejoins the Summer Olympic Games	
1986	The DPP Created		Active Sport for All Plan (II)
1987	Martial Law ended		
1989	Index of Taiwan Stock Market over 10000	The Tian An-ming Square Social Movement (PRC)	National Four Year Sports Plan (1989-1993)
1991	'Taiwan Independent' sets up in the DPP Charter		National Six-Year Establishment Plan (1991-1995)
1993		Taiwan-PRC Talks held in Singapore	
1996	The first general election in Taiwan		
1997			The Creation of NCPFS
2000	The DPP Wins the Presidential Campaign		Active Sport into 21 <sup>st</sup> Century
2001			Sports Population Enlargement Plan

## CHAPTER 6

# POLITICAL VALUES IN THE ROC/TAIWAN SPORTS POLICY SYSTEM

### 6.1 Introduction

In previous chapters, a largely developmental approach mapped out the relationship between policies for sport, and in particular sport for all and elite sport, and issues of political ideologies in ROC/Taiwan sports policy. Chapters 3 and 5 have explored the history of the state, in broadly descriptive terms, as the context within which sports policy has developed. Such a description, however, raises the question as to how the state should be conceptualised and will form the subject matter of the following chapters. This chapter and chapters 7 and 8 thus seek to address the conceptual framework underpinning these issues as well as reporting empirical work. The study seeks to explain decisions regarding sports policy in ROC/Taiwan and, in doing so, observes the nature of sports policy development from 1949 and illustrates particular strategic relations between a range of actors and groups within and outside the state; between local agents and the state; between the central state and local government; and between individual actors and broader environments. The analysis of strategic relations, therefore, will follow the discussion of national governing bodies of sport in chapter 7 and local government in chapter 8.

After World War II, there was tension and a power struggle between Republic of China and People's Republic of China in the Olympic Movement, and sport was seen as an appropriate area for political involvement (cf. Lucas 1980; Houlihan 1994). As Hoberman (1984) has highlighted sport is part of a political context:

Sport is a latently political issue in any society, since the cultural themes which inhere in a sport culture are potentially ideological in a political sense

including...some major polarities which bear on sport and the political world: amateurism versus professionalism...nationalism versus internationalism. (Hoberman, 1984: 20.)

This chapter adopts the position that there are consequences for sports policy of holding to particular ideological positions. Therefore, this chapter, first, explores differences regarding political values, and the nature of power struggles in sports policy between KMT and DPP, and how different perceptions of sports policy within the two parties diverged or overlapped at both international and national levels. Secondly, factors beyond ROC/Taiwan, are discussed, such as, what effect changes in global context have had on ROC/Taiwan?

With the ROC/Taiwan state, the new development of two political parties with ideologies, which are contrasting in some significant ways, has implications for sports policy. The major divisions between the ideologies can be defined in relation to the Mainland China issue. The parties of KMT, the People First Party, and the New Party can be described, as we shall see in the following section of this chapter, as adopting a 'greater Chinese nationalist ideology'. In contrast, the DPP and the Taiwan Independence Party (TIP) are associated with a policy of 'separated development' and independence for Taiwan. Ideological differences associated with this issue have run deep since 1949. However, though its origins are in political reaction with the mainland, this ideological cleavage signals other policy implications in a wide range of what might at first sight seem unrelated policy areas. Finally, funding allocation for sport is examined in how funding resources are allocated between different policy imperatives such as 'sport for all', and 'elite sport', by the two major parties when in power.

The review of literature and the interviews conducted have brought to light a set of divergent contexts and highlighted a number of significant policies. There are two key elements to data collection. First, documents relating to parliamentary debates have been collected from 1984 to 2002 from parliamentary archives. Given the fact that Parliament is the main constitutional form of government in ROC/Taiwan, legislators' perceptions are substantively important in

understanding the direction of sport policy (Hsieh, 2001). Second, interviews with key actors at central and local government level and with the NGBs have provided actors' account of the process of sport policy decision-making. Both government archives and parliamentary document are coded and analysed by employing NUD\*IST software, to perform qualitative content analysis.

The approach adopted will allow us to evaluate the extent to which there is evidence to support pluralist, elitist and Marxist accounts (or their neo-pluralist, neo-elitist, neo-Marxist versions), by evaluating who has influence, what strategic opportunities and constraints exist for these individuals or groups, and what interests they or their actions serve. In addition, globalisation perspectives will help us to understand the relationship between global and national issues and to explain and conceptualise policy-making and action as constrained or facilitated by what occurs at the global level.

## **6.2 Political Ideology and Its Functions in Policy**

In this section we will be addressing the issue of the role of political ideology in the development of sports policy. Much of the concern with the development of political ideology has been limited to Western states, with classic distinctions between liberal, socialist, conservative and communist ideologies (non-Western but for comparison).

Ideologies have become central to political life in western countries from the onset of modernity and the enlightenment project, after the American and French Revolutions. They share the same "modern agenda and response to the problems which emerged from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and whose development formed the context in which the ideologies themselves unfold during the nineteen and twentieth centuries" (Schwarzmantel, 1998:151). It is important to acknowledge that for a number of theorists, particularly those of Marxist orientation, the nature of ideology is characterised in terms of the promotion of certain interests (often in

a hidden manner). As Baradat (1997) has noted, political ideology is a tool to justify political parties' position in society.

Ideology is nothing more than a fabrication used by a particular group of people to justify them. The concepts of an ideology were completely subjective, and they were used to justify the ruling class of society. (Baradat, 1997:7.)

However, while acknowledging that there may be aspects of hidden interests in the adoption of one or other political arguments, for the purposes of the discussion in this chapter specifically and throughout the thesis more generally, the concept of ideology adopted here is closer to that advocated by Hall (1982) than by Baradat:

A framework or network of values, concepts, images and propositions which we employ in interpreting and understanding how society works. (Hall, 1982:16.)

Marxist notions of ideology as false consciousness or as solely reflecting dominant interests are neglected for reasons which are well rehearsed in the literature (Giddens, 1976).

Henry points out that "ideologies may also be prescriptive, defining how society should work" (Henry, 2001: 31), while Adams (1993) highlights the relationship of politics to ideology, and both emphasise that interests are reflected in ideological positions:

Politics is largely about reconciling conflicting views in order to come to collective decisions over what to do. Conflicting views arise because people's interests differ...there are also broader systems of ideas about how society should be run, what values- such as justice, equality or freedom-it should embody, and these are ideologies. (Adams, 1993: 3-4.)

As Adams (1998) notes, in western countries political ideologies are driven by political parties, which embrace, for example, liberalism, socialism, nationalism or conservatism (or a mixed set of such ideologies):

Ideologies are practical doctrines aimed at changing the world, and as such in the modern world it is political parties that are the chief vehicles. The major ideologies such as, liberalism, socialism, nationalism and conservatism have parties based upon them. (Adams, 1998: 9.)

However, it should be noted that there is an absence of a developed literature on definitions of ideology in political parties in ROC/Taiwan, and this, coupled with the inconsistency in the parties' policies, makes the clarification of certain ideological positions in ROC/Taiwan a difficult task. The political context of the ROC/Taiwan might not be strictly amenable to analysis following western theoretical models. For example, Adams (1993) has addressed Fukuyama's point of view that "the world will become increasingly like America, since all peoples aspire to American prosperity and freedom. Yet, it could be argued that if people want prosperity, better models can be found in Asia" (Adams, 1993:351). Adams (1993) noted that liberal democracy did not bring economic success in Japan, Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea and Hong Kong, but that this was achieved through a combination of the free market with various forms of authoritarian rulership.

In the Taiwanese context, many of the value positions adopted in the above are adapted to the East Asian context and in some specific respects may be unique to the Taiwanese context. The purpose of this section is to explain the role of ideology in state policy development. The rationale for such an explanation is that while political ideology has traditionally influenced the policy-making process (John, 1998), in ROC/Taiwan there are two fundamentally different political orientations. These are i) the 'Chinese Nationalist' position which mainly includes KMT, PFP (People First Party) and the NP (New Party); and ii) 'Taiwan Nationalist' which typically covers DPP and TIP (Taiwan Independent Party). Different political orientations are often (though not necessarily) linked to the different views on policy making and implementation, while KMT dominated



the ROC/Taiwan state from 1949 to 2000, its political orientation on the nationalist question was a vehicle to drive their policy even in apparently tangentially related policy areas. Before proceeding with the discussion of the political values of key actors in sport policy in Taiwan, it will therefore be useful to provide a context in respect of the general ideological positions adopted by the political groups to which the above interviewees belong.

### **6.3 Politics and Ideology in the ROC/Taiwan Context**

Schwarzmentel (1998) has highlighted how, after World War II, nationalism was experienced as an increasingly powerful ideology influencing world politics and political events throughout the world:

Since the war, Europe has been built on a liberal project, civil society at the expense of the nation. This project is today out of breath, and the nationalist passions, with their infinitely more powerful capabilities of mobilization, are again at work. (Rupnik, 1996:71; quoted in Schwarzmentel, 1998.)

The central and consuming issue in relation to politics in the Taiwanese context relates to the relationship with Mainland China/PRC. However this issue is subtly connected to policy areas other than inter-state PRC/ROC relations. Clearly it is linked to international relations, but also to aspects of domestic policy. KMT advocates one nation but plural systems (KMT, 2002). DPP advocates separate development but with a stronger emphasis on social welfare (DPP, 2002). Rather than one element in a Greater China, the DPP is seeking to construct a state which has some local echoes of liberal democratic states elsewhere in the world – if not welfare states then certainly states with forms of social provision. The DPP project of a ‘modern’, autonomous state is therefore one which promotes a different approach to social welfare and therefore to sports policy.

KMT was formed with the aim of building Taiwan as an element in a Republic of China as a free, democratic, prosperous, strong and dignified modern country

(KMT, 2002). The KMT was founded by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen and established three main principles to guide the party:

The three Principles of the People-Nationalism, Democracy and Economy have been the KMT's most valuable asset in its struggle for national development over the past one hundred years. Ever after the ROC government's relocation from the mainland to Taiwan in 1949, the national leaders, under the guidance of the Three Principles of the People, successfully pushed ahead with land reforms, developed the economy, implemented a democratic system and improved cross-Taiwan Strait relations, creating the admirable "Taiwan experience". Taiwan's achievements serve to prove that the ideals set forth in the Three Principles of the People are the guidelines most needed by the Chinese people. (The KMT Charter, 2002: [www.kmt.org.tw](http://www.kmt.org.tw).)

...by virtue of the mandate received from the whole body of citizens, in accordance with the teachings bequeathed by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in founding the Republic of China, and in order to consolidate the authority of the State, safeguard the rights of the people, do hereby establish this Constitution, to be promulgated throughout the country for faithful and perpetual observance by all. (The National Assembly on December 25, 1946, quoted in Tien, 1992: 255.)

On the other hand, the Democratic People's Party was established on September 28, 1986. Based on the DPP Charter (2002), it has shown the main directions in social and political development in the party:

...Socially, the DPP championed social welfare policies involving the rights of women, senior citizens, children, labour, indigenous peoples, farmers, and other disadvantaged sectors of society. Politically, the DPP has led and won battles for free speech, free press, the freedom of association, and respect for human rights. Furthermore, the DPP distinguishes itself from the ruling KMT in its domestic social policies, anti-corruption stance, and efficient

world community that is aimed at enhancing the prosperity and security of Taiwan. (The DPP Charter, 2002, [www.org.dpp.tw](http://www.org.dpp.tw).)

The above discussion thus reveals the potential for disparity between KMT and DPP in political ideologies.

The DPP 'model' of a 'modern' state is one in which nation building is in part a social as well as an economic and political project. Sport as with other policy areas becomes important in a variety of ways. Some detail in terms of the differences between DPP and KMT of their Mainland policies can be seen in the next section.

Since 1949 the Chinese have lived in one of two societies on either side of the Taiwan Strait with different political, economic, and social systems. The KMT policy in relation to PRC centres on unification in the deciding period (KMT, 2002). The Mainland Affairs Council established in 1992 illustrates the KMT as promoting ROC/PRC dialogue.

By adopting 'one China, two equal political entities' as the framework for cross-Strait relations, the ROC government hopes that relations will develop in a peaceful, pragmatic, and rational direction. The Peking authorities should realize that this is the best way to promote the unification of China. In the course of cross-Strait exchanges, Peking should dismiss any misgivings it has concerning the ROC government's determination to achieve unification...Furthermore, both sides of the Taiwan Strait should adopt moderate unification policies; it is inappropriate to be too important as more haste will only mean less speed... There is no point in the Chinese seeking unification for its own sake, unification should take place under a reasonable and sound political, economic, and social system and way of life...Once the ideological, political, economic, and social gap between the two sides is bridged as a result of our joint efforts, the unification of China will come naturally. (The Mainland Affairs Council, 1999: 13-14.)

Prior to taking control in central government, the DPP insisted on Taiwan as an independent country and launched a number of initiatives to rejoin the UN both at the level of national and international communities. In addition, the establishment of a sovereign and independent Republic of Taiwan was declared as a goal in the political Charter of the DPP (DPP, 2000).

i) In accordance with the reality of Taiwan's sovereignty, an independent country should be established and a new constitution drawn up in order to make the legal system conform to the social reality in Taiwan and in order to return to the international community according to the principles of international law.

ii) In accordance with the reality of Taiwan's sovereignty, the scope of Taiwan's sovereignty over the land and the people should be redefined, with the double aim of creating a legal basis for dealings between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait in accordance with international law and of safeguarding the rights of people from both sides in their dealings with each other.

iii) In accordance with the principle of preserving multi-cultural development, the educational system shall be reformed on the basis of recognizing Taiwan as a community. This shall be done so that people may gradually cultivate the recognition of their self-consciousness. Based on the fundamental rights of the people, the establishment of a sovereign Taiwan Republic and the formation of a new constitution shall be determined by all citizens of Taiwan through a national referendum. (DPP, 2002, [www.dpp.org.tw](http://www.dpp.org.tw), translated by the author.)

Marsh (2000) suggests on the basis of a survey of political opinion that there are four types of response to the question of national independence from Mainland China. These are i) Taiwan nationalist; ii) China nationalist; iii) Pragmatist and; iv) Conservative. The set of political attitudes to the PRC is illustrated in table 6.1

**Table 6.1: People's Political Orientations to PRC in the ROC/Taiwan**

Intentions	Independence (Taiwan nationalist)	Unification (China nationalist)	Pragmatist	Conservative
Context	Citizens attempt to support and recognize Taiwan as an Independent Country	Citizens attempt to reunite with the PRC	Citizens recognise the difficulties for both being independent and reunification and insist on maintaining the current political circumstances	Citizens have had no specific political intention

Source: Marsh (2000:1)

In table 6.2 the political attitudes to PRC are revealed as diverse, in the Mainland Advisory Council's (2003) survey which provides an analysis of support for the options of unification or independence. The dominant view among the general population is that the 'status quo' should be maintained and any decision on independence or unification should be delayed.

**Table 6.2: Political Intentions to the PRC 1997-2002**

Time /Intentions	Status quo now/ Decision later	Status quo forever	Status quo now/ Unification later	Status quo now/ Independence later	Unification ASAP (*)	Independence ASAP (*)
Nov/1997	42	18.5	15.7	6.7	3.8	9.5
Aug/1998	30.5	15.3	15.3	12.9	0.8	7.4
Aug/1999	39.6	12.2	16.3	13.8	2.4	14.3
Feb/2000	35.2	19.3	19	12.5	2.4	5.8
April/2000	30.2	21.1	10.2	14.6	2.7	3.9
May/2000	42.3	16.6	16.6	12.0	4.1	5.0
July/2001	32.1	21.5	21.5	10.2	3.3	6.4
Feb/2001	38.5	15.3	15.3	14.8	1.8	3.4
Dec/2002	33.3	21.5	10.3	10	4.2	5.9

Source: The Mainland Affairs Council (2003) [www.mac.org.tw](http://www.mac.org.tw)

ASAP (\*): As soon as possible

Table 6.2 highlights the extent to which the preferences of the people of Taiwan have significantly changed. Graham highlighted the dilemma which President Chen faces in relation to the DPP policy for China from political and economic points of view:

The majority of the Taiwanese people are not in favour of outright independence, and the presence of President Chen Shui-bian, a native Taiwanese, could allow productive negotiations for some sort of compromise based around the framework of economic integration. This can only happen, however, if the Chinese government agrees to renounce the use of force in its desire to reunite Taiwan with the Mainland China. (Graham, 2001: 212.)

Taiwan's economy continued to face a decline in 2001. While the economy dominates the government's political agenda, equally its relations with China continue to provide a long-term threat to Taiwan's security. The latest of China's military exercises was held in June 2001 and involved 10,000 troops simulating

an attack on the island. It only continues to demonstrate that there still appears to be no long-term solution to the China-Taiwan problem.

#### **6.4 Tensions within Aspects of Sports Policy and International Relations Resulting from Ideological Differences**

I will refer here to three types of manifestation at the level of international policy which flow from the clash of ideology in relation to the issue of Greater China/Two Chinas. These are problems within the Olympic movement, problems and conflicts between the ROC and PRC in international sports events, and problems between Taiwan and other neighbouring states in sport specifically Japan and South Korea, principally of an economic nature.

##### **6.4.1 Power struggles between the ROC and PRC in the Olympic Movement**

In the initial period after the establishment of the ROC on Taiwan in 1949, the US supported Taiwan's claim to be the legitimate seat of government of Greater China. In the early 1970s it changed policy seeking to build links with Mainland China through 'ping-pong' diplomacy and related measures. For some commentators at least, the ROC- PRC relationship is seen as one organized around the one-China principle. According to Short (1999), the political attitude to the one China principle by the American government is as follows:

The United States acknowledge that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China, and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States does not challenge that position. It reaffirms its interest in a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. (Short, 1999:603.)

There thus seems to be little acknowledgements of the DPP position that an independent Taiwan should be the political aim. After 1949, with the two regimes competing in international society, sport was one of the significant areas of power struggle between the ROC and PRC. Within this context, the IOC only

recognised one Chinese Olympic Committee, that based on Taiwan. However, in 1968 in a close vote, by 23 to 21, the IOC recognised two Chinas, both the communist controlled area, PRC and that controlled by the Nationalist ROC (Espy, 1979). The recognition caused tensions and conflicts for both the Chiang-Kai-Shek and Mao regime in the years which followed. The two sides attempted to exclude one another from the political arena through a number of political actions. The list of the battles between ROC/Taiwan and PRC in respect of the Olympic movements is illustrated in Table 6.3.

**Table 6.3: Power Struggles and Tensions between ROC and PRC in the Olympic Movement**

Year	Place	Actions
1959	IOC	The IOC was negotiating with the ROC Olympic committee to readjust the title of the National Olympic Committee and finally to end recognition of the ROC Olympic Committee in 1959.
1968	IOC 68 <sup>th</sup> Annual Conference	IOC re-recognises the ROC Olympic Committee.
1972	Winter Olympic Games	ROC sends players to the Winter Olympic Games for the first time.
1976	Montreal Olympic Games	Canadian government announced its unwillingness to grant athletes from the ROC admittance to the country since Canada did not recognize that nation's existence, even though ROC was a member of the IOC.
1979	IOC	ROC Olympic Committee accused IOC of not obeying the Olympic Charter. Henry Hsu, IOC Member of the ROC, sought an injunction to prevent the IOC's decision to reject the ROC Olympic Committee. The Swiss court found in the ROC's favour late in 1979.
1980	Winter Olympic Games	The ROC excluded from the Games.
1980	Moscow	Due to restriction concerning the national title, flag and anthem, ROC unwilling to attend the Games.
1984	IOC	ROC rejoins the summer Olympic Games in Los Angeles.
1986	IOC	ROC attends the Games for the first time with the title of Chinese Taipei with new flag and anthem.

Sources: Lucas (1980); Miller (1992); Guttmann (1992); Houlihan (1994)



Since the DPP's first term in office from May 2000, the internal and external political environment has altered. The issue of interaction in sport with the PRC has been discussed including the immigration of sporting elites to Taiwan, both PRC elite sport coaches and PRC-born elite sports participants and their adoption of Taiwanese identity. The DPP legislators insisted on opening the door for sport interaction with the PRC before they succeeded in taking power in central government. Ironically, the DPP government did not pursue this policy during their first term in office.

As Sandschneider notes "Taiwan is a vibrant and a diversified civil society of 23 million people that has established a fully democratic system thus demonstrating that it is possible to transfer elements of western democracy into a non-western historical and cultural setting" (Sandschneider, 2002:11). This democratic evolution was evidenced by the elections of 1996 and 2000, the latter returning a government of a different political party (DPP) for the first time.

Since President Chen (1986) reaffirmed the DPP principle of an 'independent Taiwan', his victory may have made the leader of the PRC nervous in political terms and could have created potential tensions between the two sides (Wu, 2001). President Chen was a legislator who had regularly challenged the foreign policy of KMT and instead advocated increased freedom of political expression.

The US President Bush has signed a Bill announcing the removal of the limitation on individuals and groups who are anti-government, or communist...allowing them to enter US legally... However, the KMT government still does not allow the dissenting individual and groups who support and promote Taiwan independence to enter Taiwan freely without threats. The KMT government should consider human rights and remove the limitation. (Chen, 1990:190, translated by the author.)

and;

The ROC passport is not recognised in global society, Taiwan's foreign relations are in a dark corner...is the KMT pragmatic approach to global

society useful? Or is the attitude of the KMT government to maintain Taiwan as a temporary state? The KMT government should seriously consider the road to becoming an independent country. (Chen, 1990:198-199, translated by the author.)

Given over fifty years of KMT dominated central government, DPP not only has had internal political struggles with KMT but also has raised tensions with the PRC. As Van Kemenade (2001) points out:

Cross-strait and Taiwanese internal politics are more interlinked than ever before. In the short-term, Taiwanese politics are bound to see more instability and chaos, leading to a further deterioration in cross-strait relations. (Van Kemenade, 2001:55.)

At the same time, on the 21<sup>st</sup> March 2001 the President of the IOC, Juan Samaranch sent a formal letter of congratulation to President Chen and hoped that Chen would continue to support the Olympic movement in Taiwan. Two days later, Chen met Wu the IOC member at the office of Formosan Foundation in Taipei. The meeting was important for the relationship between the two sides (the government and the Olympic Committee). An oral report addressed to President Chen affirmed that the PRC Olympic Committee was going to take part in the bidding to host the 2008 Summer Olympic Games. As Wu (2001) noted the importance of helping the PRC to bid for the Games in order to reduce political tensions had been stressed and the bidding for the 2008 Summer Olympic Games would be a key issue. It would be important to support Beijing's bid for the Games. President Chen responded to Wu in a positive manner and addressed the issue with the media both nationally and internationally during the President's inaugural ceremony in Taipei. The announcement made Wu a politically sensitive figure in the world's media. Due to the concerns about voting for the host city in 2000, IOC Member, Wu pointed out his intention for voting for the 2008 Olympic Games.

Taiwan is considering supporting Beijing to bid for 2008 Olympic Games and it may be possible that part of the sports events take place in Taiwan. (2001:228, translated by the author.)

Wu (2001) also claimed to have supported the vote for the PRC in 2000 and 2008 for the bidding city.

My vote went to PRC when PRC was bidding for the 2000 Olympic Games. This year the vote will go to PRC again for the 2008 Olympic Games... If PRC takes the Olympic Games, personally I think it will be helpful to keep peace between two sides. (Interview with IOC Member of Chinese Taipei, 1988-2003: 03/10/2001, translated by the author.)

The KMT legislator Ding (2001) supported in parliament the line taken by the IOC Member, and highlighted the importance of the decision.

According to the prediction of the IOC member, the PRC is going to bid successfully to host the Games. In order to reduce the tension between the two sides, it is the right time to release a friendly message to the PRC government... Particularly, the Ministry of Mainland Affairs and the NCPFS should plan and take the opportunities to open a positive dialogue again. (Ding, 2001: 291, translated by the author.)

The strategic political announcement with regard to the 2008 Olympic Games bidding made a number of DPP politicians challenge the role of the Chinese Taipei IOC member. DPP legislator Shie (1995), one of the key actors of DPP promoting and supporting the movement of 'independent Taiwan', argued that the IOC member had not made efforts to bid for the 2002 Asian Games for Taiwan.

The Chinese Taipei IOC member, Wu, with an unreasonable excuse, (his father's sickness), did not try his best to support the Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee to bid for the 2002 Asian Games successfully... Instead, he played an important role to help promote the PRC's bid. Wu is the IOC

member. His role and his authority comes from the influence itself within this IOC not the ROC government. However, the Ministry of Education should be concerned about the action. The Ministry of Education should stop the subsidies to the IOC member's office in Taipei. (Shie, 1995:500, translated by the author.)

The KMT politicians, Li and Shie (2000), have made the same argument and argued against the actions of the IOC member in supporting the PRC bid for the 2008 Olympic Games. The same author made the point further and argued that it would not be fair to other bidding cities and would jeopardize international relationships.

The IOC member of Chinese Taipei visited the IOC member of PRC to discuss the possibilities for the two sides to hold the 2008 Olympic games together...This was a surprise to the people of Taiwan. Wu is acting on behalf of IOC without going against the IOC Charter. However, Wu's action has jeopardized the role of the IOC and was harmful to Taiwan's foreign relations with other bidding countries. (Li, 2000:574-575, translated by the author.)

Relations with the PRC are apparently somewhat better than in the past and many problems have been solved. However, the issue of the 2008 sports torch relay raised by the Taiwan media has been problematic:

The Beijing authorities want the Olympic flame to pass through Taiwan for two reasons. The first is to show the outside world that it is sincere in wanting to thaw cross-strait relations and thereby win international support. Second they plan to use such a move to create the appearance that the people on both sides of the strait are Chinese and stir up identity contradictions in Taiwan. (e-Taiwan News, 1 March 2001; quoted in Slack et al. 2002: 360.)

Such sensitivities suggest that the conflicts and struggles between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait will continue for some time into the future.

#### **6.4.2 Conflicts between the ROC and PRC for Bidding the International Sports Events.**

Moving on to the 1990s, struggles in both the both political and economic domains between the ROC and PRC at international level have been very visible. Economically, ROC/Taiwan witnessed economic development in the 1980s and an economic boom during the 1990s (for more details see Chapter 3). At the same time PRC took off in economic development from the late 1970s. As Fan (1995) notes:

...in contrast to the Maoist period, China's development philosophy since the late 1970s has emphasized efficiency rather than equity, and open door rather than self-reliance. (Fan, 1995: 421.)

The PRC also achieved its goal of economic growth up to the 1990s. The two sides have competed on a global scale using economic leverage to attempt to exclude one another from various markets through political actions. Shin (2001) provides an example of the exclusion through economic competition in the case of relations with France, with:

... the Republic of China challenging its diplomatic isolation by economic means, [in for] example the case of the ROC's efforts to develop relations with France [he goes on to describe]...the ROC's campaign to promote relations via different types of economic diplomacy and the People's Republic of China's ability to undermine the ROC's effort. (Shin, 2001:124.)

Politically, the PRC insists on the 'one China principle' and avoids portraying an image of 'two Chinas' at a global level. The two sides did not reduce tensions but increased conflicts in international sporting events. The PRC has attempted to exclude ROC/Taiwan from attending and bidding for international sport events, such as the Asian Games and East-Asia Games. The list of examples of such initiatives from 1995 to 1997 is illustrated in table 6.4. Arguments focused on the national flag, the title of the country, national identity, and on the 'one China' issue.

**Table 6.4: Conflicts between ROC and PRC in the International Sports Affairs**

Year	Cases	Tensions	Resolutions
1995	Asian Youth Track & Field tournament	PRC ask to remove the ROC national flag	The ROC Track and Field Federation claimed its right to use its flag.
1996	Asian Rugby Annual Conference	PRC argues against the name and the flag of the ROC	
1996	World Golf Annual Conference	PRC argues against the name and the flag of the ROC	ROC follows the Olympic forum
1996	Atlanta Olympic Games	Students from ROC demonstrate national flag in the sports event	
1997	Bussan East-Asia Games	Reducing the numbers of invitations given to ROC	ROC did not attend the opening ceremony

Sources: NCPFS, 1999:126, White Paper)

However, Miller (1992) notes, the PRC's actions in respect of ROC/Taiwan without regarding political-economic power over the years have provided a narrow view of the PRC's actions.

In so many respects they are more rational than their ideological mainland brothers. After the severe flooding in southern China in the summer of 1991, Taiwan and Hong Kong donated substantial relief funds, Taiwan a massive \$15 million. Yet at the 1989 congress of the Olympic Council of Asia, representatives of the China National Olympic Committee had solemnly condemned the bid by Chinese Taipei National Olympic Committee to stage the Asian Games of 1998, on the grounds that the People's Republic team could not compete in the land of Chiang Kai-shek. Even now, though the two countries compete jointly in the Olympic Games, the Beijing government tries to pretend that the island does not exist. When Taiwan has the world's second largest trading reserve of \$76 billion in 1991, and is the thirteenth largest trading country in the world, the Beijing government's attitude is absurd. No People's Republic team has yet competed in Taiwan,

though more than twenty Taiwanese' teams have been to Mainland China since their gymnasts broke the ice in 1989. One wonders why the Taiwanese could not have accepted a compromise ten years or more before they did. (Miller, 1992:176.)

The doubt, which Miller raises above, can be understood in the change in policy direction by the ROC. From 1949 to the early 1970s Taiwan relied on diplomatic and military support from the US in its stand-off with Mainland China both in the international relations generally and the Olympic movement in particular. However, in the period from 1971 to 1979, the ROC renounced the United Nations and cut foreign ties with the United States of America. Following the failure of its foreign affairs initiators, the ROC government considered adopting a different approach to become involved in the new international environment. As a result, a more pragmatic approach was adopted. Joei (1994) highlights the key points of this pragmatic approach adopted by the ROC government.

Pragmatic diplomacy in its basic sense consists of expedient measures and methods adopted to deal with external relations and matters when a normal approach to official diplomacy is not operable, the practice of which is called pragmatic diplomacy or subtle diplomacy. (Joei, 1994: 298.)

The facts are that there were 20,688 people in the ROC, and 1,964 citizens in Mainland China who benefited from the policy to allow cross-strait visits. The number has increased every year by around 500 under such a pragmatic approach (NCPFS, 2001).

Following this development, the ROC Olympic Committee/Chinese Taipei also changed its strategy in seeking to rejoin the international sports community. ROC/Taiwan now embraced the IOC's decision not to allow it to use the title of Republic of China, and took the title, 'Chinese Taipei' from 1986. Under the so-called 'Olympic formula', the ROC government has focused on the aim of attending international sports events to enhance the image of the ROC.

### **6.4.3 Sporting Implications of Economic Rivalry with Japan and South Korea**

In this section the relationship with Japan and South Korea in terms of economic aspects of policy through sport will be discussed. The issues of national identity in international interactions can be seen in the 'sports torch' incident involving Japan. This incident resulted in tensions among the PRC, Hong-Kong, Taiwan and Japan. Historically Taiwan was a colony of Japan from 1895 to 1945. Following the Second World War, Japan sought to extend its political circle to PRC and thus cut diplomatic ties with ROC/Taiwan in September 1972. In terms of economic interactions, however, the two sides have become increasingly close since 1972, while politically Japan has adopted a strategic approach to developing relations with the PRC. Economically and culturally, Japan has emphasized the political interaction with ROC/Taiwan. Deans (2001) describes the political and economic relationship between the ROC and Japan:

The absence of diplomatic relations since 1972 has made the use of informal channels of contact vital to the maintenance of effective links between Japan and the Republic of China on Taiwan. Japan and Taiwan have evolved a 'virtual diplomatic relationship' that exploits aspects of informal politics common in much of East Asia. This contribution addresses the activities and motivations of pro-Taiwan figures in Japan over last 25 years and argues that while this link has been extremely effective, the lack of institutionalised ties makes it a vulnerable mechanism for contract. (Deans, 2001:151.)

In terms of sport, the '1990 Taiwan Provincial Games' raised tensions between the governments of Japan and ROC/Taiwan. 'Fishing Island' is a small island located to the North-East of Taiwan. Following the Second World War, the PRC, Japan and Taiwan all claimed the legitimate right to the territory, and this has remained a key issue especially for ROC (Taiwan) and Japan. This remains an unresolved case at the level of the international courts.

The '1990 Taiwan Provincial Games' were being staged in Kaohsiung, the second largest city in Taiwan and ruled by the KMT Party. The city government



decided to deliver the 'torch' of the Games to the island as a symbolic gesture of ownership. Politicians from both the KMT and the DPP have raised this sport issue in relation to the argument of national identity between ROC and the Taiwan state. Both KMT and DPP legislators argue on the one hand, that central government has not paid attention to the issue and jeopardised the national image and right of the 'Taiwan' state to the island; on the other hand, legislators also suggested that the Mayor of Kaohsiung take political responsibility for this event.

The 1990 Taiwan provincial games delivered the torch to Fishing Island ending in an unsuccessful landing on the island, which was stopped by the Japanese military from the Japanese mainland...The ROC government claimed the right to the land. However, this unsuccessful landing of the torch has seriously damaged the national image...The Mayor of Kaohsiung did not consider the problem nor cooperate with central government carefully. He should take political responsibility and resign his position of Mayor... The Ministry of Defense did not protect the ships and sports personnel properly. It also should take responsibilities in this case. The central government should denounce the Japanese military actions. (The DPP legislator Shie, 1990:125-126, the KMT legislator Wang, 1990: 208-210; the KMT legislator Chang, 1990:125, translated by the author.)

DPP was established in 1986 and gained seats in the Legislative-Yuan in 1989. The new opposition party had differing views on the issue of the sports torch. The main focus was the use of the title of 'Taiwan state' and the right of the 'Taiwan state' to the island.

The KMT government was exiled from Mainland China and caused tension between Taiwanese and Mainlander...We need to recognize and understand that Taiwan is a state, with its own government, territory, legitimacy. Taiwan is an independent country. (Tian, 1990: 178-180; Lu, 1990:55, translated by the author.)

The Mainlander Executive-Yuan leader, Hau (1990) responded to the argument with an ambiguous explanation.

The action of delivering the sport torch was considered by central government...The government cannot stop the people, those who attempted to assert their right to the land. The Executive-Yuan has no right to halt the action and the central government evaluated this action as a reasonable means of asserting Taiwanese right effect ...The ROC government will continue to maintain the right of taking suitable action to protect its people. At the same time, the government would not consider taking military action. (Hau, 1990: 55, translated by the author.)

Significant arguments and discussions have been raised in parliament. In particular, the opposition party successfully lobbied for the record of martial law in and after 1987. The ROC removed 'martial law' and opened the door to the PRC for individuals to visit in 1987 to increase interactions. The policy focused on Mainlanders, those who moved from Mainland China to Taiwan after 1945, to visit their families living in PRC. The DPP politician Wu (1987) argued that central government has considered the policy to PRC in a practical way; ironically, however, the KMT central government forbade interaction between academics and those involved in sport. Sport, art and cultural activities would be easier for interaction in the initial stages.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs announced the policy to the PRC that opens all sorts of academic and sport interactions to the communist countries without PRC. The KMT government insisted on banning all international academic and sports events to PRC...The policy apparently obeyed the will of majority of people in Taiwan... Opening the door to PRC has already gained huge support from people in Taiwan and also international society. More interactions would be expected between sports culture and academics. These types of interaction between the ROC and PRC could be more flexible for the two sides to interact. (the DPP legislator, Wu, 1987: 47, translated by the author.)

The Minister of Education, Mau (1988) responded to the DPP politician Chen and claimed the policy that ROC would not join the Asian Games. Chen (1988)

highlights the relationship between politics and sport, and notes the importance of rejoining global society.

The KMT government announced a number of times that politics and sport cannot overlap...As a result, attending 1990 Beijing Asian Games would be nothing in relation to politics...Furthermore, rejoining international affairs is the key policy of the government, and attending the Games is one of the best ways to achieve it. (Chen, 1988: 39, translated by the author.)

The other issues of sports interaction with the PRC discussed in the 1990s include the immigration of sporting elites to Taiwan, adopting PRC's elite sports coaches and the representatives of the PRC born sports elites to Taiwanese identity. ROC/Taiwan has experienced political and economic transition, and increased interaction with PRC because of both internal and external factors. Externally, the collapse of the USSR in 1991, France and the US agreeing to sell the modern fighter jets to Taiwan and, both PRC and ROC joining the WTO in 2001 have influenced both countries. Internally, the power struggle of the KMT politicians whose family origin both lay in Mainland China and local born Taiwanese in the KMT in 1990 has increased. The DPP recognising Taiwan independence in its political Charter in 1991, President Lee visiting South Asia for economic cooperation in 1994 and visiting the US for political discussions in 1995. Those reflect changing circumstances. More seriously, the '1996 missile threat' in the Taiwan Strait raised significant tensions in the 1990s.

The PFP politician Huang (2002) pointed out the relationship between Japan and Korea and centred on the possibilities for cooperation between Taiwan and PRC:

Historically and politically, there are huge and deep conflicts and tensions between Japan and Korea...They both gained benefits through the 2002 Korea-Japan Football World Cup. The government should consider baseball and basketball as the two main sports in Taiwan and set up the first priorities to these two sports...Furthermore, the idea of two nations or parties hosting international sports events together, this should be promoted. (Huang, 2002, translated by the author.)

The PFP legislator, Jeng (2002) argues that:

The prohibition of the DPP government's policy regarding individual sport elites and groups to visit PRC for participating in sports events would significantly damage sports development in Taiwan in terms of sports related industry. (Jeng, 2002: 224-225, translated by the author.)

The DPP government responded to these issues in Parliament and stressed two key directions:

The DPP government has seriously considered the needs of sport development in Taiwan...The DPP government has started to establish the 'Act and Charter' to regulate the interaction with PRC, particularly with individuals. In terms of sports groups and organisations reflecting on the political interaction with PRC, the DPP government will consider carefully and make such intervention possible at a later date. (The Executive Yuan, 2002, translated by the author.)

President of the PRC Olympic Committee, Yuan Wei-Min, visited the ROC/Taiwan for the first time in attending 'the 4<sup>th</sup> cross-straits Olympic Exchange Conference' (a series which began in April 1996), in 2001 before the voting for the 2008 summer Olympic Games (NCPFS, 2001). At the same time, many of the key actors in the COC (Chinese Olympic Committee) visited ROC/Taiwan to attend the 'Sports Administration Personnel Delegation' including six high and middle-ranking COC cadres and five major actors in the PRC Sports Federation (NCPFS, 2001). Apparently, the Chinese Taipei IOC member's efforts and the DPP government's strategic approaches had been also to ease the tension in terms of sports interactions. The DPP's foreign policy towards the PRC in the initial stages can be seen as a conservative approach and reflects its general party policy to PRC. This reflects its different political ideology to the PRC and also its attempts to strengthen the ideology of 'Taiwan nationalism' for the inhabitants of Taiwan in the initial stage.

### **6.5 Political Values and the Positions Adopted in Relation to Hosting Sports Events in Taiwan – The Debate over Naming the National/Provincial Games**

Sport has been used within the ROC/Taiwan state to promote recognition of an 'independent state' of democratic China. The titles of sports events have played an important symbolic role in the power struggle between the KMT and the DPP. According to Lien's (1991) explanations, the 'Taiwan Area Games' was formerly known as the Taiwan Provincial Games and established in Taipei in 1946. Taipei upgraded to the main city in Taiwan and withdrew from hosting the sports event in 1967. In 1974, due to financial limitations, the DPE reduced the finance for personnel for the sports event and for improving the performance elite sports persons. The Ministry of Education therefore combined the Taiwan Province Games and Taipei City Games into the Taiwan Area Games in 1974. More recently, in 1999, due to the national identity argument in Parliament, the title was changed to the 'National Sports Games'. The transition of the development of the Taiwan Area/National sports events is illustrated in table 6.5. The Games can be seen to be getting steadily bigger and more important overall by reference to the number of participants, over the period from 1946 to 1990.

**Table 6.5: Taiwan Area/National Sport Events in ROC/Taiwan from 1946 to 1990**

Year	Hosting City	Numbers Attending	Number of Sports	Notes
1946	Taipei	2322	17	Chang Kai-Shek addressed those attending the Opening ceremony
1947	Taichung	747	17	
1967	Taichung	2780	32	
1973	Tauo-yuan County	3590	32	
1974	Kaohsiung County	4980	32	Taipei has upgraded to be a metropolitan city in Taiwan
1980	Gya-I County	6409	33	Kaohsiung has upgraded to a metropolitan city in Taiwan
1982	Tainan County	7612	37	
1988	Miaoli County	7980	44	
1989	Taipei	6626	58	
1990	Kaohsiung	6764	59	

Source: Lian (1991:18)

The title of sports events plays a significant political symbolic role in Taiwan. Where the title of 'Republic of China' or 'Taiwan State' is used is of political significance. The Ministry of Education considered the realities and established the Charter to regulate hosting sport events in ROC/Taiwan in 1995. According to item three of the 'Act' regarding hosting sports events, the Taiwan Area Games changed to the 'National Sport Games' in 1996. DPP legislator Yan (1995) argued Taiwan had been ruled by Japan for fifty years and the Executive-Yuan should celebrate the fact by inaugurating the title the 1<sup>st</sup> 'National Sport Games'. It would be a shame, it was argued, if Taiwan had the possibility of independence but still did not have its own national games.

...the ROC took over Taiwan from Japan for fifty years; however, the KMT government still did not face the political reality. KMT claimed a right to control PRC, or at least be part of the without recognising the political independence of the Taiwan state. The Ministry should follow the new Act

to hold the National sports Games on time next year. According to the regulations, it should not be impossible to hold the Games next year. (Yan, 1995: 397, translated by the author.)

The 'National Sports Games' began in 1999. The NP legislator Chen (1998) asked the leader of Executive-Yuan what is meant by the title of the 'National Sports Games'.

... the national sports games would be held next year. However, what is the political reality of "national"? Are they 'ROC', 'Taiwan State', ROC on Taiwan or ROC (Taiwan)? (Chen, 1998: 73, translated by the author.)

Due to a severe earthquake, in 1999 the First National Sports Games had to be postponed. The KMT legislator Ju (1999) argued that the Games should be cancelled to concentrate on recovering from the earthquake. DPP legislator Lin (1999) argued for the latter and points out the relationship between the earthquake and national sport events.

The First 'National Sports Games' is the most important games in the country with historical significance...Due to the earthquake, the Tau-yuan County has launched an emergency meeting with all the local sports authorities and decided to hold the games three months later...The reason to continue the games is as follows: firstly, the sport elite needs an event to examine their efforts in order to improve performance at international sports events; secondly, all the local sports authorities disagree with postponing the games; finally, it is an opportunity to encourage people to recover from the earthquake. (Lin, 1999: 461-463, translated by the author.)

The arguments between KMT and DPP politicians indicated the difference of political attitude to sports events. This is connected to the political structure in Taiwan. The next section explores this relationship.

## **6.6 Political Values and the Positions Adopted in Relation to Hosting International Sports Events in Taiwan – The Debate over International Sports Events Bids**

This section examines the realities of sports bids, explores the criteria for bidding for international sports events, and examines the abilities of ROC/Taiwan to bid for such events. Evidence from interviews suggests that the majority of interviewees were in favour of international sport events bids. The rationales of ROC/Taiwan to bid for the Games can be divided into the following points i) to demonstrate ability to manage international sports events; ii) the existence of sufficient sports facilities and staff, iii) to promote the national image and identity; iv) economic benefits and v) political issues.

Some key actors in central government also provided an overview of the constraints for bidding for international events. The Director of the Department of Physical Education, Wu (2001), highlighted factors for bidding for the Games such as the chance to develop sports facilities. He stressed the importance of providing excellent sport facilities for the Games at international level.

There are some practical issues government has to consider before bidding for international sports events...i) to gain more experience in managing a single international sports event; ii) more funding for sport development to promote national identity, iii) improving the ability to manage the event. (Interview with Director of DPE, 1998-2003: 03/18/01, translated by the author.)

and;

To bid for the Games successfully is beneficial for promoting the image of Taiwan. However, there are some dimensions to consider: sports facilities, transportation, and the level of Taiwanese elite sport. If we do not prepare well Taiwan would destroy the confidence of the people after the Games ended. (Interview with Director of DPE, 1998-2003, 03/18/01, translated by the author.)



In addition, perceptions of the key actors in central government, including the DPE and the NCPFS suggest that national prestige and image might be the most important aspects in bidding for the Games.

To hold the Asian or Olympic Games, Taiwan will benefit from promoting the national identity of Taiwan as well as from encouraging more people to attend sports. In order to achieve these goals, the government should focus on both how to achieve gold medals as well as on how to reach a high standard of managing international events. (Interview with Director of the DPE, 1998-2003: 03/18/01, translated by the author.)

However, the IOC Member from Chinese Taipei, Wu (2001), highlighted both the benefit of bidding for the Games externally and the importance of reinforcing the Game's management.

Bidding for the Games successfully, the benefits are visible...more sports participation can be predicted; better images of Taiwan can be achieved... it will be very positive to host international sports events like the Asian, or the Olympic Games in Taiwan. By doing so, Taiwan should pay attention to enhance its ability to achieve gold medals, and to reach a higher quality of managing international events. (Interview with Director of DPE, 1998-2003: 03/18/01, translated by the author.)

Furthermore, politically, the 'one China principle' plays a central role in bidding for the Games. Interviewees from both the DPE and the NCPFS highlighted the practical difficulties of hosting an opening ceremony with 'two Chinas' involved.

In fact, without solving political issues such as 'one China principle', it is very difficult to bid for the Games successfully...The key issue is, which state represents 'China'... The Asian Games and Olympic Games in the opening ceremony require the nation's leader to announce the beginning of the Games in the country. It appears to be a sophisticated political issue

between Taiwan and PRC. (Interview with Director of DPE 1982-1986: 04/28/01, translated by the author.)

and;

It is important to mention that, given the situation in Taiwan, in terms of raising the two China issue holding international sports events can reinforce the identity and strong image of Taiwan in a positive way. It is not only for the feelings and awareness of people in Taiwan but also for the promotion of national prestige. (Interview with Chairperson of NCPFS 2000-2002: 03/29/01, translated by the author.)

Shiu (2001) also highlighted the unacceptable situation of holding international sports events without flying the ROC/Taiwan national flag.

Taiwan has suffered from not being allowed to unfurl its 'national flag' at international sports events...If Taiwan hosts the Games without unfurling our national flag, it will be painful for people in Taiwan. (Interview with Chairperson of NCPFS 2000-2002: 03/29/01, translated by the author.)

The dilemma for ROC/Taiwan to bid for international sports events can be illustrated by the explanation of two of the PRC's scholars on PRC recognition, of Taiwan as part of China. This sensitive political issue significantly constrains the bidding for international sports events.

Taiwan is a province of China. Taiwan sports organizations should be under the leadership of the Chinese Olympic Committee. Item 24 of the Olympic Charter rules that within one country, there is only one Olympic Committee that organizes activities according to the Olympic Charter and the Olympic Ideal. (Fan and Xiong, 2002: 325.)

The following section will explore the constraints and strengths of Taiwan bidding for major events, particularly the political issues.

### **6.6.1 Political Constraints and Sports Reality in Bidding for Major Events**

Since ROC/Taiwan takes a political position against the PRC in international relations, practices such as the 'one China principle' and 'Olympic formula' have been reinforced in the bidding for international sports events. Chinese Taipei IOC Member, Wu (2001) argued that political rather than logistical issues would be the dominant ones in bidding for international sports events at the present time between the two sides.

Internationally, under the 'one China principle', it is impossible for Taiwan to bid for the Games successfully at the present time in my opinion...Nationally, we also need to examine Taiwan's abilities to provide sports facilities and to enhance sport excellence to win gold medals...Under the 'one China principle' Taiwan has been bombarded with negotiations and tensions for over thirty years. Take the 1990 Asian Games in Beijing as an example; we had arguments between representatives over names i.e. 'China Taipei' and 'Chinese Taipei' in Chinese when the Games were held in Beijing...Over the past thirty years, tensions between the two sides have been escalating regarding the representatives of China. Indeed, the PRC has exercised power to prevent Chinese Taipei bidding for the Asian Games in 1990 and 1995 respectively. (Interview with IOC Member of Chinese Taipei 1988-2003: 03/10/01, translated by the author.)

Since bidding for international sport events is a key sports policy of the DPE and NCPFS (NCPFS, 1999), the procedures and problems surrounding are important issues. KMT legislator Pan (1994) presented the difficulties of bidding for the Asian Games in parliament, arguing that Taiwan should not only consider internal issues but also the external challenge from the PRC:

The Ministry of Education has bid for the Asian Games without considering the political issues...To bid for the Games successfully or not is not only a financial issue but also a political issue with the PRC...However, the Ministry of Education did not address the issue of the national flag, or the

national anthem, which would cause political arguments with the PRC nor did it provide details of the NOC's abilities to gain medals.

and;

It is doubtful that the Ministry of Education, NOC and ROCSF have provided the correct information to the people in Taiwan and it seems to have sought to increase the sports budget and to enhance its political-economic circle. The Executive Yuan should have a commission jointly including the Ministries of Education, of Transport, of Finance, of Interior, the Council of Mainland Affairs, the NOC and ROCSF to prepare the bidding. (Pan, 1994:497, translated by the author.)

The KMT legislator Ding (1994) echoes this in arguing that, "without consensus between the Ministry of Education, the Council of Mainland Affairs and the Ministry of Interior, it would be difficult to bid for the Games" (Ding, 1994:229, translated by the author).

Understanding of the significance of the Asian Games is informed by an appreciation of the history of Taiwan's participation and its performance. The elite sport performance in the Asian Games is shown in table 6.6. ROC was absent from the 1<sup>st</sup>, 4<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> Asian Games because of a political problem. ROC/Taiwan first attended the Asian Games in 1954, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Asian Games and gained 6<sup>th</sup> place at that time. ROC/Taiwan rejoined the Games in the 11<sup>th</sup> Asian Games. This performance in the last Games was 7<sup>th</sup> place. Taiwan is thus certainly among the leading nations in sporting terms in Asia, it not in the very top fight, and should have the ability to host the Games. In terms of sports performances it compares reasonably well with other bidding countries and cities.

**Table 6.6: The Outcome of the Asian Games from 1951 to 2002**

	Hosting City	First Place	Second Place	Third Place	Performance of the ROC	Hosting Year	Hosting Country
1 <sup>st</sup>	New Delhi	Japan	India	Iran		1951	India
2 <sup>nd</sup>	Manila	Japan	India	Korea	6 <sup>th</sup>	1954	Philippines
3 <sup>rd</sup>	Tokyo	Japan	Philippines	Korea	5 <sup>th</sup>	1958	Japan
4 <sup>th</sup>	Jakarta	Japan	India	Indonesia		1962	Malaysia
5 <sup>th</sup>	Bangkok	Japan	Korea	Thailand	8 <sup>th</sup>	1966	Thailand
6 <sup>th</sup>	Bangkok	Japan	Korea	Thailand	12 <sup>th</sup>	1970	Thailand
7 <sup>th</sup>	Tehran	Japan	Iran	PRC		1974	Iran
8 <sup>th</sup>	Bangkok	Japan	PRC	Korea		1978	Thailand
9 <sup>th</sup>	New Delhi	PRC	Japan	Korea		1982	India
10 <sup>th</sup>	Seoul	PRC	Korea	Japan		1986	South Korea
11 <sup>th</sup>	Beijing	PRC	Korea	Japan	16 <sup>th</sup>	1990	PRC
12 <sup>th</sup>	Hiroshima	PRC	Japan	Korea	7 <sup>th</sup>	1994	Japan
13 <sup>th</sup>	Bangkok	PRC	Korea	Japan	6 <sup>th</sup>	1998	Thailand
14 <sup>th</sup>	Busan	PRC	Korea	Japan	7 <sup>th</sup>	2002	South Korea

Sources: Adopted from [www.busanasiangames.org/Eng/](http://www.busanasiangames.org/Eng/) (2002)

However, the problem of dealing with the obstruction of any bid by the PRC is paramount. Chan (2002) suggested that the possibility of political co-operation between the two sides would be doubtful without a political solution to the two China problems.

The award of the 2008 Olympic Games to Beijing has animated the people of China, but has raised hopes, as well as fears, among the Taiwanese. The Olympic movement has enabled both countries to participate in international sports under the so-called 'Olympic formula'. It has also stimulated cooperation between them in such areas as science and trade. Can the Beijing Games bring the two sides closer together through the co-hosting of some events? Three issues may stand in the way: operational feasibility, juridical consent and political agreement. The most intractable problem is the 'One China Principle', a condition set by Beijing for further cooperation. The co-hosting project is not impossible, provided both sides have the

political will to make it work. At the moment, however, this political will seems to be wanting. (Chan, 2002:141.)

In 2000, the DPP took power in central government with its political slogan of 'Taiwan Independent'. This seemed to rule out any prospect of cooperation. The premier of the DPP, Chang, (2001) rescinded President Chen's announcement and in response to a question from a KMT legislator argued that under the 'One China Principle' it would be impossible to host any sport for the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games:

President Chen claims that the public fully support the PRC to bid the 2008 Olympic Games...However, if the PRC insists on the 'One China Principle' as a condition for co-hosting part of the Games in Taiwan, the DPP government do not agree. The DPP government will only accept any sports interaction if it does not prejudice Taiwan's legitimate rights in the international community. (Premier of Executive Yuan, Chang, 2001:101, translated by the author.)

### **6.7 Political Values in Hosting International Sports Events in Taiwan: Political Struggle between Parties and between the North and the South of Taiwan**

This section considers the political struggles in ROC/Taiwan. The north of Taiwan is dominated mainly by the KMT and the south controlled largely by the DPP at local government level (see figure 6.1). The interviewee from the Sports Authority in Kaohsiung criticized the unbalanced funding allocation between Taipei and Kaohsiung and the dilemma of promoting sport with little subsidy.

Over the past fifty years, central government has focused on the development of Taipei more than that of Kaohsiung. The sport subsidy to Kaohsiung is less than that in Taipei. Furthermore, lack of sponsorship is an even more difficult situation for sport promotion in Kaohsiung. Due to serious economic difficulties, it is very hard to convince the private sector to

sponsor sports events as in the past. (Interview with Kaohsiung Sports Authority, 04/25/01, translated by the author.)

The argument concerning differential funding based on political affiliation has also existed in individual Counties. A KMT legislator, for example, criticises the unbalance funding allocation between south and north Tao-yuan County.

In order to equalise sports development between south and north in relation to Tao-Yuan County, central government should consider the balance of subsidy in terms of establishing stadiums. (Liu, 1988:115, translated by the author.)

Arguments about the balance of the resources distribution between north and south Taiwan have generally existed over the years. To explain this it is necessary to trace political development at the south-north level in Taiwan since the Second World War. When the nationalists arrived, there were conflicts between the Chang Kai-shek regime and local people particularly in the south part of Taiwan following the tragic '228 social movement' in 1947 in which thousands of people were killed in south Taiwan by the Mainlander military (Yu, 1995). Given this historical tragedy, the DPP has had powerful support in south Taiwan. According to statistics from the Ministry of Interior, the DPP has held the majority of the vote in local governmental and presidential elections in the south virtually since its inception, while the KMT held the advantage in north Taiwan. The political landscape of local government in 2002 can be seen in figure 6.1. The DPP still holds the majority in South Taiwan including Kaohsiung city, while the KMT holds the majority of north Taiwan including Taipei.

The competition to promote a representative city for the 2002 Asian Games raised the north-south argument in sport. The KMT legislator Lin (1994) argued that the selection of the bidding city for the 2002 Asian Games was unbalanced. It is doubtful whether international sports events could only take place in the city of Taipei or in Kaohsiung in ROC/Taiwan; they would at least require support from surrounding local authorities.

The Executive-Yuan has claimed and announced that bidding for the 2002 Asian Games is the main policy in central government...however, Taipei County takes more advantages than Taipei...Taipei County has an international standard Dome, supported by Sports Colleges, is rich in tourist resources and flexible transportation networks. (Lin, 1994:188, translated by the author.)

The NP legislator Jau (1994) has highlighted the tension between the city of Taipei and Kaohsiung due to the competition over the bidding for the 2002 Asian Games. At the same time, he pointed to extra financial subsidies from Taipei City government to the NOC which might be said to promote support for Taipei.

The competition of bidding for the 2002 Asian Games has created a significant tension between Taipei and Kaohsiung. Central government should try to reduce the conflicts between the two cities...Do not let the political forces affect sports development nor make peaceful society disordered... Furthermore, Taipei City government has made extra subsidies to the members of the NOC...central government should investigate the actions of Taipei City government. (Jau, 1994: 160-161, translated by the author.)

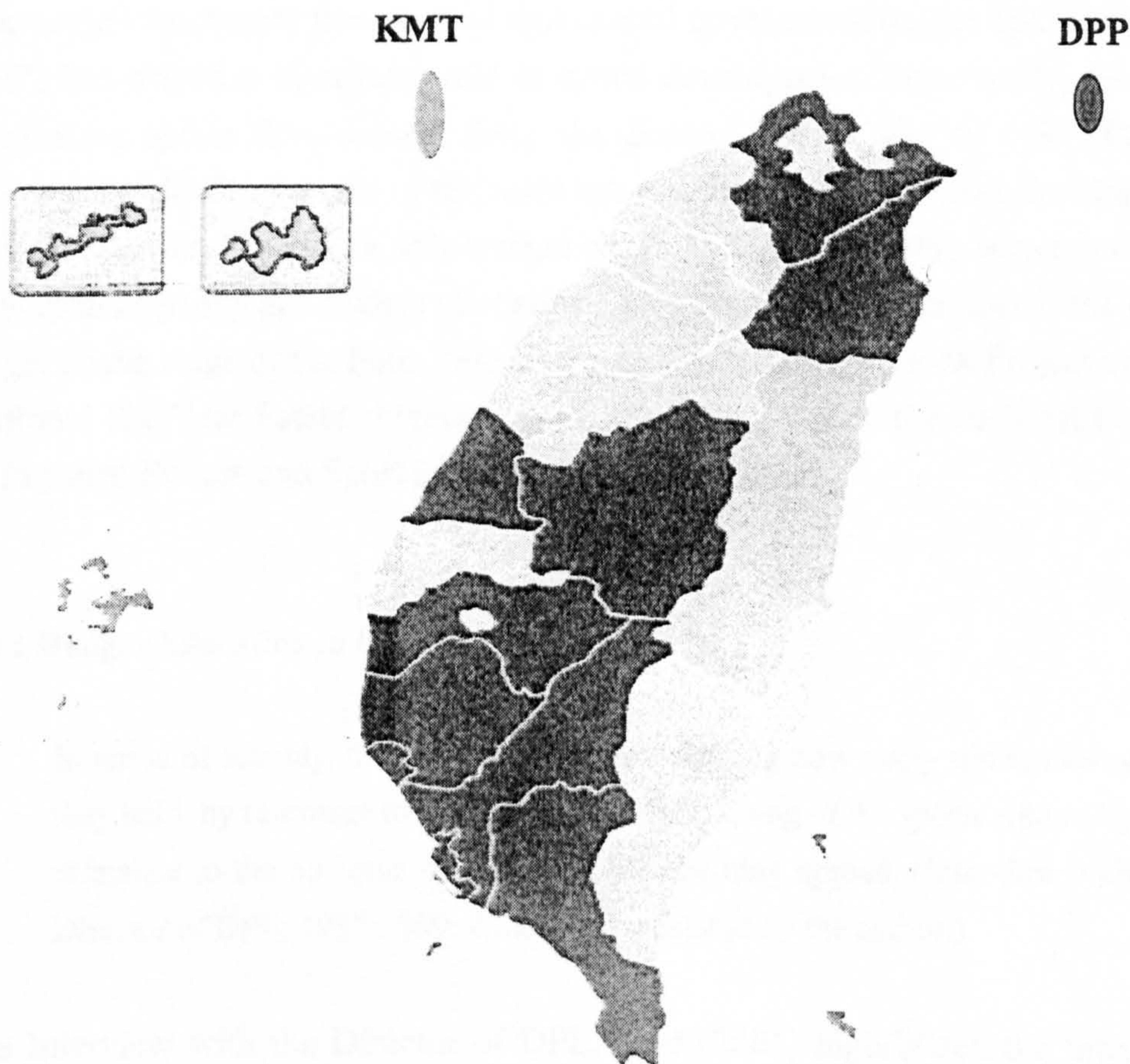
Finally, Kaohsiung won the right to bid for the 2002 Asian Games. In terms of sports facilities, south Taiwan had made efforts to maintain, renew and establish sports facilities to meet the needs. However, the KMT legislator Luo (1995) highlighted the shortage of sports college/education in south Taiwan to support international sports events.

Since Kaohsiung will be entitled to bid for the 2002 Asian Games, most of the sports facilities will be maintained or established in this area. However, most sports education institutes are located in north and central Taiwan. South Taiwan still does not have any sport institutions. In order to facilitate the development of sport in South Taiwan and balance the sport education between north and south, a Sports College or Institute is necessary in the south. (Luo, 1995:134-135, translated by the author.)



Such observations reflect the unbalanced resource distribution between south and north Taiwan with regard to sport in relation to political traditions at local government level, and reflect a more or less overt form of clientelism between the major parties nationally, and their local political support.

**Figure 6.1: Political Ruling between the KMT and DPP at Local Government Level**



Source: [www.dpp.org.tw](http://www.dpp.org.tw)

## **6.8 Sports Funding and Sports Policy**

Western countries regard 'sport for all' as a foundation to promote elite sport. In Taiwan, it seems to me that we have done things differently over the years. My own opinion is to establish a sport pyramid, starting from 'sport for all' to elite sport. (Interview with IOC Member, 1889-2003, 03/10/01, translated by the author.)

The review in chapter five showed that central government (under both KMT and DPP) has played a significant role in sports development. Structurally, the DPE dominated sports development from the Second World War to 1997. Central government funding is one of the most substantial sources for sport development in ROC/Taiwan. Therefore, this section explores the relationship between central government policy and budget allocation. It divides into three periods i) the initial stage, ii) the stage of the Four Year National Medium-term Sports Project and the National Six-Year Establishment Plan, and iii) the Stage of the National Council of Physical Fitness and Sport after its creation in 1997.

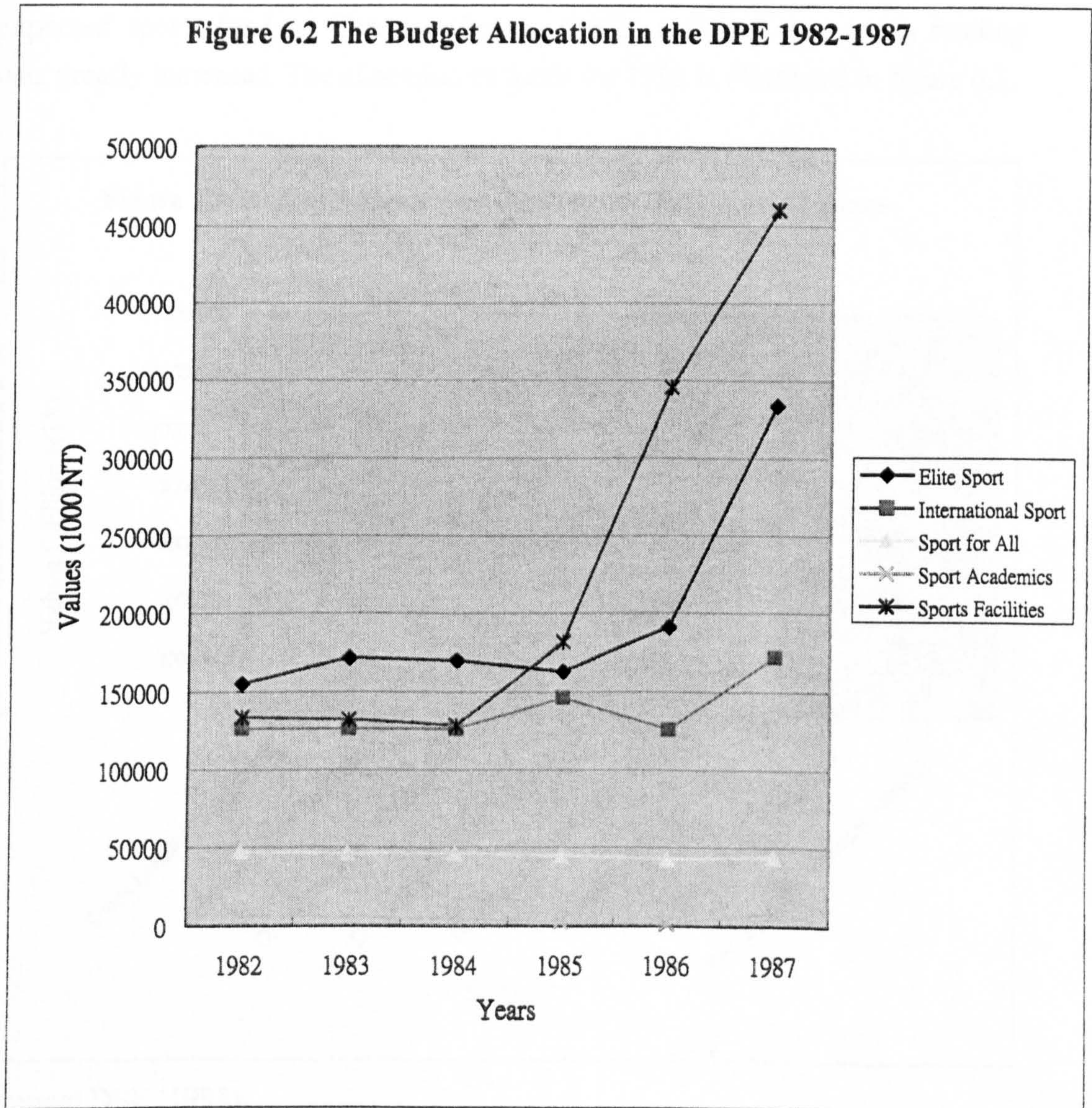
### **6.8.1 Budget Allocation in the Initial Stage**

In terms of subsidy, the DPE was only considering how many sports events they held, by reference to the outcome of the training of the sports elite or by reference to the outcome of the sport elite training abroad. (Interview with Director of DPE, 1987-1989: 03/20/01, translated by the author.)

The Interview with the Director of DPE, Tsai (2001) highlighted the imbalance between government sport policy and funding allocation during his period in office (1982-6).

The policy of the Department of Physical Education apparently focused on sport for all...however, the government budget went to the elite sport level. (Interview with Director of DPE 1982-1986: 04/28/01, translated by the author.)

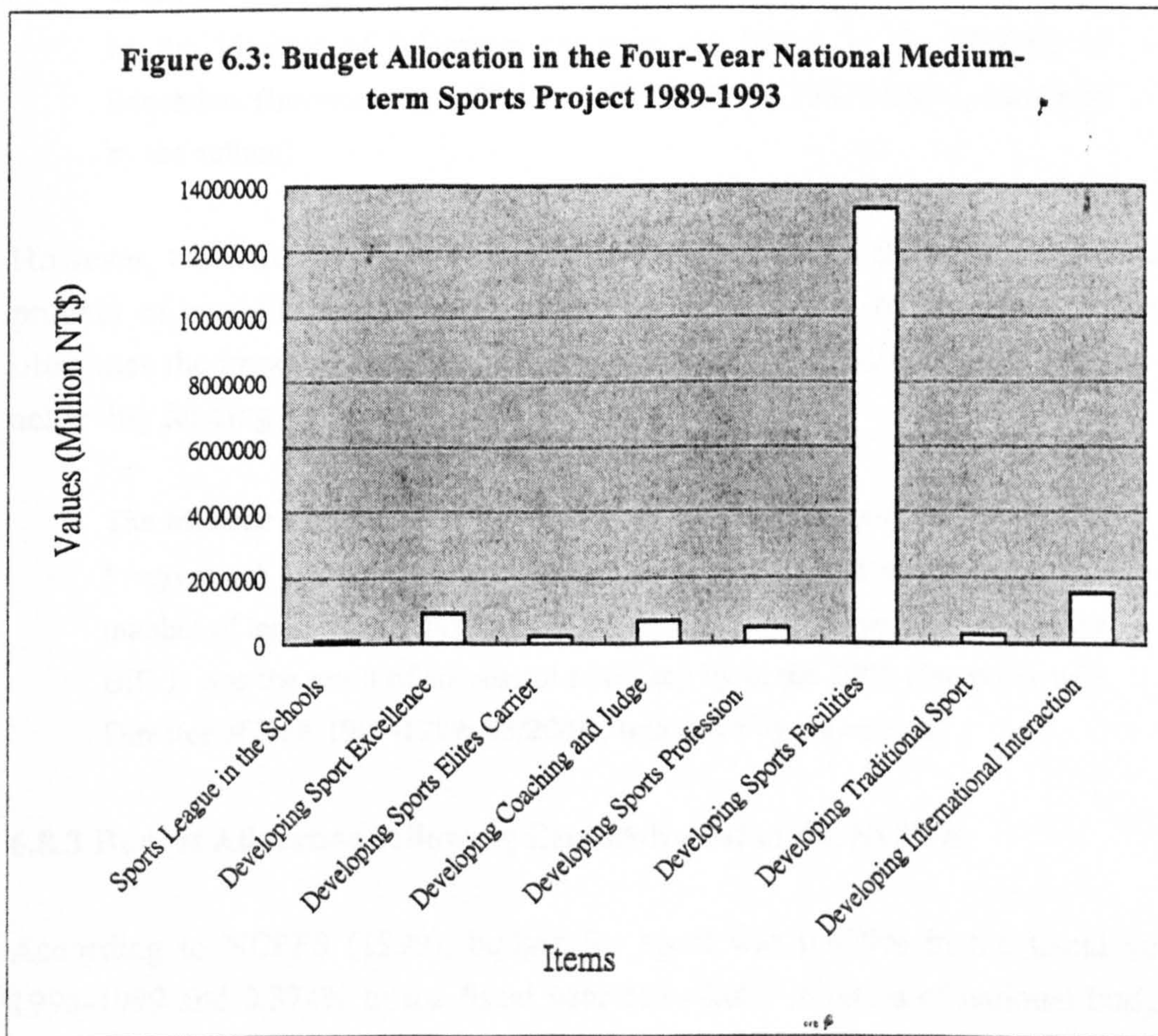
The budget allocation during 1982 to 1987 illustrated in figure 6.2 shows that funding on elite sport and sports facilities increased; sharply while the item of sport for all remained marginal with little growth.



Source: DPE (1987)

### 6.8.2 Budget Allocation in the Four Year National Medium-term Sports Project and the National Six-Year Establishment Plan: A Project for Elite Sport Promotion

Interviews with actors in central government, regarding funding allocation suggests that the sports budget for the DPE was limited Wu (2001). However, in the year of the National Six-Year Establishment Plan in 1991, have achieved the expected sports funding. Director Chuang (2001) indicates that sports funding was greatly increased. The allocation of funds for 1991 is illustrated in figure 6.3.



Source: DPE (1993)

Director of DPE, Chien (2001) explained the mechanism of decision-making for funding sport in the Ministry of Education. It has largely depended on negotiations among departments in the Ministry of Education.

In fact, the budget of DPE was only a limited percentage of the Ministry of Education's overall expenditure. The budget of the DPE was negotiated inside the Ministry of Education before submitting the budget to Parliament. When the central government intends to launch or promote sport in particular situations, the Ministry of Education used to negotiate the budget with other Departments. The financial commissioner in the Ministry of Education held the power to decide the percentage of each Department. When the KMT government wanted to promote sport, the committee would let the Minister of Education negotiate the budget in the Ministry of Education. (Interview with Director of DPE 1991-1996:03/19/01, translated by the author.)

However, the Director of DPE, Chang (2001) provided a different view on the process of establishing the sport budget in the Ministry of Education. Chang illustrates the importance of key actors/government officials' strategic actions in achieving funding for sport.

The Minister of Education was convinced by me to support the "Four-Year Programme". This programme budget was substantial. I also persuaded a number of legislators to support the programme in parliament for passing the Bill. It was the result of successful advocacy by in the DPE. (Interview with Director of DPE 1987-1989: 03/20/01, translated by the author.)

### **6.8.3 Budget Allocation following Establishment of the NCPFS**

According to NCPFS (1999), budget for sport was 0.409% in the fiscal year 1998-1999 and 0.374% in the fiscal year 1999-2000 in terms of national budget of central government. It was only 0.102 % of GNP in 1998 and 0.098% in 1999 (NCPFS, 1999:37). In comparison to Western developed countries, the sport budget at central government level in ROC/Taiwan is still limited, particularly where some western countries have had lottery funding, such as the UK. It is a small part of the overall central government budget and this might be the reason that the sports budget has experienced little controversy in parliament. The

chairperson of NCPFS, Shiu (2001) underlined the fact that the majority of legislators from all parties supported the sports budget in parliament:

Most legislators support the sports budget to NCPFS. The NCPFS did not suffer difficult circumstances in gaining sport budget in the parliamentary agenda. (Interview with Chairperson of NCPFS 2000-2002: 03/29/01, translated by the author.)

The NCPFS was established in 1997. The total sports budget in central government was growing at that time. The budget for 'elite sport' was more significant than the budget for 'sport for all'. The NCPFS expenditure on both elite sport and 'Sport for All' increased sharply after the creation of the NCPFS in 1997. Figure 6.3 demonstrates the changes of expenditure in sport for all and elite sport in the NCPFS during the period from 1997 to 2000. Sports funding on elite sport has remained dominant compared with sport for all. As the Chairperson of the National Council for Physical Fitness and Sport notes (2001) there is a dilemma in balancing funding allocations between sport for all and elite sport.

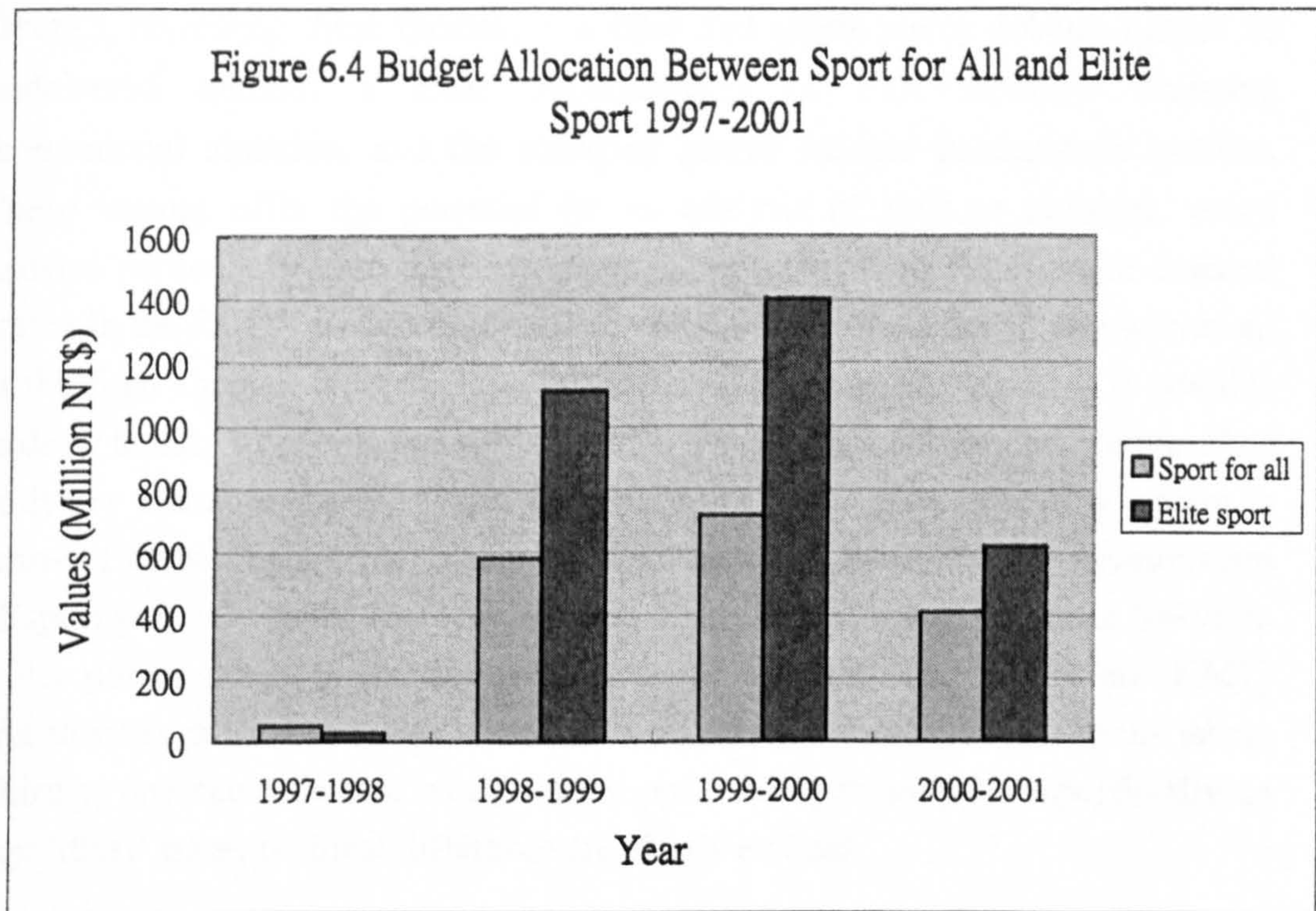
It is difficult...the NCPFS is trying to redress the balance in many aspects of sport for all and elite sport. (Interview with Chairperson of NCPFS, 2000-2002, 03/29/01, translated by the author.)

The senior actors in the DPE, Wu (2001) also highlighted the imbalance in funding distribution between sport for all and elite sport.

In terms of the expenditure on elite sport, I need to point out that we found our elite sport development well. Comparing the budgets of 'elite sport' and "sport for all", sport for all is marginal. Some of the budget goes to the sports facilities whilst the other goes to 'ROC Sport Federation'. (Interview with Director of DPE, 1998-2002, 03/18/01, translated by the author.)

Increased funding on elite sport and its link to international sport performance in, for example, the 1998 Asian Games, are considered in chapter seven, which reviews subsidy from central government to NGBs generally, and specifically the

key funding allocation from both the DPE and NCPFS to the sports Associations which is focused on the development of elite sport.



Source: Adapted from NCPFS (2001)

## 6.9 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to identify the ways in which politics and ideology are reflected within the ROC/Taiwan sports policy system. This chapter thus explored: i) the context of representatives of the ROC/ Taiwan state through sport at a global level; ii) the politics of the titles of sports events for the KMT and DPP; iii) relations on ability and reality within bidding for international sports events and; iv) sports funding allocations and sport development. Five key themes have emerged from this review and analysis: (i) the power struggle through sport between the ROC/ Taiwan and PRC particularly, and to a less degree with Japan and South Korea; (ii) sport events' titles and the debate between 'national sport events' and the 'Taiwan Area Games'; (iii) political

constraints and sport performance within sport bidding; and (v) sport funding allocations between sport for all and elite sport.

Overall, reviewing these themes, it is clear that sports policy debates cannot be understood without a clear understanding of ROC/Taiwan's changing international situation, and the changing power balance in domestic politics. These themes offer the potential for an analysis of broader political, social debates particularly in terms of strategic relations between internal and external actors in the ROC/Taiwan context. Discussion of such themes will be undertaken in the final chapter. Nevertheless, in relation to these observations, it is possible to draw tentative conclusions with regard to a strategic relations perspective. First, both key actors in the ROC and the PRC have taken advantage of structure in terms of global regulations to promote their interests. Secondly, the development of sport policy over the last four decades inside ROC/Taiwan has been linked to wider power struggles (particularly between North and South, DPP and KMT) and this has presented actors with resources for, and constraints on actions taken. Thirdly, one can note that while state support for sport may be superficially an 'apolitical' issue, political differences are clearly evident.

The following chapters explore the relation between the state and the NGBs, and between the state and the local government and examine more specific and contemporary relationships in depth. In essence, what follows reveals the current circumstances regarding sports policy between state and NGBs and local government and relates this back to the long-term historical developments of both state and sport (see Chapters 3 and 5) that have provided the backdrop to the contemporary relationship between the KMT and DPP in sport. These issues will constitute a central theme of discussion of the structure-agency relationship, which reflects the strategy within the state (Marsh and Stoker, 2002).



## **CHAPTER 7**

# **POLITICAL CONTROL OVER THE ROC/TAIWAN'S NATIONAL GOVERNING BODIES OF SPORT**

### **7.1 Introduction**

The preceding chapter explored how the relationship between the international contact and the ROC/Taiwan state might be conceptualized. It highlighted the importance of macro level factors such as the impact of different political ideologies on sports policy. The context of Chapter Six, generally, was a discussion of political values in relation to sports policy in the KMT and the DPP and, more specifically, the key arguments around international sports events bidding, national sports events and sports funding allocations were evaluated. These issues reflect the argument regarding political competition and struggles within the KMT over the years and outlined the focus of sport development in a new political era of DPP government since 2000. The political development in ROC/Taiwan was a significant turning point and also extended the influence to sports development. As Tan (2001) points out, the KMT was likely to be affected by the DPP's first term in office in 2000:

...the bureaucratic state is facing a great challenge from political, legislative, and societal forces. The old type of insulated bureaucratic planning and decision making is no longer possible, the bureaucracy is losing its KMT patrons, and bureaucrats are finding themselves answerable to political pressure, legislative oversight, and interest group lobbying. (Tan, 2001: 48.)

This chapter seeks therefore to evaluate how the state's sport-bureaucracy was affected by the DPP government coming to power. In order to provide some clarity to

the ensuing discussion in terms of the reality of sports development, the chapter is outlined as follows. The first section explains the relationship between central government and national governing bodies of sport in ROC/Taiwan. Secondly, power struggles between the DPE and the NCPFS are examined since the creation of the NCPFS in 1997, with the DPE and NCPFS co-existing at central government level after 1997. Thirdly, the argument focuses on political and power changes within power struggles between the Republic of China Sports Federation (ROCSF) and NCPFS. This chapter thus provides an understanding of the development of NGBs and their relationship both with the KMT government and, more recently, with the DPP in the post-war period up to the early 21<sup>st</sup> century. In doing so, the nature of the development of the ROC Sport Federation is reviewed and the relations of financial subsidy or patronage are identified. Finally, the strategic implementation of plans by the ROCSF under the DPP government rule is appraised.

The approaches adopted in this chapter are consistent both with the critical realist assumptions and the strategic relations perspective outlined in Chapter 3. As Jessop (1990) stated, strategic selectivity centres on political and economic dimensions. The relationship between the KMT and the ROC Sport Federation in this chapter traces such dimensions (Jessop, 1990). The state, however, is an institutional ensemble shaped by the outcome of past strategic struggles between social forces.

The structure and modus operandi of the state system can be understood in terms of their production in and through past political strategies and struggles. These strategies and struggles could have been developed within that system and/or at a distance from that system; and they could have been concerned to maintain it and/or to transform it. In this sense the current strategic selectivity of the state is in part the emergent effect of the interaction between its past patterns of strategic selectivity and the strategies adopted for its transformation. (Jessop, 1990: 261.)

and;

Strategic selectivity refers to the structurally mediated bias, which means that particular forms of state privilege some strategies over others, some time horizons over others, some coalition possibilities over others. A given type of state, a given form of regime, will be more accessible to some forces than others according to the strategies they adopt to gain state power. And it will be more suited to the pursuit of some types of economic and political strategy than others because of the mode of intervention and resources, which characterize that system. (Jessop, 1990:260.)

The DPP came to power in 2000, and, potentially at least, there was room for the development of new strategies and to establish a new successful hegemonic project, and/or restructure the state, and/or its form of social regulation (Hay, 1994; Marsh, 1998). To what extent such radical change has been evident in the post KMT context is a matter for discussion following empirical analysis.

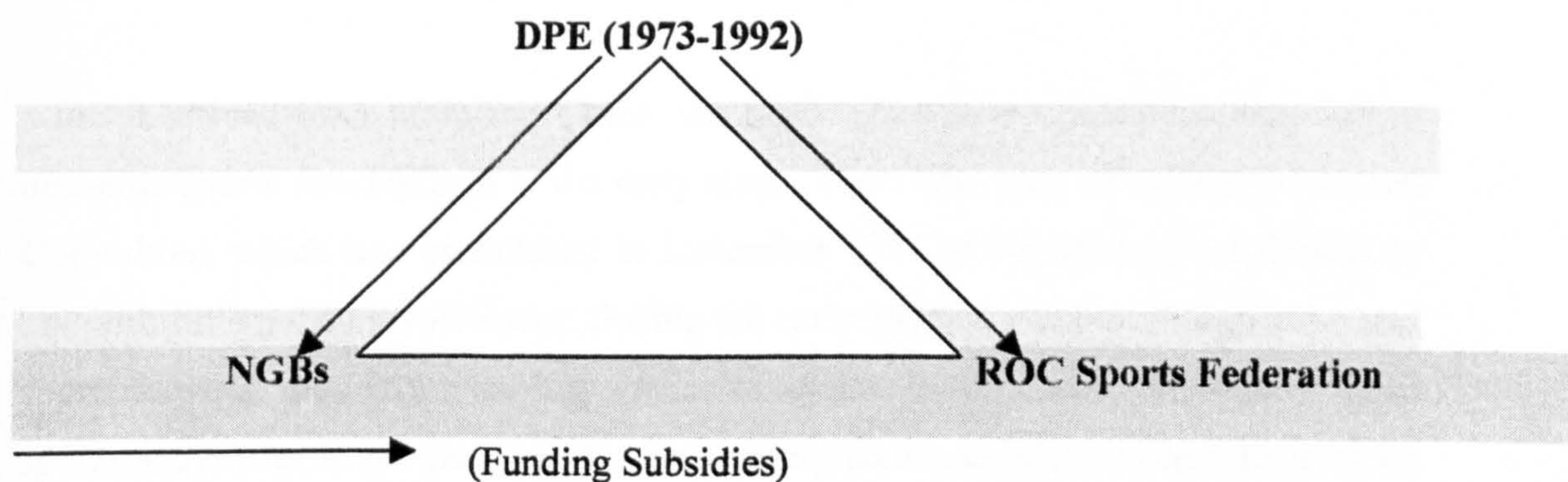
## **7.2 Sports Structure and Power Struggle in the ROC/Taiwan National Governing Bodies of Sport**

### **7.2.1 Sports Structure Changes: the ROCSF, DPE and NCPFS**

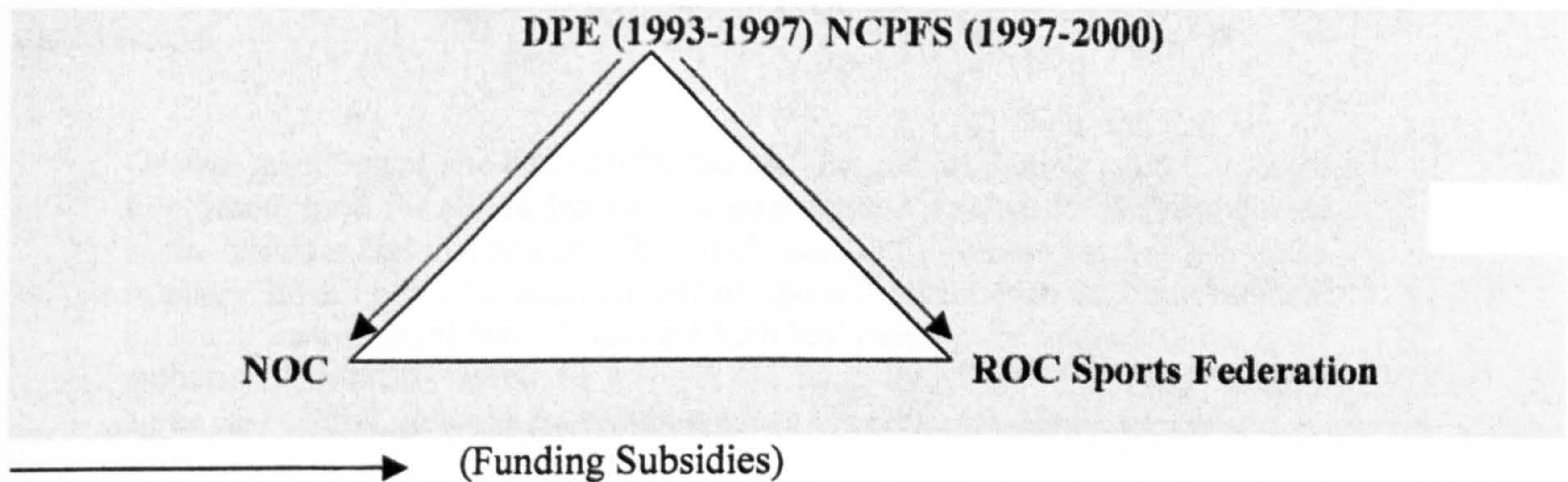
The ROC Olympic Committee was created in 1922 in Nan-king, Capital of the Republic of China with the object of promoting sport in society and attending international sports competitions (Wei, 2000). It transferred to Taiwan in 1949 following the civil war between the Nationalist KMT government and the Communist Mao regime. After 1949, the 'Red Communist regime' also created the 'All-China Sports Federation' in Mainland China in 1950 (cf. Fan and Xiong, 2002: 319-341). The DPE was established in 1973, and the ROC Sports Federation received a significant grant from the DPE for promoting sport. The ROC Sports Association reformed in 1973 in Taipei and was renamed the ROC Sports Federation. The role of the ROC Sports Association was to take charge of both international sports affairs and elite sports promotion in Taiwan. The ROCSF was formed, primarily, to promote

sport with the aim of increasing attendance by Taiwan/ROC at international sports events. Minister of Education, Mao (1990) pointed out the partnership of sport promotion in Taiwan in parliament: with the NOC taking responsibility for international sport; the ROCSF focusing on sport within Taiwanese society and the DPE mainly take responsibility for sport promotion in schools. This structure is illustrated in figure 7.1.

**Figure 7.1: Division of Responsibility for the Elite Sports Promotion 1973-2000**



In 1993, the National Olympic Committee separated from the ROC Sport Federation and the function of the ROCSF became principally a focus on sport elite training. The first President of the ROC Sport Federation was Mr. Chang, a leading politician of the KMT; and the chairperson of the NOC was General Kuo, a significant member of the ROC military network and the ROC ambassador to Paraguay before 1993. Given the separation of the ROCSF from the role and function of the two government partners, the system for promoting sport in ROC/Taiwan was amended to the form illustrated in figure 7. 2.

**Figure 7.2: Responsibility for Elite Sport Promotion 1993-2000**

After it arrived from Mainland China, the KMT government paid little attention to non-elite sports development in the early stage. There was only a Physical Education Committee, which was established in December 1954 in the Ministry of Education but with little policy involvement. During the early 1970s a number of legislators and sports experts' argued for the importance of sports development, particularly those sports authorities in the parliament. The primary concerns of the debate focused on advocating the role of sport in both providing state benefits (e.g. fitness for industry and for defense) and civil rights in sport. Establishing sports authorities at central government level was part of the agreement between the KMT and DPP politicians at the end of the 1980s with a consensus between the KMT and the DPP politicians on this issue being achieved relatively smoothly. Ji was an international well-known elite sportswoman, who won medals in international competition during the 1970s. After living in the US for many years, she returned to Taiwan with the aim of promoting sport. She also became a legislator in parliament, and she was able to steer through parliament the upgrading of the status of the DPE in 1989. She persuaded both the ruling and opposition parties to support a Bill to achieve this at central government level, together with another 105 legislators (1989) of both ruling and opposition parties, and requested central government to upgrade the Department of Physical Education to Ministry level (in the Executive Yuan). The key argument in this request

centred on people's individual needs and the need for promoting national prestige at that time.

Central government should consider the benefits for promoting sport...in order to promote sport for all residents and to establish the concept of 'physical fitness as the basis for national power'. This would benefit by converting the DPE into a ministry level body...the achievement of sporting excellence and our national image at international level. These are both key reasons for upgrading the sport authority to Ministry level. As a result, the majority of the legislators strongly agree that central government should upgrade the DPE. (Ji, 1989:104-108.)

It appears that the KMT government did not heed the requests of the '106 legislators' and sporting structures were not upgraded in status until 1997. Thus, by 1997, increased effort from both sport experts and politicians had brought about a new structure of the public sector sporting authority. The key moment came when both President Lee and Premier Lain in 1995 and 1996 respectively announced that it was time to create a 'Sports Council' (the NCPFS) in central government at the Conference for 'Sport in Universities and Colleges'. The process by which the key actors attempted to upgrade sport structure from 1973-1997 is illustrated in table 5.8 (see p.112). Central to the changes was President Li's (1995) support for claims about the need for, and importance of, sports authorities. Following President Li's public announcement, the KMT legislator Wang (1996) raised this issue in parliament and suggested following the President's proposal to upgrade the Department of Physical Education after the forthcoming 1996 presidential election.

President Li has pointed out the importance of the sports development in Taiwan while attending the conference. He maintained a positive view of the functions of sport including maintaining health, developing national power, improving social order and enhancing relationships within global society. (Wang, 1996: 201-202, translated by the author.)

**Table 7.1: Chronology of promotion for NCPFS in ROC/Taiwan 1973-1997**

Year	Key Turning Stages for Creating Sport Council
1973	The Department of PE was established in the Ministry of Education
1982	The National PE Committee was established in the Ministry of Education
1988	The Sixth National Educational Meeting argues for the upgrading of the DPE to the status of a ministry
1990	The Promotion of the DPE to the NCPFS discussed in parliament
1994	Seventh National Educational Meeting discussed this issue
1995	President Lee supported the argument that the NCPFS was important for the country
1996	Premier Lain announced the Sports Council (NCPFS) should be at central government level.
1997	Sports Council (NCPFS) was created on 1 July

Source: The ROC Information Office (1999)

The development of the sport structure during the period of Taiwan's transformation in political and economic terms from the post war period is illustrated in table 7.1 and 7.2.

**Table 7.2: The Development of the Sport Structure in ROC/Taiwan 1949-2002**

Year	Government Bodies	Non-government Bodies
1949-1973	The Physical Education Committee	ROC Sports Association
1973-1997	The Department of Physical Education	ROC Sports Federation
1997-2002	The National Council for Physical Fitness and Sport 1997 together with the DPE	ROC Sports Federation National Olympic Committee

### 7.2.2 Power Struggles amongst the ROCSF, DPE and NCPFS Relating to Structural Change

The issues of removing the status of the DPE is one of the removing sport from the status of a sub-department in the Ministry of Education and giving it the structure of a (junior) Ministry in its own right. The NCPFS like some other government bodies, such as the Mainland Affairs Council) is headed by a figure of Ministerial level, appointed by the government and reporting to Parliament. The Director of the NCPFS

is a public appointment, a civil servant, the chairperson of the NCPFS is however a political appointee. The DPE continued after 1997 but with a reduced role.

When the NCPFS was initially created in 1997, there was still argument with the Executive Yuan about central government's funding allocation between the Ministry of Education and the NCPFS. The argument was becoming a significant issue in the Executive Yuan (cabinet) and Legislative Yuan (parliament). The DPP legislator, Li (1998) argued that it had been a real achievement to create the NCPFS in central government, given different expectations from interested parties. However, without cooperation collectively, it would have been difficult to achieve the goals.

Many efforts of sports experts, politicians, civil servants and people in Taiwan have led to the creation of the NCPFS. It was a great gift to the people of Taiwan...However, over the past eight months; it is disappointing to see the performance from the NCPFS. The main purposes for establishing the NCPFS are, firstly, having an authority at Ministry level in central government to promote sport; secondly, promoting "sport for all" and "elite sport" to better international competition in both the Asian and the Olympic Games in order to gain more recognition in global society given the PRC's efforts to exclude Taiwan. (Li, 1998: 296-297, translated by the author.)

Li (1998) also strongly criticized the NCPFS for not properly promoting sport in the initial stages:

The main goals for the NCPFS do not seem to have been carefully considered. The only thing the NCPFS has done over the past eight months is to have involved itself in a 'power struggle' with the DPE about the authority to host sport events, and the budget distribution in schools. (Li, 1998: 296-297, translated by the author.)

The KMT legislator, Lin (1999), argued that the division of responsibilities between the DPE and NCPFS was unclear. The politically appointed Chairperson Chao responded strongly to central government and announced that she was going to resign from her position in the Executive-Yuan since the NCPFS and DPE had overlapping



responsibilities for sport promotion in schools. These overlapping responsibilities meant that the NCPFS could not operate functionally. The central government should, she argued, set up a better framework for regulation of the sports structure.

The NCPFS was established on 16<sup>th</sup> of July. The majority of the legislators have fundamental doubts about the KMT government's intention of promoting sport. The outcome of negotiations among central government actors is poor. The Executive-Yuan should take more responsibility and establish regulations among internal Ministries and Departments such as the DPE and NCPFS. (Lin, 1999: 355, translated by the author.)

The DPP legislator, Li (1998) also highlighted as a problem the power struggle between the DPE and the NCPFS and pointed out the poor cooperation and overlapping responsibilities of the NCPFS and the DPE.

The main arguments between DPE and NCPFS are the responsibilities of hosting national sports events and national universities' sports events. In order to achieve the best outcome, the NCPFS should leave the authorities regarding the school system to the DPE...The main focus of the NCPFS should be on integrating all the resources, such as sports facilities, national stadiums, communities, sports associations and sports colleges in order to improve sports performance of sports elite and gain medals both in the Asian and Olympic Games. (Li, 1998: 296-297, translated by the author.)

The central government funding allocation was the main issue of contention between the Department of Physical Education and National Council for Physical Fitness and Sport. Particularly, the DPE was hosting sport competition at high school, university and national levels and the spending on those sport events was considerable. As one of the KMT legislators Lin (1991) highlighted, too much subsidy was both given to local governments with the National Sport Event and to the education system with Universities and College Sport Events funded by the DPE. Lin (1991) argued that "97.73 % of the DPE's annual sport budget in 1991 subsidized items related to sports events" (1991: 225-226). Thus he asked "what is the sports policy of the DPE? The

sports policy to Members of Parliament seems to be that "physical education is equal to sports events" (1991:226).

Tensions between the DPE and NCPFS are revealed in the following case involving the Baseball Association. The DPE (1996) asked the ROCSF and Baseball Association to follow the rules of DPE to regulate baseball players joining professional baseball leagues and rescinded a rule concerning the recruitment of foreign baseball players. The KMT legislator Lo (1996) argued that the DPE had exercised its power inappropriately to intervene in the affairs of the Baseball Association.

The DPE asked the professional baseball league that players under 23 years old should not be able to sign a contract with a professional baseball league and announced without seeking agreement, that the DPE would not allow foreign players to be awarded work permits. (Lo, 1996: 404-405, translated by the author.)

In 2000, a debate emerged around the regulation of volleyball players at university level. Arguments about regulation of volleyball players attending 'University and College Volleyball events' caused the DPE, NCPFS and Volleyball Association to be locked in dispute. The KMT legislator Tang (2000) criticized the NCPFS for exercising its structural power in a way which jeopardised sports development.

The female volleyball player Lu, studying at National Taiwan Normal University (NTNU), has been banned by the Volleyball Association for one year from attending any sports events. However, she still attended competitions. The policy of the DPE clearly addresses whether or not Lu can attend Volleyball events...The NCPFS has a different policy and has cut the whole subsidy to the National Taiwan Normal University. (Tang, 2000:138-139, translated by the author.)

These power struggles therefore highlight an imbalance in the sports structure and have led to many arguments about reducing of the influence of the DPE.

## **7.3 Governmental Influences and Political Affiliation within the National Governing Bodies of Sport**

### **7.3.1 Central Government's Influences on the National Governing Bodies of Sport**

The KMT transferred to Taiwan in 1949 following the civil war. In the initial stages, military elites controlled the central government and played a significant role in central government departments and ministries. In terms of the sports system, military influence was also reflected in the leadership of the NGBs. Table 7.3 illustrates details of structure of the ROCSF and provides details of leadership in ROCSF over the past fifty years. It was not until 1997 that a president of the ROCSF, Mr. Chuang was appointed whose experience related to the sport field, (he had a first degree in the sports field rather than a military background). The point here is that the chairman who took power in ROCSF had strong connections with the army, politicians and businessmen, thus allowing an exploration of the political and economic relationships between the ruling KMT government and the ROCSF.

**Table 7.3: Leadership of the ROC Sports Federation 1949-2001 and the NOC 1993-2001**

Year	President	Background	Funding (Millions NTS)
1949-1954	Hau,	Mainlander	Sponsorship and donation by individual
1954-1956	Hau,	Mainlander	Sponsorship and donation by individual
1956-1958	Chou,	Military General, Governor of Taiwan Province (Mainlander)	Sponsorship and donation by individual
1958-1961	Teng,	(Mainlander)	Sponsorship and donation by individual
1961-1973	Yang,	Military General (Mainlander)	5 (1973 by DPE)
1973-1981	Li,	Military General (Mainlander)	3.8
1981-1987	Cheng,	Military General, Minister of National Defense (Mainlander)	15.8
1987-1993	Chang	Magistrate, Commissioner of Executive-Yuan	11.3764 (1992 by DPE)
1993-1997 (NOC)	Chang,	KMT key actor at central government level	17.8781 (1993 by DPE)
1993-1997 (ROCSF)	Kuo,	Military General (Mainlander) Ambassador in Paraguay (One of the important international key allies of ROC in South America)	22.948366 (1993 by DPE)
1997-2003 (NOC)	Huang	KMT key actor at central government level	16.6116 (1998 by NCPFS)
1997-2003 (ROCSF)	Chang	Businessman, Sports background	29.4528 (1998 by NCPFS)

Source: Adapted from official Website of the ROC Sport Federation (2002)

[www.rocsf.org.tw](http://www.rocsf.org.tw)

The KMT held the majority both in the Executive-Yuan and in parliament from 1949 until the election of the Legislative Yuan from 1949 to 2001. On the one hand, with a single party state the policy frameworks could be set up and implemented smoothly with single party control, while on the other, the democratic process and liberal opinions both in parliament and central government were subverted. A director of the Department of Physical Education during the KMT period described the policy context in the following terms:

People of Taiwan did not express their opinions about sport in society during my time in office and just followed the decision of the KMT government. Under such circumstances, it was not difficult to promote sport under KMT rule.

(Interview with Director of DPE, 1982-86, 04/28/01, translated by the author.)

Political control in Taiwan left room only for the ruling party to exercise its own will to the people and Taiwanese society. In terms of sport, legislators both of the NP and DPP have debated these issues:

The KMT government interferes in the decision-making of ROCSF, DPE and NOC... The 'Association of Social Work' in the KMT party has specifically intervened strongly in the budget allocation, staff selection and election of officials. (Chiou, legislator of DPP, 1990:161-162, translated by the author.)

The KMT party has, in the past, exercised power to influence the result of the presidential elections of the ROCSF. (Yu, legislator of NP, 1994, translated by the author.)

General Ku, President of ROCSF (1993-1997), was ambassador to Paraguay and left the position in 1993. At the same time, General Ku submitted himself for the presidential election of the ROCSF in Taipei. It was at this time that both sides had to manage unstable circumstances in the maintenance of foreign relationships because of attempts by the People's Republic of China to establish foreign relationships with Paraguay and to exclude ROC/Taiwan from playing a role in international society (see chapter 3). Legislators of the KMT and DPP (1993) argued that KMT had neglected the relationship with Paraguay and it was wrong for General Ku to submit his candidature for the presidential election of the ROCSF in Taipei. KMT members at central government level responded to this argument and claimed that the relationship with Paraguay was stable because of the efforts of General Ku, and that the new ambassador should focus on developing international business with Paraguay. In terms of the election of the ROCSF, the KMT government fought back and claimed that the central government was the authority for both overseeing and supporting the development of different elements of the voluntary sector:

The ROC Sports Federation and NGBs are in the voluntary sector...the election

of ROC Sports Federation is run according to the regulations of the voluntary sector. The central government is in a neutral position. (Executive-Yuan, 2000, translated by the author.)

Furthermore, in an investigation of the Executive Board of the ROCSF, including its Chairman, four deputy chairmen and ten committee members, had to disclose their current position, education and background. The committee members of the commission board were close to KMT. The opposition party challenged this involvement in the ROCSF during parliamentary debates. The DPP legislator, Yu (1993), argued that central government was involved in the presidential election of both the NGBs and the ROCSF:

The KMT party exercised power to intervene in the result of the NGBs' election...KMT government recommended a number of politicians who had not been not involved in sport administration, with one taking the position of chairman in the Association. The majority of the Associations have a consensus about encouraging people in the private sector who have supported and promoted sport over the years to lead the Association. (Legislator of the DPP, 1993: 558-559, translated by the author.)

The key actors in Parliament were not only concerned about maintaining political independence but also the impact of non-specialist appointees on sports development. Yu (1994), legislator of the DPP, notes the key points:

Parliament is not only concerned about political intervention but is also paying attention to the independence of each of the NGBs for promoting sport. (Yu, 1994, translated by the author.)

Political clientelism here was thus overtly acknowledged as a significant problem.

### 7.3.2 Political Affiliation between the KMT and National Governing Bodies of Sport

Over fifty years ruling in Taiwan, the KMT established a substantial set of political affiliations in terms of the sports system. Table 7.4 illustrates the political-economic affiliations within the ROCSF Commission Board. The KMT dominated the ROCSF Commission Board in terms of the number of the representatives. Thus, party interests were likely to affect the voting of funding allocations and international sports events bids.

**Table 7.4: The ROC Sports Federation Commission Board 1999-2000**

Position	Political Party	Education	Background	Position in ROCSF
Chair	(KMT)	ED	Businessman	Gymnastics Association
Deputy 1	(KMT)	BA	Advisor to the President	Taiwan Provinces Sport Federation
Deputy 2		BA	Businessman	Ice-skating Association
Deputy 3	(KMT)	High School	Government Employee in Presidential Office	Boxing Association
Deputy 4	(KMT)	MA	Member of Parliament	Track and Field Association
Deputy 5		High School		Weight-lifting Association
Member 1		BA	President of the Taiwan Sport Federation	Sailing Association
Member 2	(KMT)	BA	Executive Manager in Media	Football Association
Member 3	(KMT)	N/A	Military	Martial Arts Association
Member 4	(KMT)	BA	Businessman and politician	Bowling Association
Member 5		High School	Businessman	Table tennis Association
Member 6	(KMT)	BA	MP	Karati Association
Member 7		Ph D	Sport Academics	Sport Injury Association
Member 8	(KMT)	MA	MP	Hockey Association
Member 9		High school	Businessman	Handball Association
Member 10		MA	Businessman	Softball Association

Source: NCPFS (2002)

The impact of this political-economic affiliation is evident in the bidding for the '2002 Asian Games'. Both the KMT and NP legislator Chen and Chao (1994) provided an argument in parliament that Taipei City government (KMT) had effectively bribed the NGBs in order to gain the place of Taiwan's representative in bidding for the 2002 Asian Games.

The bidding for the representatives for hosting the 2002 Asian Games is already created much tension between Taipei and Kaohsiung City government. Moreover, there is rumour about Taipei government subsidies more funding to the NGBs in order to gain votes from the National Olympic Committee members providing. (Chen, 1994:134; Chao, 1994:160, translated by the author.)

More details are provided by the DPP legislator Chang (1994) that the Taipei City government exercised power to intervene in the outcome of the voting.

The Taipei City government exercised its political-economic power to check the tax- contribution of each NOC member and attempted to influence the outcome of the voting. (Chang, 1994:111-112, translated by the author.)

Interviews with officials and politicians took place during the period of the transition of power from the KMT to DPP. This was a period of particular political sensitivity and in addition to traditional Chinese cultural reluctance to criticize individuals personally, the novelty of the new political experience meant that interviewees were particularly cautious. Typical of the types of response to the influence of the KMT and DPP was the response of the Secretary General of the Track and Field Association.

It might be important but I do not want to make any comments. (Interview with Secretary General of Track & Field, 04/09/01; translated by the author.)

One of the interviewees who was willing to discuss this sensitive issue was the Chairman of the Bowling Association. He addressed the political-economic



relationship with central government actors in relation to the construction of an international stadium in his hometown, in Chung-hua County.

I personally have strong connections with former President Li. I planned to establish an international bowling stadium in my hometown in Chung-hua and everything was going well. However, after the DPP took over, the plan was halted. (Interview with Chairman of Bowling Association, 04/21/01, translated by the author.)

Civil servants in the DPE administration are the key actors in central government for planning and implementation of sports policy. However, the dominant power of the KMT severely constrained the independence of government officials. Civil servants addressed the issues of constraints placed upon them and indicated their dilemmas concerning independent sports policy advice.

It was difficult to break the close connections between ROCSF and KMT party actors...A high percentage of the budget of the DPE was going to ROCSF, the DPE had no power to change or influence this decision. (Interview with Director of DPE, 1991-1996, 03/19/01, translated by the author.)

Legislator of the DPP, Jang (1990) confirmed that political intervention took place and challenged the hidden connections between key actors in central government and specific individuals, NGBs.

The KMT government does not have a sports policy...for the 1990 Asian Games the Director of DPE had no power to decide issues...Ironically, politicians (like KMT Legislator, Mr. Li, for example) take sport only as a tool to expand their political influences. (Jang, 1990: 198, translated by the author.)

The DPE was the only 'authority' in sport at central government level from 1973 to 1997; and was heavily influenced by KMT interventions. However, key actors in the DPE took their opportunities to constrain or enable these influences and occasionally decided or insisted on a sport policy. As Tsai (2001) points out 'the main direction of the sports policy was decided by the 'KMT Commission Meeting' every Wednesday'.

The Commission made decisions on sports policy at the central government level. Government civil servants, however, still occasionally expressed their opinions about promoting sport. As Director of the Department of Physical Education Wu (2001) indicated, the Director of the DPE, Chang, made use of the opportunities of national reform to break constraints on independent advice when the KMT government launched the 'National Four Year Programme'.

The Minister of Education was convinced by me to support the "National Four-Year Programme". The budget of this programme was huge. I also lobbied and persuaded legislators to support the programme. It was the most successful case in the DPE during my time in office. (Interview with Director of DPE, 1987-1989, 03/20/01, translated by the author.)

and;

Former Director of DPE, Chang, has broken this relation in different ways. Under the 'Four Year National Establish Plan', he took advantage of the chance to achieve a massive sports budget from central government. Also, implementing sport policy through local government for both sport for all and elite sport was successful during that period. (Interview with Director of DPE, 1998-2002, 03/18/01, translated by the author.)

#### **7.4 Public Sector Sports Funding and Sports Policy**

In order to conceptualise the points addressed in this chapter, it is necessary to provide information on the way sports funding is organized. Financial resource is one of the key aspects through which to examine the relationship between the state and NGBs. The Department of Physical Education (1973-2002) and the National Council for Physical Fitness and Sport (1997-2002) are the main government agencies. State resources for sport aim primarily to allocate funds to the NOC, for promoting international sporting relationships, to the ROCSF, for promoting elite sport, and to local government and the IOC member's office. In terms of the ROCSF, the organisation up to the 1990s was the most important government client to gain state

resources as mentioned above. The ROC Sports Federation has inclusive relations with the Department of Physical Education in the Ministry of Education to take the government funding. Before the sport evaluation of the KMT period, the close relationship led to a closed connection between NGBs and the DPE. Prior to 1992 when KMT began to formally evaluate the efficiency of government sports subsidy (see table 7.5, p.192) the connection between DPE and the NGBs was one of financial dependency. All government funds to NGBs were routed through the ROC Sports Federation which in turn had received all of its funds from the DPE. The NGBs relied heavily, or entirely, on state funds and were grant-aided through three types of subsidies: i) ordinary subsidies, which are allocated directly from the DPE/NCPFS funds of the state budget; ii) commercial/individual figure donations from the Chairs of Sport Associations which play an important role in supporting individual sport associations; iii) specific partnerships with the public sector, which mainly promote elite sport recognized by administrators of NGBs. An examination of these different types of financial resources assists the process of understanding the political-economic relations involved and the government strategies for implementation.

Individual figures play an important role affecting funding resources and subsidies to the NGBs. The Interview with the General Secretary of the Track and Field Association (2001) highlighted the important role of particular individual figures.

The financial subsidy of the NCPFS was insufficient. The Track and Field Association itself did not run any sponsorship programmes, in part, because the Association has not enough staff or ability to do that. It would be better if the NCPFS could arrange programmes for all the NGBs. The Chairman used to play a key role in financial expenditure for the Association through personal subsidy. (Interview with General Secretary of Track and Field Association, 2001, 04/09/01, translated by the author.)

When the grant aid of NCPFS is limited, I myself used to support the Bowling Association by subsidising fees for staging events. (Interview with Chairman of

Bowling Association, 04/27/01, translated by the author.)

The chairman of the Badminton Association provides part of the budget to the association. In addition, the Association has an effective and successful sponsorship programme. (Interview with General Secretary of Badminton Association, 03/27/01, translated by the author.)

The chairman plays an important role in promoting snooker including sponsoring the Association. He is also a snooker player and contributes much to the Association. The snooker events have attracted a number of company sponsorships. (Interview with General Secretary of Snooker Association, 03/29/01, translated by the author.)

Specific partnership with the private sector in the case of the Badminton Association was also able to relieve problems of reduced subsidy.

Most NGBs have been suffering problems regarding the economic decline. Due to financial problems, national expenditure fell in 2001; the NCPF's response to this situation was to stop the subsidy to the ROC Sport Federation, which had over thirty years partnership with the KMT government...The Badminton Association was not affected by this change, apart from missing some international competitions next year...The Badminton Association was supported by four national-management companies, including Taiwan Power company, Taiwan Gas company, Bank of Land, and Chinese Oil Company. These four sponsors have a long-term sponsorship with the Badminton Association and support most of the elites in Badminton. (Interview with Chairman of Badminton Association, 03/27/01, translated by the author.)

Thus in addition to the political control highlighted in the previous section, personal patronage and business sponsorship were important features of the system of support for sport.

#### **7.4.1 Funding Allocation between Sport for All and Elite Sport in the National Governing Bodies of Sport**

As the Director of the Department of Physical Education and Sport Minister Chao (1998) indicated in parliament, government funding allocated to elite sport promotion

changed with the advent of the NCPFS. The establishment of the NCPFS has turned the direction of funding to both 'sport for all' and 'elite sport'. The role of the ROC Sports Federation primarily focused on promoting elite sport. The Director of the Department of Physical Education (2001) highlighted the relations between the Department of Physical Education and the ROC Sports Federation.

The DPE has a long-term relationship with the ROC Sports Federation in regard to promoting sport. The ROCSF focused on the promotion of elite sport rather than 'sport for all'. The former Director of the DPE, Chang, has broken this relationship in different ways. Under the 'Four Year National Establish Plan' he made use of the chance to lever a huge sports budget from government. Implementation of sports policy through local government, for both sport for all and elite sport, had successful outcomes during this period. (Interview with Director of DPE, 1998-2003 03/18/01, translated by the author.)

Since the main focus of the ROCSF was on 'elite sport promotion', grant aid was the key tool for sports promotion to the NGBs. The rationale of government subsidy to the NGBs was identified by administrators in the NGBs. Snooker was not one of the sports in the Asian Games before 1998. As a result, grant aid to the Association was limited:

Central government supports Associations, particularly in relation to the Asian and the Olympic Games...From my point of view, it was a wrong direction in which to develop sport in ROC/Taiwan. It will be important for the government to support snooker for all citizens... the subsidy to the NGBs is not the same between sport for all and elite sport. (Interview with Secretary General of Snooker Association, 2001:03/29/01, translated by the author.)

and;

The state funding to the Martial Arts Association is limited...Before the NCPFS was established, the Martial Arts Association did not get state funding. (Interview with Deputy Secretary General of Tai-chi:04/18/01, translated by the author.)

Thus the promotion of mass sport control at government level has been promoted by the recent structure changes and the inauguration of the NCPFS.

#### **7.4.2 Reviewing Financial Outcome for Four NGBs: The Impact of the Change of Government in 2000**

The change of government in 2000 resulted in changes in the relations between the NCPFS and ROC Sport Federation. Due to the DPP government's insistence on modernizing the NGBs, subsidising NGBs was undertaken directly by the government rather than through the ROC Sports Federation. The rationale for the DPP government making this change was not only that it wished to end clientelistic relationships, established during the KMT dominated central government period of a half century, but also because of the need to deal with the broader circumstances of the Taiwan economic decline. These two factors challenged the structure of the funding of the NGBs. The interviews with the Secretaries General of the Associations of Track and Field, Bowling, Badminton and Snooker all reflect this:

Most NGBs have been experiencing problems regarding the economic decline in Taiwan. Due to financial problems, national expenditure fell in 2001; the NCPFS response to this situation was to stop the subsidy to the ROC Sports Federation, which has over thirty years partnership with the KMT government. (Interview with Deputy Secretary General of Badminton Association, 03/27/01, translated by the author.)

In terms of government grant aid, this is the main financial resource for the NGBs. However, since the DPP took power at central government level in 2000, government grants to the NGBs have been reduced. Most NGBs have been affected by the reduction in grant aid. In particular, the Track & Field Association did not have any sponsorship and its main financial support was from the Chairman of the Association.

The main effect on the Track and Field Association is subsidy reduction resulting

from central government downsizing. It can be a problem for NGBs in Taiwan. In particular, the Track and Field Association did not use any programme to attract sponsors; actually, the Track and Field Association will suffer more difficulties than other sports associations. (Interview with Secretary General of Track and Field Association, 04/09/01, translated by the author.)

Due to the economic difficulties in Taiwan this year, the chairman of Track and Field Association has been facing the same financial situation in his business...since the Chairman is the main financial sponsor for the association; the budget has been affected. (Interview with Secretary General of Track and Field Association, 04/09/01, translated by the author.)

I feel strongly that economic decline in Taiwan worsened after the DPP took power at central government level. According to the statistics, bowling clubs in Taiwan have reduced from six hundred (in 1998) to one hundred this year. (Interview with Chairman of Bowling Association, 04/27/01, translated by the author.)

As chairman, I have sponsored the Bowling Association for a long time, particularly financial support. The economic decline did not affect the organisation...however; it is now difficult to meet with the President when the DPP took power in 2000, when players attend international competition. (Interview with Chairman of Bowling Association, 04/27/01, translated by the author.)

**The Snooker Association also suffers from grant aid reductions.**

The main effect on the Snooker Association is reduction of subsidies arising from central government downsizing. It can thus be a problem to promote snooker...Taiwan is one of the leading countries in the sport of snooker and is called the 'kingdom of snooker'. A Taiwan player achieved the award of World Champion in 2000. The Snooker Association has promoted snooker in a good way... As a result, we won three gold medals, two silver medals and one bronze medal during the last Asian Games in 1998. Owing to subsidy reductions from the NCPFS, we have launched some programmes to improve the above situation by holding international snooker events. By doing so, the Association gained some successful sponsorship through the events. (Interview with General Secretary of Snooker Association, 03/29/01, translated by the author.)

The experience of those four NGBs illustrate the impact of the DPP policy, and that of the economic recession as well as the significance of private patronage in alleviating losses in government support.

### **7.5 From the Kuomintang to Democratic Progressive Party: The Inauguration of the NCPFS in 1997 and the Road to Modernization**

In the early 21<sup>st</sup> century the change of government resulted in changes in relations among the key actors and groups in central government as well as the government agency for sport. The change not only affects the KMT government relations to NGBs but also leads the DPP government to establish better regulation of sports promotion. Slack et al. (2002) highlighted the problems associated with a lack of regulation of the NGBs in the period of KMT rule:

Although there were a number of sporting organizations in Taiwan...the structure of these organizations suggests that their presidents often stayed in office too long due to the lack of regulations governing their tenure and when they did leave there was a lack of continuity. (Slack, Hsu, Tsai, Fan, 2002:356.)

More attention was needed regarding evaluation to the authorities from ROCSF regarding the partnership of sport elite training and the voluntary sector grant-aided by the state. This was a significant shift since officials had in the past attempted to evaluate the sport associations but had failed for lack of support from central government. After the establishment of the NCPFS at central government level, following the structural changes noted above, the NCPFS began formulating new regulations in 1998. Interviews with Directors of DPE, Chang and Chien (2001), highlighted the difficulties of monitoring the NGBs by the DPE.

In the early 1990s the DPE attempted to evaluate NGBs in order to improve the



efficiency of subsidy...however, the DPE did not gain support from government. (Interview with Director of DPE, Chang: 1987-1989; 03/20/01 and Chieng: 1991-1996; 03/19/01 translated by the author.)

In August 2000, following the conclusion of the meeting of '2002 Bussan Asian Games Sport Elites Training Plan', the NCPFS claimed a formal announcement regarding ending the partnership of sports elite training with ROCSF:

Due to shortage of government expenditure, the Department of Elite Sport in the NCPFS will take overall responsibility to plan and manage sport elite training for international sport competition instead of the ROCSF. (Wei, 2000:5, translated by the author.)

The impact not only affected the cooperation between NCPFS and ROCSF but also caused significant tension between government and NGBs.

### **7.5.1 The Impact of the Introduction of the NCPFS in 1997**

Before establishing the 'National Council for Physical Fitness and Sport', the Legislative Yuan was concerned about the cooperation between the Department of Physical Education and the ROC Sports Federation, and especially the efficiency of government funding to both the NOC and the ROCSF for promoting sport and how to improve cooperation amongst the NGBs. Legislators both in the KMT and DPP argued this issue in parliament. The KMT legislators Chang (1991) and Tsai (1991) and the DPP legislators Wei (1991) and Shie (1991) argued jointly regarding how to make the NGBs work efficiently in the beginning of the 1990s.

The central government should make efforts to restructure the relationship with the sports bodies such as the NOC, ROCSF and the NGBs in order to have better performance in the international competition...it is also important to examine the funding allocation in order to spend the budget in an efficient way...The most important part is to cooperate with those NGBs to provide a better system for international sports events. (Chang, Tsai, Wei and Shie, 991: 227-228, 510-511

and 126 respectively, translated by the author.)

At the meeting of the Educational Committee of the Legislative Yuan in 1992 and 1993 the Educational Committee insisted that the Department of Physical Education in the Ministry of Education should review the system of subsidy to the ROC Sport Federation and the National Olympic Committee with the aim of increasing efficiency (Educational Committee of the Legislative-Yuan, 1992:1-3). The main concerns of the Educational Committee in the Legislative Yuan are illustrated in table 7.5.

**Table 7.5: The Concerns of the Educational Committee of the Legislative Yuan to the NOC and ROCSF 1992, 1993 and 1998**

<b>Year</b>	<b>The Request of the Educational Committee</b>	<b>The Responses of the DPE and NCPFS</b>
1992	1) The subsidy to the ROCSF should go directly to the individual Sports Association without going through ROCSF.	1) The DPE asked the following six most efficient NGBs, to accept direct funding Track & Field, Baseball, Basketball, Judo, Archery, Taekwondo. Only Track & Field, Basketball and Taekwondo were willing to do this.
	2) The subsidy levels to both the NOC and ROCSF, should be based on detailed plans of each expenditure project.	2) The DPE funds both the NOC and ROCSF, dividing subsidy into three segments in each year. However it relies heavily on the detail provided by the NOC and ROCSF
	3) The DPE should provide explicit criteria for subsidy to both the NOC and ROCSF	3) The DPE simply conforms to the regulations of the Ministry of Education.
1993	1) The subsidy to both the NOC and NCPFS should be reported clearly to the Legislative Yuan.	1) The DPE would provide detailed projections of subsidy levels at the beginning of the fiscal year.
	2) The subsidy to the ROCSF should go directly to the individual Sports Association without being examined by the ROCSF.	2) The five main Sport Associations to receive subsidy directly from the DPE this year.
	3) For both the NOC and NCPFS sports experts should examine expenditure and evaluate efficiency as a basis for the decisions concerning the following fiscal year's subsidy.	3) The DPE invited the sports experts to evaluate the efficiency for each project; and the outcome will be the criteria for next session subsidizing.
1998	1) How could the NCPFS establish a better system to evaluate the NGBs?	2) The NCPFS to explore the means to establish such a system.
	1) There are more than one hundred NGBs: how can the system regulate and oversee this large number of NGBs?	3) NCPFS will focus on the performance of the better funded organisations, while maintaining the criteria for evaluating all the NGBs.

Source: The Report of the Legislative Yuan, ROC (1992, 1993, 1998)

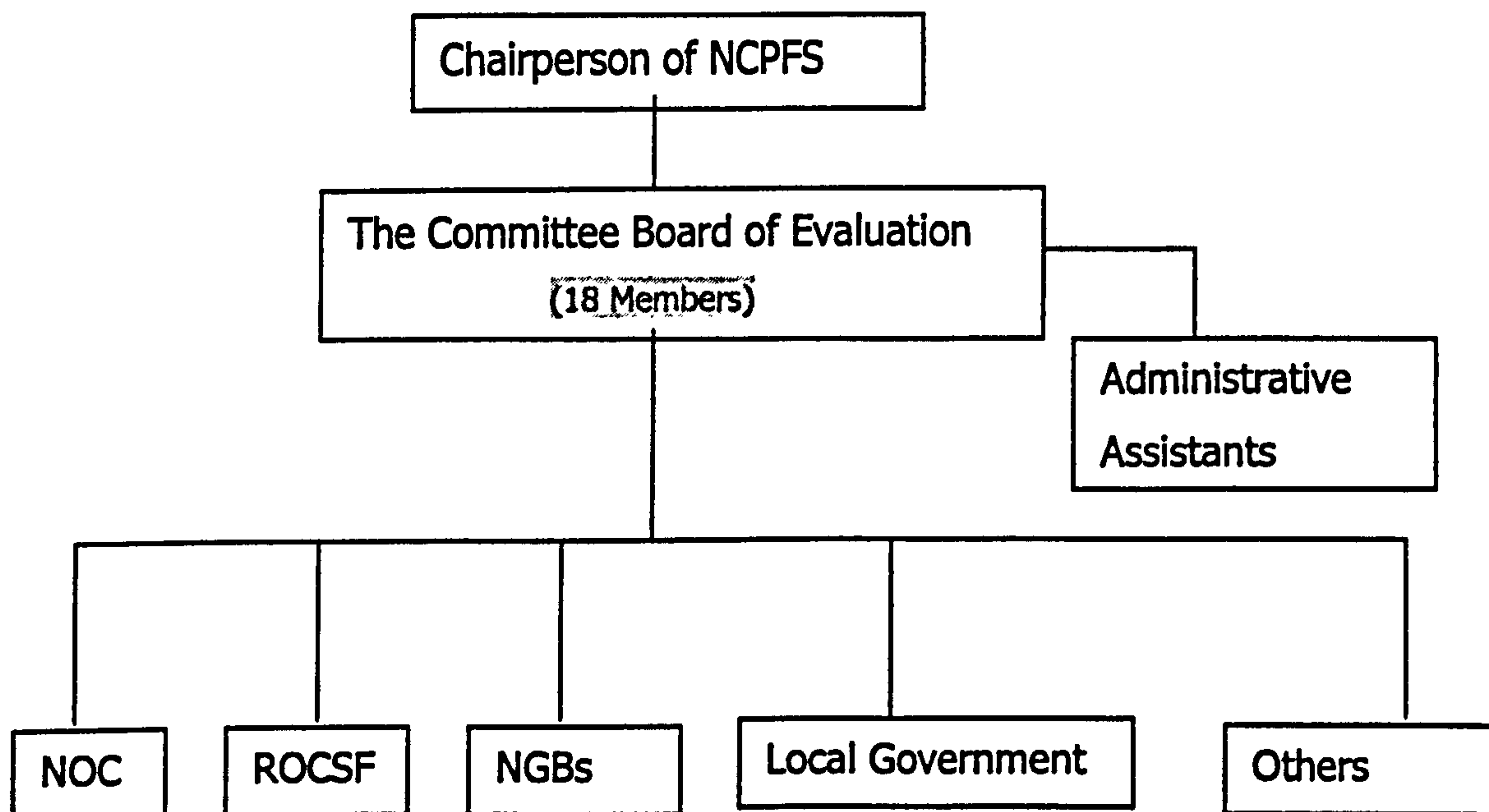
After the NCPFS was established, in its fifth term the Educational Committee in the Legislative Yuan invited the Chairperson of the NCPFS, in conjunction with President of the ROCSF, Chairperson of the NOC and their Secretaries General to present the policy of the NCPFS both for 'sport for all' and 'elite sport'. The Sports Minister, Chao (1998), pointed out the harmonious cooperation amongst the NCPFS, DPE and ROCSF in the meeting.

The new presidents both of the National Olympic Committee and the ROC Sports Federation are having a positive interaction with the NCPFS. Regular meetings about sport promotion have been set up. The details of sport promotion have been fully discussed between us. (Chao, 1998:159, translated by the author.)

However, there were 27 legislators both from the ruling and opposition parties in the meeting who argued that though the role and function of the NCPFS was one of promoting sports in cooperation with both the NOC and ROCSF, that this was actually problematic.

Since 'the results of the evaluation would be the criteria for grants aid to NGBs' (NCPFS, 1999:1), the regulations were made more transparent to the NGBs. There were 18 committee members for the evaluation made up of government officials and sport academics (see figure 7.3). The categories for evaluating NGBs are indicated in table 7.6.

Figure 7. 3: The Structure of the Evaluation



Sources: NCPFS (1999)

Table 7.6: Content of the Sport Evaluation 1999

Item	Content
Regulation	The Plan of Evaluation and Award to the NGBs (1999)
Aims and Goals	Systematic evaluation of sport development and efficiency of the grant aid by the NCPFS
Committee board	Government officials and sports scholar
Clarification	1) The Association related to the Asian and the Olympic Games 2) Sport Associations involved in sport for all
Percentage	1) Human resources (7.5%) 2) Organisation (7.5%) 3) Financial management (20%) a) Outcome of the competition and amounts of hosting events (60%) b) Overall performance (5%)
Types	1) Self-evaluation and 2) Evaluation by the NCPFS

Source: The NCPFS (1999) Handbook of Sports Evaluation

The first time central government had organised an evaluation of the NGBs was in the late period of the KMT government. The evaluation was conducted according to the regulation of ' Plan of Evaluation and Award to the National Governing Body of Sport'.

### **7.5.2 The Impact of the DPP Control in Central Government: The Resistance of the ROCSF and its KMT Political Affiliation**

Conflicts and tensions between the NCPFS and the ROCSF under the DPP government have apparently increased. With the DPP's first term in office at central government level, the political and economic environment changed significantly. The DPP's election in 2000 was followed by a short-term (2001-2002) economic decline due to the global economic cycle. It was the first time for 50 years that Taiwan had had a government with no previous experience. In these new circumstances in relation to sports policy, the NCPFS readjusted its system of subsidy of the ROCSF. The NCPFS attempted to take responsibility for promoting sport and cut the partnership with ROCSF. The Chairperson of NCPFS and the former Director of DPE described the change in the following terms:

The DPP party took power at central government level in 2000. Due to budget downsizing, the NCPFS plans to stop the partnership with ROCSF and let subsidies go directly to individual sport associations. (Interview with Director of DPE, 1982-1986, 04/28/01, translated by the author.)

And;

The NCPFS has run the programmes to evaluate the outcome of the performance of the NGBs. The NCPFS would subsidise all the sport associations according to the results of the evaluation. (Interview with Chairperson of the NCPFS, 2000-2002, 03/29/01, translated by the author.)

The NCPFS (2001) claims that a formally nominated subsidy system to NGBs had been established. The KMT legislator Tsai (1991) had argued for this in the parliament ten years previously, and stated that the system of funding to both the ROCSF and NOC was unclear and abused the use of the grant aid. The action of cutting the subsidy to the ROCSF by the NCPFS raised a strong challenge by the ROCSF. The Director of the Department of Physical Education, Tsai, (2001) suggested that the relationship between central government and ROCSF had been very close.

In the past, in relation to structural development of sport in ROC/Taiwan, the DPE maintained a close partnership with ROCSF. The subsidy of the DPE was directly to ROCSF for promoting elite sport. (Interview with Director of DPE, 1982-1986, 04/28/01, translated by the author.)

The impact of change on the ROCSF was notable; it lost its privileged position in bidding for state funds. After implementing the subsidy policy in 2000, government grant-aid to the ROCSF was significantly reduced. The ROCSF was to lose its power to distribute subsidies to individual NGBs, but it was argued, the DPP took this policy without allowing reasonable time for communication and discussion with the ROCSF. The situation ended in deadlock. The deputy chairman of ROCSF, Chang (2001) brought the issue to the KMT legislators and argued this issue in parliament. Key actors in sport also raised objections to this policy. The IOC member, Wu (2001), during his interview, criticized the chairperson of the NCPFS for not understanding the mechanisms for promoting sport, and suggested that the new arrangements were needed.

...the main reason is that the Chairperson of NCPFS does not know the function of the National Governing Bodies of sport for sports development...It is necessary to encourage the NGBs to work together with NCPFS for promoting sport. (Interview with IOC Member, Wu, 1988-2003, 03/10/01, translated by the author.)

In addition, the PFP legislator Huang (2001: 1239-1240) criticized the ruling party in Parliament for failing to maintain the efficiency of the subsidy system:

...The reduction of the grants aid to NGBs due to national financial decline can be understood; however, the efficiency of subsidy to the ROCSF was poor. (Huang, 2001: 1239-1240, translated by the author.)

The conflict and poor cooperation between the NCPFS and NGBs, are said to have led to a negative outcome in performance at the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games. In fact, the Sydney Olympic Games was the best ever outcome for Chinese Taipei elite athletes in terms of number of medals. However, a doping scandal overshadowed this. Two elite athletes in weight-lifting had the potential to win medals according to the world rankings. The positive dope tests on these athletes reflected poor cooperation amongst the sport organizations, coaches, ROCSF, NOC and sport elites generating a negative image of the Taiwanese sports system.

The side effect of the huge financial awards grant to Olympic Gold medallists and the promotion of national image and identity for ROC/Taiwan in international society finally led to unpredictable consequences. The KMT legislator Cheng (2000) notes the weaknesses in the system of awards to elite athletes.

The doping issues of the weight-lifting elites has jeopardised the image of nation and sport...the key problem is the system of high level awards to sport elites. It will be important to re-examine the award system. (Chen, 2000:1 564-1565, translated by the author.)

The DPP legislator Yang (2000) argued how government might improve such negative impacts on sports development. In particular, international regulations caused tensions and struggles among Government agencies, coaches, sports elites and NGBs.



The doping scandal has caused significant damage of the international image of ROC/Taiwan. The key point is how government is to restructure the system between government agency and the NGBs for elite sport promotion. (Yang, 2000:316-317, translated by the author.)

The KMT legislators Hung and Jin (2000) suggest that the government needs to fully resolve this problem as soon as possible and to focus on the restructure of the NGBs and the 'ROC Sports System of Awards for the Sports Elite'.

Due to the doping scandal before the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games, the government is losing its reputation in the international society. The government should re-examine the guideline of the sports award system; readjust the relationship with the NGBs; and provide more comprehensive programme for elite sport promotion. (Jin, 2000:107-108; Hung, 2000:167-168, translated by the author.)

Thus the upgrading of sports representation in the ROC/Taiwan policy system to the ministry level in the form of the NCPFS produced problems not simply of efficiency, but also of political influence and vested interest, which are proving difficult for policy matters to 'unpick'.

## 7.6 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to identify political affiliation and political reconstruction both in the ruling of the KMT (1949-2000) and DPP (2000-2002). This chapter, therefore, has explored: i) the context of structured changes between DPE and NCPFS; ii) political affiliations within sport between the KMT and NGBs; iii) sports funding allocation and sports development during the power from the KMT to DPP at the central government level and; iv) sports structure change and the way the sports system is to be modernised with the introduction of 'objective' evaluation criteria.

The KMT government dominated at central government level for half a century. Specific relationships between central government and the ROC Sports Federation had been established. As discussed in chapter 3, the political system in ROC/Taiwan had been reformed from an authoritarian system to a liberal pluralist state. This has significantly influenced the structure of sport in central government. The DPP in coming to power in 2000 has initiated a situation of political affiliation in sport which it has partly sought to 'modernise' through the development of rational criteria for grant aid, and by diminishing the influence of the ROC Sports Federation, which had been a bastion of KMT influence.

Jessop (1990:261) points out that the structure and modus operandi of the state system can be understood in terms of their production in and through past political strategies and struggles. The KMT government over its 51 years rule in Taiwan accumulated some specific state strategies and established selectivity in its own state forms (eg. ROCSF). The DPP government took power in central government after struggling for 14 years (1986-2000) in the political system. The current strategic selectivity of the state is in part for its transformation (Jessop, 1990:261). The way, in terms of sports system, the DPP seeks to regulate its relationships with the NGBs can be seen as an emergent effect of the political transformation, from one party control to a modern (rational) liberal democracy, at one level, and at another by the replacement of one party hegemony by another.

The following chapter explores the relationship between state and local government and examines more specific and contemporary elements of the role of local government in sport. Chapter 8 firstly, explores the role of sport in local government and secondly, explains the central-local relations in establishing sport facilities and finally, discusses the central-local struggle between the KMT and DPP in bidding for international sports events to be hosted at local level.

## CHAPTER 8

# LOCAL ACTORS' POSITION AND POLITICAL INTERVENTION IN SPORT

### 8.1 Introduction

The preceding two chapters have reviewed the process of sports policy development in ROC/Taiwan at a national level and the different political ideologies within and between the two governing political parties in respect of sports policy have been evaluated. The previous chapters also examined the growing policy controversy in terms of 'sport for all' and 'elite sport' between central government and National Governing Bodies of sport. In Chapter six, sport was discussed in terms of its role as a vehicle to enhance national image/identity in relation to both the identity of the ROC and the Taiwan state at national and international levels. In Chapter seven, 'elite sport' is described as having emerged as a major policy concern, with central government paying little attention to the development of 'sport for all' inside the national governing bodies of sport. These two chapters provide a basis to explore the political intervention at local government level, through an analysis of the case of the '2001 World Baseball Cup' bid in ROC/Taiwan, which is considered as a party political issue at local government level.

The chapter, firstly, illustrates the changing relationship between central and local government. As Copper (1996) indicates, with the KMT ruling at both central and local government levels from 1945 to the end of 1996, the relationship between central and local government was relatively harmonious (p.183). In 1996, however, structural changes were effected in the political system. In 1994 the opposition party, DPP, won the Taipei City election; in 1998 the DPP had considerable further

gains and became the majority party at local government level, finally the DDP won overall control at national government level in 2000. Thus central–local relations changed markedly throughout the six year period. The Taiwanese provincial government level was effectively disbanded and in 1998 the DPP made considerable gains campaigning at local levels, gaining political control of Kaohsiung, the country's second largest city to add to the control of Taipei gained in 1994. In effect, whether local authorities regarded sports policy as important or not, by the beginning of 2000 their room for manoeuvre in terms of sports policy had been considerably influenced by the DPP taking power in central government.

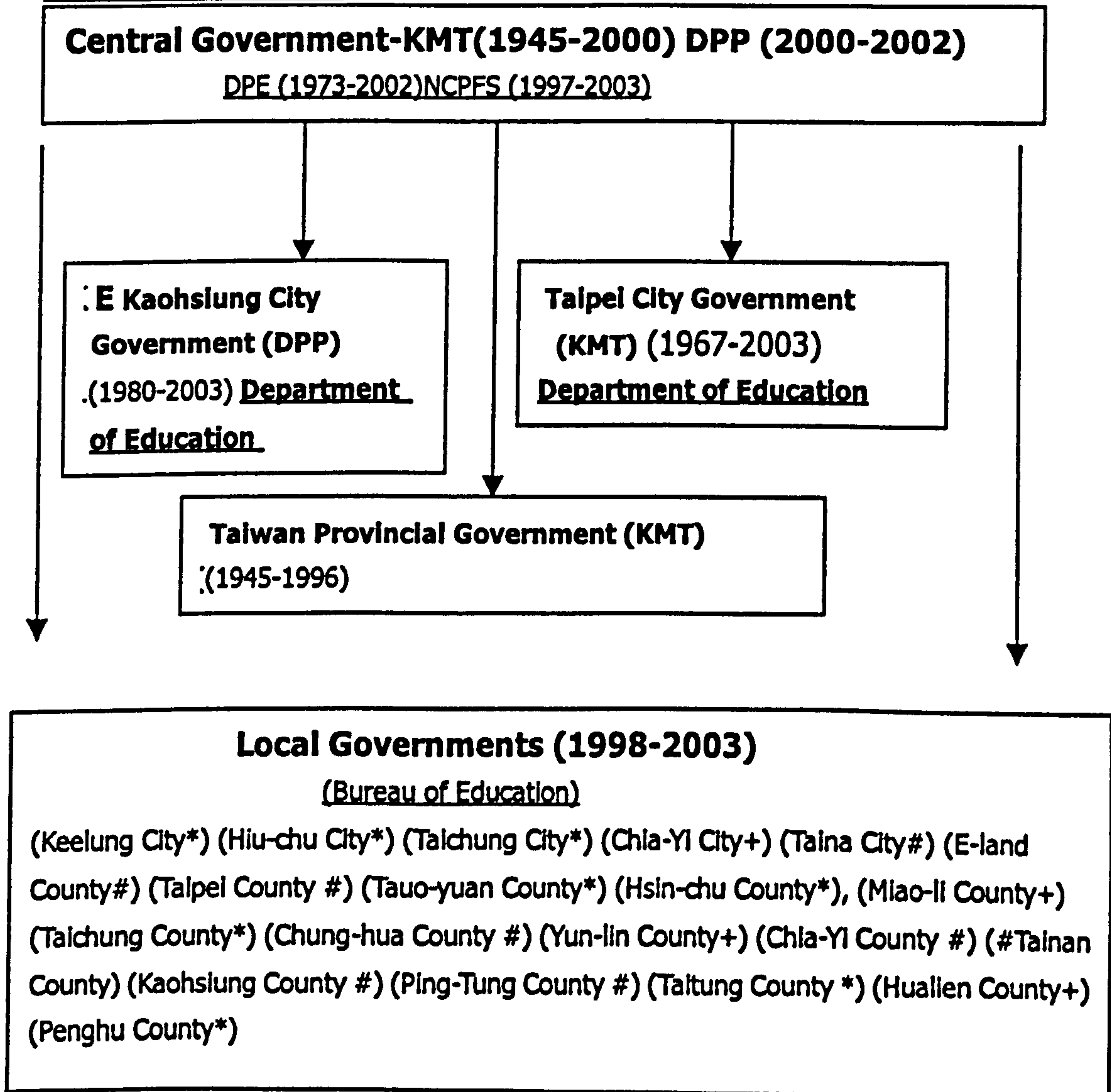
This chapter, therefore, first describes central-local relationships within ROC/Taiwan in relation to the wider national and international context, particularly, the transition of the ROC/Taiwan control from KMT to DPP at central and local levels. Secondly, the relationship at sub-government level will be considered, examining key actors' perception at local authority level. Finally, there will be a discussion of power struggles in different government agencies during the political transition from KMT to DPP between 1999 and 2001, including an examination of the circumstances surrounding the '2001 International Baseball World Cup' bid. This discussion highlighted the significance of baseball for Taiwanese sporting perceptions, and considers the rivalry between the North and South of the island generally and in particular between Taipei City and Kaohsiung County.

## **8.2 The Structure of Central and Local Government and Sports Development**

Local government in Taiwan in the last quarter of the twentieth century was subject to significant change reflecting the changing political, social, and economic structures of Taiwan society. Specifically, the structure of government and financial relations are two of the key issues to explore concerning central-local relations. In terms of the ROC/Taiwan's government structure, the '1950 Administrative Outline for Implementation of Local Self-Government in Counties and Cities' and the '1991 Act for Dividing Revenues and Expenditures between the Central and Local Government' were two of the principal Acts to regulate the structure of central-local relations from 1950 to the end of 1996 (see figure 8.1). Provincial level government also existed in Taiwan from 1949. In the 1990s,

central government thought the intergovernmental structure might constrain efficiency and sought to make changes at the constitutional level. Accordingly in 1997, the provincial tier of government was removed and the central-local interaction conducted without the Taiwan Provincial Government serving an intermediate role. This downsizing of government organization had potential effects on central-local relations and sport in two respects, in terms of financial subsidies to sport, and in terms of efficiency on the part of central and local government in sport.

**Figure 8.1: Intergovernmental Structure of the ROC/Taiwan and Sport Authorities 1945-2003**



(\*) KMT ruling, (#) DPP ruling, (+) Independent

Cooper (1996) highlights the cooperation between central and local government during the period of the KMT rule. The interview with Tsai in 2001 (former Director of the DPE) supports this view. The DPE was seen as directly controlled by central government and the DPE was subsequently also able to control local government by virtue of its being the source of government funding

The KMT government used to have a Party meeting every Wednesday. The decisions on national policies were made by this KMT Commission Board... the Ministry of Education was not only delivering policies to the Department of Physical Education. It was always to follow the decision of the KMT policy. (Interview with Director of DPE, 1982-1986: 04/28/01, translated by the author).

However the changing of central government policy on sport through to local government was seriously disrupted by the emergence of the DPP as a political force, first at local, and then at national level. Before 1986, the KMT controlled central government and most local government. However as the DPP grew in influence, its electoral power at local government level became more obvious until between 1994 and 1998 it captured control of both of Taiwan's major cities and of the majority of local authorities. Other challenges to KMT hegemony were also evident. Du Pont, an American chemical company, had an agreement with the KMT government to invest in manufacturing Titanium products in the Chung-hua Coastline Industry Area in 1986 (Yu, 1995). Due to a social protest movement launched by the local residents against the central government policy in Chung-hua County and demonstrations in Taipei, Du-Pont finally decided to cancel the investment in 1987. In the 1990s, local government regularly expressed its own opinions about both central government and international issues. Bayer, a German chemical company launched a plan to invest over £1 billion in Tai-chung County which was controlled by the DPP. The central government (KMT) convinced local residents to accept this proposed investment by pointing out both the economic benefits and the increased employment in the area. However, this international investment did not achieve its goal. An environmental protest was launched by local residents and by the Tai-chung County government (DPP). Tensions between the central and the local governments were clearly escalating, showing that central government influence in matters of infrastructure

and financial relations were no longer the dominant factor.

The KMT government adopted a "centralist model in governing every aspect of the society" (Cf. Husen and Postlethwaite 1985, Tsai 1996, Mok, 2000). However, the revocation of Martial law in 1987 liberalised society and subsequently the political parties. The main opposition party, DPP, and the other political parties were established in that year. In order to attract votes at both local and national elections, both central and local levels became more overtly competitive and sports policy was part of the central government's policy agenda.

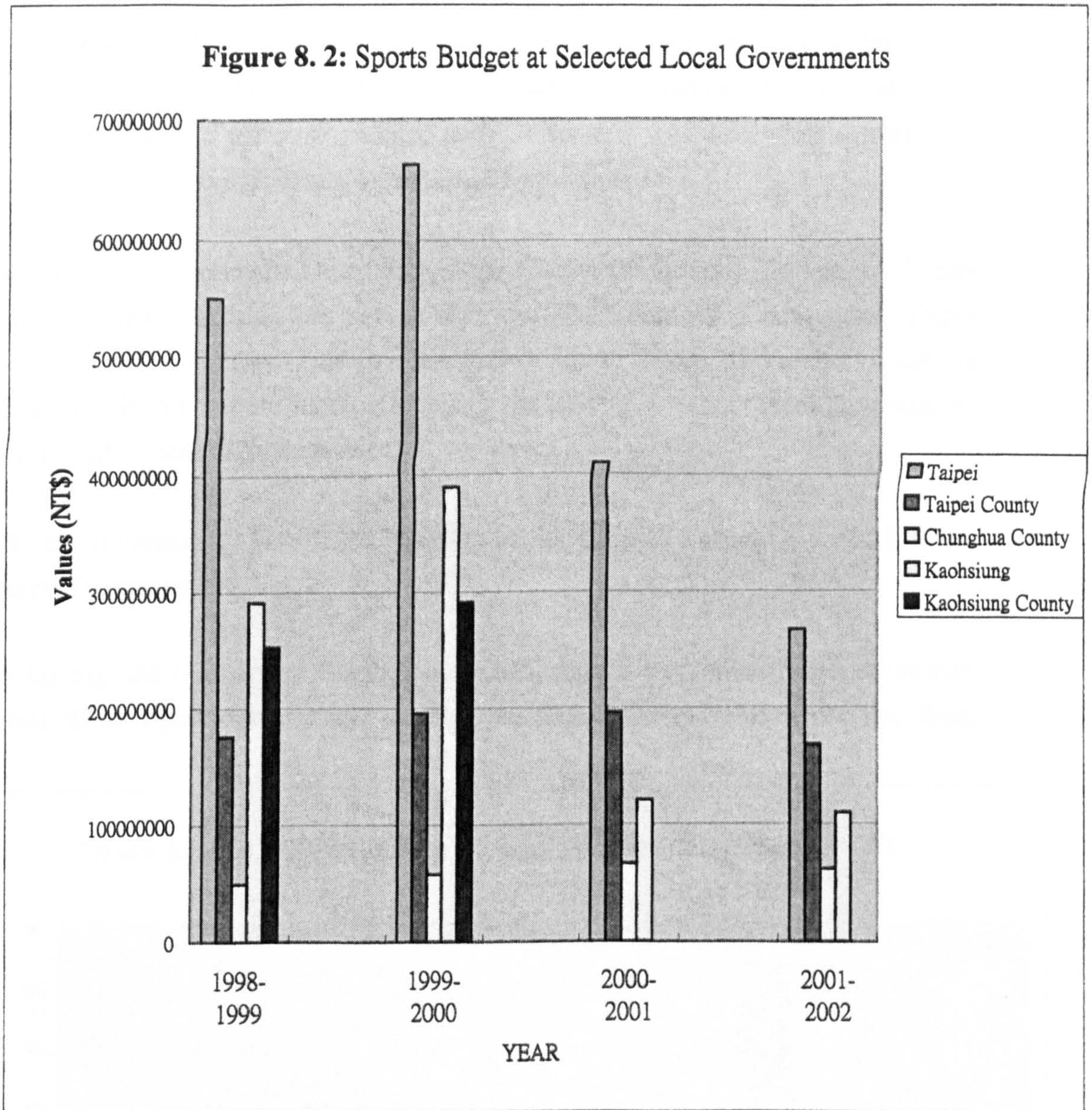
Since the DPP took power at central government level in 2000, the political structure has changed and may well affect sports development in local government in the future. The development of sports policy evidenced by the perceptions of the local actors interviewed in 2001, however, had not yet seen major change.

The local government was the most important authority for implementing sport policy in ROC/Taiwan and receives subsidies from the NCPFS. (Interview with Taipei Sports Authority, KMT, 04/11/01, translated by the author).

It has not changed since the DPP government took power in central government. The main direction of sport in Chung-hua County follows the main policy in the central government: 'Sport for all' and 'Elite sport'. (Interview with Chuang-hua County, Sport Authority, KMT, 04/02/01, translated by the author).

The main direction of sport in Taipei County follows the main policy goals of the central government: Sport for all and elite sport. (Interview with Taipei County Sports Authority, DPP, 04/11/01, translated by the author).

However, the central government financial dilemma (see chapter 3) is also reflected in local government's sports budget allocation. The amount of the sports budget declined sharply from 2000 to 2001. This is illustrated in figure 8.2.



Source: Department of Statistics of Taipei, Taipei County, Chang-hua County, Kaohsiung and Kaohsiung County (2002)

The change of the structure in the central government from the KMT to DPP is also reflected in the grants to local authorities. The interview with the representative of the sports authorities in Kaohsiung County (2001) highlighted the change of the central government and its political affiliation to local government's subsidy.

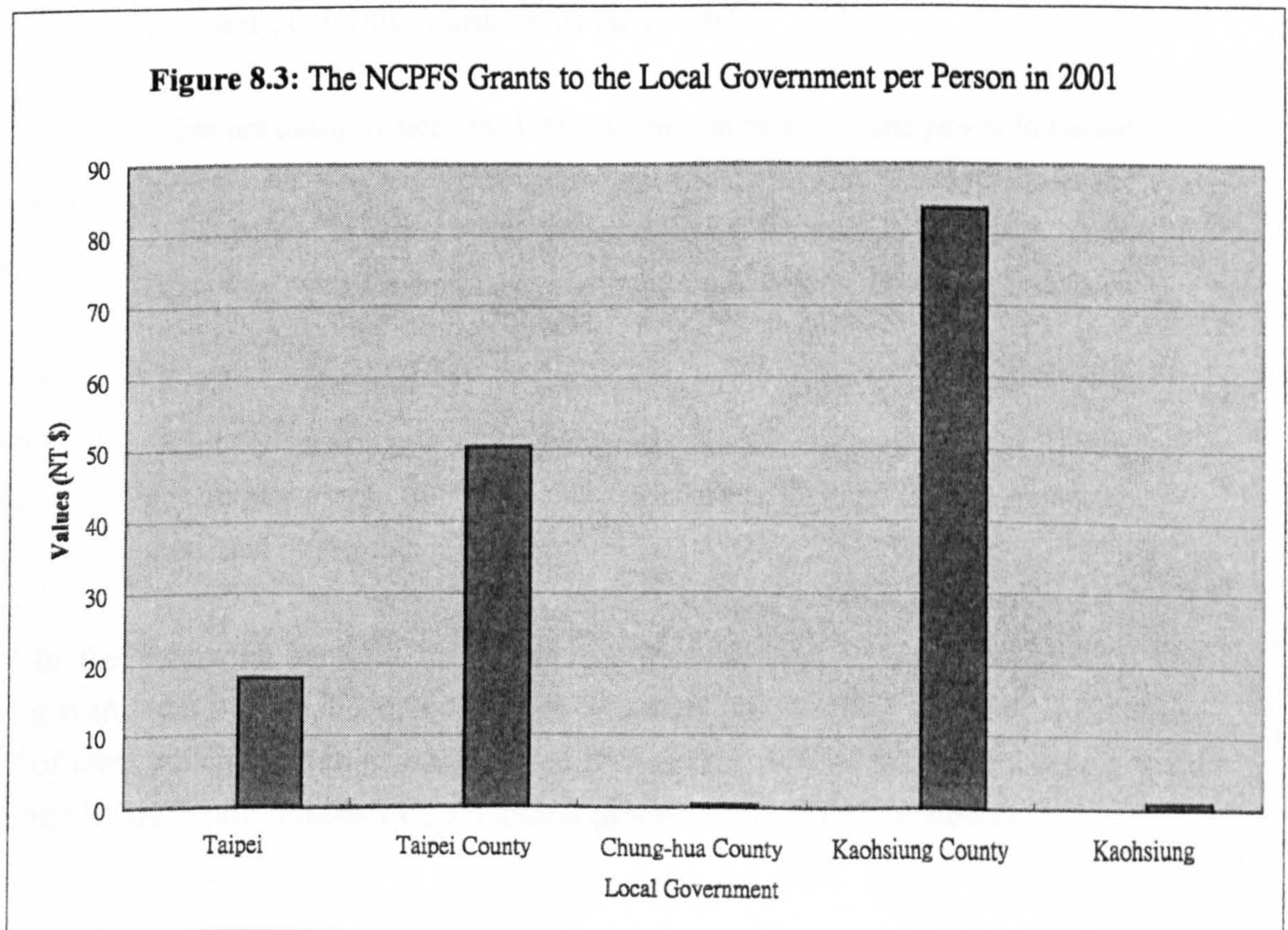


The central government (KMT) used to subsidize the counties in the northern Taiwan. After 2000, Kaohsiung County received more subsidy than before...the reason may be Kaohsiung County and central government belonged to the same political party. (Interview with Kaohsiung County sports authorities, 04/25/01 translated by the author.)

Two of the DPP controlled local authorities, Taipei County and Kaohsiung County received greater subsidy per person than the KMT controlled authorities, Taipei and Chung-Hua County. This is illustrated in figure 8.3. (Unfortunately, data are not available to compare funding levels of the NCPFS for these local governments under a KMT central government.)

### 8.3 The Structurally Privileged Position of the Capital Taipei City and Local Sports Programmes

As highlighted in chapters 3 and 5 the KMT central government was concerned about 'Elite Sport development' more than 'Sport for All'. This section, thus,



examines sports policy at local government level and explores the relations of 'Sport for All' and 'Elite Sport' at this level. As noted in section 8.1, local government received heavy financial subsidies from the central government. In this section the main focus is on the structurally privileged position of the Taipei City, and secondly on exploring the main policy issues at local government level as perceived by the explanations of interviewees.

Interviews were conducted with five local sports officials and administrators of the two main municipal cities, and two main counties, located in the northern and the middle and the southern Taiwan, namely Taipei (KMT), Taipei County (DPP), Chung-hua County (KMT), Kaohsiung County (DPP), and Kaohsiung City (DPP). These interviews reflected on the main directions of sport policy at local government level in these, the most significant local government units in Taiwan. The two main sport policies at central government level, in developing elite sport and sport for all, were prominent in the interviews. Interviews with local authorities indicated this direction of the sports development in local government.

Taipei City government addressed the two main policies of central government: sport for all and elite sport (Interview with Taipei Sports Authority, 04/11/01, translated by the author).

It has not changed since the DPP government took over the power in central government. The main principle of sport in Chung-hua County follows the main policy in the central government, sport for all and elite sport. (Interview with Chuang-hua county Sports Authority, 04/02/01, translated by the author).

Generally speaking, County government has the same priorities as central government does. (Interview with Kaohsiung County Sports Authority, translated by the author.)

In the following section, the active sports promotion in Taipei municipal city government will be discussed; and at the same time the limitations or difficulties of local government in general will be provided as well. Finally, the debate around the '2001 World Baseball Cup' bidding process will also be discussed.

### **8.3.1 Sports Policy in the Capital, Taipei Municipality**

Taipei municipal city has more political and economic sponsorship than any other local government in Taiwan. The Taipei City government promotes sport in terms of 'sport for all' taking advantages of its privileged resource and structural position. There are three aspects in exploring this advantage of Taipei: i) the nature of municipal organization, ii) the city's white paper on sport, and iii) sponsorship and funding strategies.

#### **(A) The Organisation**

Taipei Municipal City government, as with the other local governments, has set up a Department of Education to promote sports development (see figure 8.1, p.202). However, the Taipei City government with responsibility (under KMT control) provides more room for sports promotion. Taipei City Government created a 'Sport Commission' in Department of Education in 2000 after the DPP took power in central government. The regulations and rules in the Commission can be seen in table 8.1. Interviews with Taipei City sports authorities emphasised the important role for the Board of the 'Sports Commission':

The City government is keen to promote sport for citizens in the communities through local administrative authorities. The Mayor of Taipei supports sports development positively, and launched a proposal to upgrade the PE authorities within the City government. Staffing and budgets for sport, therefore, will increase in the following fiscal years...Taipei city government has made use of sponsorship in Taipei. The City government attempts to support sport development by sponsorship and to establish a voluntary system to reduce the cost of staging sports events. (Interview with Taipei City Sports Authority, 04/11/01, translated by the author).

The Mayor communicates with the 'Sports Commission' directly; and senior City government officials are members of the Commission Board. There are regular meetings to discuss relevant issues in the 'Commission Board' regarding sports development and policy formulation, such as sports provision and sport related resource management. These are aiming to provide a better service in sport

including the availability of more flexible facilities for Taipei residents. The aims, goals and structure are illustrated in the table 8.1.

**Table 8.1: Sports Commission in the Taipei City Government in 2001**

Rationale for the Commission	Due to a new national policy of a two day weekend, Taipei City Government seeks to combine public sports provision with the private sector, with education resources to provide a better service in sport to the City residents.
Goals	Planning Sport development and policy for Taipei City Government Enlarge the provision of facilities and services for sport Examine major sports development projects in Taipei. Develop academic and market research to plan for sport policy
Structure	1) Commissioner: Mayor 2) Committee board: a) Ten of twenty-four members of the City government senior civil servants. : b) The others are selected from sport academics, the voluntary sector and the private sector in sport.
Regularity of meetings	Every two months
Budget to the Commission	From the Department of Education

Source: Taipei City Government (2001) [www.taipei.gov.tw](http://www.taipei.gov.tw)

The interview with sports authorities in Taipei also indicates the active role of the Mayor, who represents the KMT in Taipei, for promoting sport:

The Mayor strongly supports sport and the proposal to upgrade PE authorities in the city government. The staff and budget will be increasing. (Interview with Representative of the Taipei Sport Authority, 04/11/01, translated by the author.)

It is unsurprising that Taipei as the capital city has produced the most developed statement of policy on sport in Taiwan, in the form of the White Paper on Sports Development published in 2002. The White Paper aims to identify needs of individuals and groups in Taipei in relation to sport, and to outline ways in which

such needs may be met:

Protecting the “Sports Rights” of all citizens in Taipei has been the principle of sports development in Taipei for the past four years. It aims at two sets of goals under the headings of ‘Sports Everywhere’ and ‘Sports Indulgence’. In doing so, citizens in Taipei can develop better physical fitness, raise their standard of living, which will help to turn Taipei into a vigorous and energetic Metropolis.

and;

As regards ‘Sports Everywhere’, The Taipei government plans to establish public sports facilities so as to combine life long learning, campuses, community interaction, and cultural activities to improve the environment of leisure activities, in which convenient public facilities based on parks and green space are widely available. In the aspect of ‘Sports Indulgence’, proposals such as PE courses, morning exercise, exercise after class, and club activities aim to cultivate the habit of taking part in sport. Further, by way of competition of class versus class or school versus school, citizens are encouraged to participate in different activities so as to improve their physical well-being and physical fitness. In communities, citizens including the elderly, women, and disabled are the main recipients that are provided with sports consultation, classroom systems and suitable sports projects. Now the proportion of people participating in sports remains around 21 percent, which leaves room for increase. Therefore, constantly integrating private resources, furthering the reform of sports administration, planning the strategy of sports population, developing community sports, and raising the rate of citizen participation are immediate aims. (White Paper of Sport in Taipei, 2002, translated by the author).

and;

Other aspects such as the image of Taipei can be promoted and enhanced by developing the leisure sports industry—which is one aspect of the travel industry. Also, through international contests/games, multilateral

interactions are likely to strengthen the identity of Taipei. Physical fitness is one of the important factors of a strong country. We have to integrate sports with our lives to promote Taipei as a healthy capital city. Therefore, sports facilities and a good sports environment are two bases we need to improve. While proceeding with promoting sports facilities and their environment, we have to bear in mind those groups such as the elderly, women, children and the disabled which require more care and resources. In addition, successful scientific and industrial management will help us carry out our dream faster and more systematically. In this way, Taipei is moving into becoming a healthy, energetic, and competitive city. (White Paper of Sport in Taipei, 2002, translated by the author).

The above discussion focused on policy for sport in Taipei generally. The details of the project are illustrated at table 8.2. The production of the White Paper itself and the associated emphasis on disadvantaged groups as well as the general fitness of the population and the image of the city, supports the approach of the DPP central government in terms of the use of state intervention in sport to promote social goals.

**Table 8.2: White Paper of Sport in Taipei City Government in 2002**

Establishing Sports Facilities Improve Sports Environment	(a) Taipei Municipal Stadium (b) Tien-Mou multifunctional Sports Park (c) Chung-Shan and Pei-Tou Sports Centre (d) Project of Taipei Culture and Sports Park
Strengthen School Education Promote Students' Fitness	(a) Principles and procedures Of students' physical fitness (b) Enhance students' ability in swimming (c) Exhibition of Sports achievement
Promote Sport for all, Increase Sport participation	(a) Provide opportunities for a ages by holding more sports activities (b) World Cup Baseball Games, Asia Women's Football Games, Dragon Boat Games, and Taipei International Marathon for International events. (1)
Encourage Sports Participation of Elderly People	(a) Tai-Chi club, Aerobics Festival, Zen club, Yogo Club (b) Free Sports classrooms and free lectures for sports knowledge and safety (c) Hold Sports Exhibition or games
Proclaim activities for women and children Increase mental and physical health	(a) Open sports classroom with flexible hours (b) Weight-control courses for women (c) Lectures and clubs of dance, yoga, self-defense, etc. (d) Recreational camps for parents and kids
Plan leisure activities for young People Promote postive activities	(a) Games between elementary schools, high schools (b) Hold more international games such as basketball, tennis, acrobatics, Chinese arts, in-line skating, etc.
Help the disabled Improve people's health	(a) Free public facilities (b) Convenient facilities (c) Have training courses and games at the weekend during winter or summer vacation
Cultivate good players Enhance abilities of winning games	(a) Cultivate sports elite in elementary and high schools (b) Establish basic training centers (c) Raise the standard of coaches (d) Interactions among cities around the world
Source: White Paper of the Taipei City Government (2002)	

(1): (Although this section of the document refers to promotion of Sport for all, it rather confusingly incorporates also promotion of major sports events. This implies the major sports events held locally will promote participation).

### **(B) The Sponsorship and Strategies for Sports Promotion**

The limitation of the sports budget at local government level has led local sports authorities to promote sport by adopting two ways in Taipei. Interviews with sports authorities (2001) indicated that promoting elite sport through school and sponsorship are two of main strategy to overcome the financial shortage.

Taipei city government has made use of sponsorship in Taipei. City government has attempted to support sports development by sponsorship and establishing a voluntary system to reduce the cost of staging the sports events. Taipei City government promotes elite sport mostly through the school system. (Interview with Taipei Sports Authority, 04/11/01.)

#### **8.3.2 Other Local Sports Policy Programmes: Constraints and Enabling**

As figure 8.2 indicates, the accession of the DPP to power in central government in 2000 and the impact of the economic recession led to an overall reduction of central subsidy to local government in relation to overall sports budgets. This state of affairs rendered local government more likely to pursue sponsorship possibilities. Comments by interviewees from the local government sector illustrated this point:

Due to the limited sport budget in County government, there is hardly enough to subsidise sports clubs. (Interview with Chuang-hua County Sports Authority, 04/02/01, translated by the author.)

and;

Because Kaohsiung County has had a much lower percentage of the budget for sport development... Sponsorship programmes have been launched for sports development, for example, the 2001 Asian Beach Volleyball Circuit (see table 8.3). (Interview with Kaohsiung County Sports Authority, 04/25/01, translated by the author).



**Table 8.3: Sponsorship in Kaohsiung County: the 2001 Asian Beach Volleyball Circuit**

	Kaohsiung County and Asia Volleyball Confederation
Rationale for the sponsorship	Association with a popular sport emerging around the world and in Taiwan Encouragement of people to attend sports events and to participate
Countries competing	Korea, Japan, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Philippine, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam, India, Macon, Newsland
Benefits to Sponsors	Sponsor will benefit from image enhancement in Taiwan society and promotion of products to customers
Source: Kaohsiung County Government (2001)	

As in the case of Taipei City, other local governments promoted elite sport through the education system, with elite sport training systems in schools and particular schools selected to promote particular sports.

Taipei County government promotes elite sport mostly through the school system. (Interview with Taipei County Sport Authority, 04/11/01, translated by the author).

and;

As for elite sport, the County is trying to cooperate with NGBs to promote elite sport. (Interview with Chuang-hua County, Sport Authority, 04/02/01, translated by the author).

In Chuang-hua County, provision of sports facilities was seen as key to the promotion of sport.

The County provides sports facilities for local communities in order to attract residents to sport. (Interview with Chuang-hua County, sports authority, 04/02/01).

and;

Sports promotion in Kaohsiung County is in a very active and positive position. The Mayor was a baseball player. He took control of the County government seven years ago and built a good framework for sport promotion in both schools and local communities. (Interview with Kaohsiung County Sports Authority, 04/25/01, translated by the author).

Local politicians' intentions regarding sport as a tool can be examined by the exploitation of sport as a 'tool' in local elections. Thus, although sports promotion is for the most part not a statutory obligation for local authorities, its benefit in generating political support among the local electorate give it policy salience. As one interviewee commented

The county Mayor strongly supports sport in Taipei County....In addition, sport events can be a very good tool for local elections. (Interview with Taipei County Sports Authority, 04/11/01, translated by the author).

and;

When I discussed the sport development with the Mayor and local actors, the mayor changed the subject to local elections. (Interview with Kaohsiung Sports Authority, 04/12/01, translated by the author).

The discussion above illustrates the limited resources in the local governments for promoting sport and how the sports authorities made use of various strategies to promote sports development. The limited resources have led some the local governments to try to attract major sports events to their counties in order to obtain more financial subsidies from central government in sport in general, and in associated areas such as transportation and tourism.

## **8.4 Political Controversy as Identified by the World Baseball Cup: Tensions between Taipei City Government (KMT) and Kaohsiung County Government (DPP)**

### **8.4.1 Baseball as a Symbolic Victory in the International Competition for ROC/Taiwan**

The significance of the role of baseball both domestically and in international competition for the ROC/Taiwan in political and cultural arenas is emphasized in the work of a number of Taiwanese social and sports scholars (Chen, 1990). In addition there are analyses of the relationship of professional baseball with politics and the media (cf. Cheng, 1990; Hou, 1990) and the historical aspects of baseball development from the period of Japanese colonisation (cf. Hsiao, 1974; Tsai, 1990). This section focuses on why bidding for baseball in ROC/Taiwan is so important. In doing so, the rationale for the importance of baseball in Taiwan needs to be understood in two respects: i) the ROC is position on the international stage over the last three decades, and ii) the allocation of sport funding for the five main Olympic sports.

The ROC/Taiwan had a history of making considerable efforts in elite sport in the period from 1960 to 2000 without gaining any significant success in terms of Olympic medals or gold medals in the Asian Games (see table 8.4). Baseball is one of the most popular sports in Taiwan. It has played a substantial role in compensating for the failure to gain medals in the Olympic Games. Baseball at international levels has not only gained gold medals in the Youth, Senior-Youth, and Adult World Championships, but also has had major successes at the Olympic Games, the World Baseball Cup and the Asian Baseball Cup (see table 8.5). The officials of the Chinese Professional Baseball League (2002) highlighted the level of achievement of baseball at an international level. Those international achievements have significantly encouraged people in ROC/Taiwan to support baseball promotion and it has thus helped to shape national identity.

The ROC/Taiwan baseball team won third place in the 1982 World Cup; were Champions in the 1983 Asian Baseball Cup; gained third place in the 1988 Summer Olympic Games; second place in the 1992 Summer Olympic

Games; and third place in the 2002 World Cup. This has inspired people in Taiwan over the years. (The official website of the CPBL, 2002: www.cpbl.com.tw, translated by the author).

The DPP legislator Yu (1993) also underlines the importance of baseball achievement on a global scale.

The ROC/Taiwan 'Youth Baseball Team' won the World Championship in the 1960s which led to the glorious development of professional baseball in Taiwan to the present day. (Yu, 1983: 294, translated by the author).

**Table 8.4: Medals Gained by Chinese Taipei in the Olympic Games from 1960 to 2000**

Sports Events/ OG	Year	Players	Items	Achievements
17 <sup>th</sup> Olympic Games	1960	C. K. Yang	Decathlon	Silver Medal
19 <sup>th</sup> Olympic Games	1968	Jig	80m	Bronze Medal
23 <sup>rd</sup> Olympic Games	1984	Tsai	Men's Weight-lifting	Bronze Medal
25 <sup>th</sup> Olympic Games	1992	Chinese Taipei	Baseball	Silver Medal *
26 <sup>th</sup> Olympic Games	1996	Chen	Table tennis	Silver Medal
27 <sup>th</sup> Olympic Games	2000	Li	Women's weight lifting	Silver Medal
		Chen	Table tennis	Bronze Medal

Sources: NCPFS (1999:21)

\* Baseball was for the first time a formal sport in the summer Olympic Games

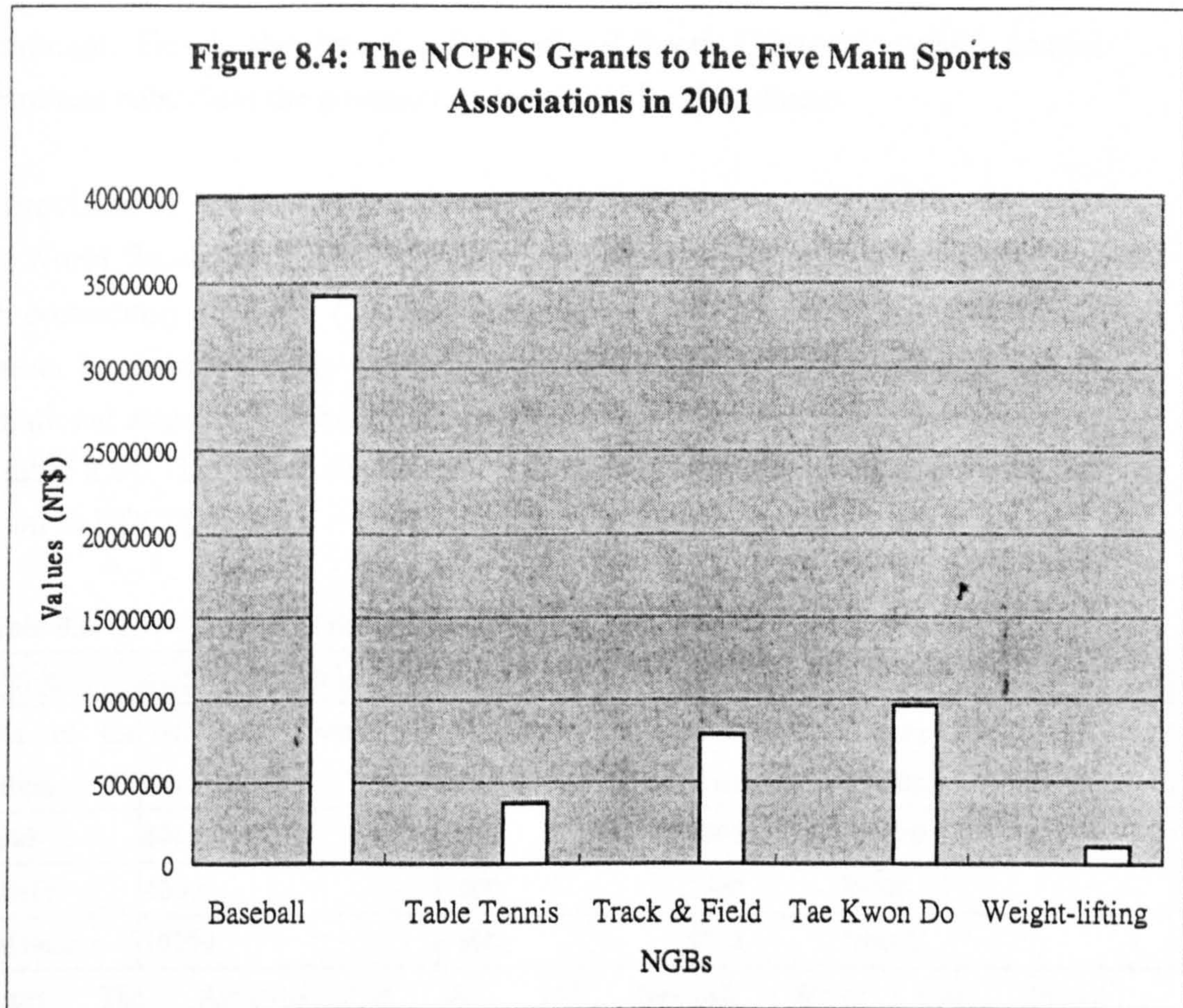
**Table 8.5: The Performance of ROC/Taiwan at the World Baseball Cup 1972-2001**

	Year	Hosting Country	Numbers of Attending	Champion	Outcome of the ROC
1	1938	UK	2	UK	*
20	1972	Nicaragua	16	Cuba	6* (IBA invited ROC to attend the 20 <sup>th</sup> World Baseball Cup)
22	1973	Nicaragua	11	USA	3
23	1974	USA	9	USA	4
24	1976	Colombia	11	Cuba	4
27	1982	South Korea	10	South Korea	4
28	1984	Cuba	13	Cuba	2
29	1986	Nederland	12	Cuba	2
30	1988	Italy	12	Cuba	3
31	1990	Canada	12	Cuba	6
32	1994	Nicaragua	16	Cuba	6
33	1998	Italy	16	Cuba	13
34	2001	ROC/ Taiwan	16	Cuba	3

Source: The Authority of the 34<sup>th</sup> Baseball World Cup (2001)  
<http://baseball2001.com/chinese/world-cup/past.htm>

\* ROC/Taiwan did not attend

The World Baseball Cup has been an important sporting competition for Taiwan/ROC (see table 8.5). At central government level, the prospect of hosting the '2001 World Baseball Cup' seemed to have promoted sport as a policy priority. President Chen (2001) claimed 2001 as the 'Year of 'Baseball''. This announcement is reflected in the financial allocation to baseball. The NCPFS's grants to the NGBs in 2001 (see figure 8.4) show that compared to the five main sports, which had gained medals at the Olympic Games, the Baseball Association received the largest funding from the NCPFS. As a consequence, the significance of representing ROC/Taiwan as hosts of the World Baseball Cup was important at local government level for reasons of subsidy.



Source: NCPFS (2001)

#### 8.4.2 Facilities Provision as an Issue between North and South Taiwan

Taiwan won the bid to hold the 2001 World Baseball Cup. It was predictable that hosting the Games would be positive in terms of baseball promotion and economic benefits. It would be beneficial to Taiwan if the government did consider placing the Games around Taiwan. (DPP legislator Tsai, and another 10 DPP legislators, 1999:167-168, translated by the author).

Due to a limited financial subsidy from central government, bidding for staging an international event represented potential additional financial resources for local

government. This is also true for the National Sports Games for which central government subsidises the government to rebuild local stadiums.

The provision of international standard sports facilities was a central issue in the 2001 World Baseball Cup. The Taipei City government proposed the use of the local community stadium (Tan-Mu Community Stadium) for the World Cup. However Kaohsiung County government argued that a better local climate and an international standard baseball stadium would be more appropriate for the Games (see table 8.6). This raised the argument of the needs of an international standard stadium in ROC/Taiwan.

**Table 8.6: The Context of the Stadium for the 2001 World Baseball Cup**

Location	Taipei	Taipei County	Chia-Yi	Kaohsiung County
Name of the Stadium	Tien-mou Community Stadium	Shinchuang County Stadium	Chia-Yi Stadium	Cheng-Ching-hu County Stadium
Infield	6000	6000	6500	15000
Outfield	4000*	1500	2000	5000
Total Seats	10000	7500	8500	20000

Source: The Authority of the 34<sup>th</sup> Baseball World Cup (2001)

<http://baseball2001.com/chinese/world-cup/past.htm>

\* Due to the 2001 World Baseball Cup, Taipei City Government has added the extra 4000 seats

Li (2002) argues that Tan-mu Stadium was a baseball stadium for community use only; however, it is currently used for international sport events, hosting foreign professional baseball league teams, such as the Japanese professional baseball team and the Taiwan professional baseball league.

The Tan-Mu Baseball Stadium was designed for the local community in Taipei. However, since there were difficulties in finding an international/professional standard stadium in Taipei, Tan-mu Stadium had been used by the professional baseball league and for international baseball events. This change of use by the Taipei City government caused arguments among baseball fans and community residents because of the noise and

traffic jams before and after the Games. (Li, 2002:337, translated by the author).

The need for an international standard indoor stadium (dome) has been argued over the last two decades. Politicians of the KMT claimed the importance of the need for the dome for the public. However, it was not scheduled in parliament until 2002. After the democratic voting by 6 councillors (KMT) to 2 councillors (DPP) in the Education and Commission of Taipei City Council, Taipei City Council enacted the bill for the 'Taipei Sport and Cultural Area Development Plan' and authorized Taipei City government to claim 23.96411 billions Taiwan Dollars to establish the dome and surrounding area. (China Times 20<sup>th</sup> of October 2002, <http://news.chinatimes.com/chinatimes/moment/>).

In the 1970s, President Chiang-Ching Kuo (Son of Chiang-kai shek) had agreed to establish an international standard stadium in Taiwan. The argument over three decades between politicians can be seen in the following discussion. Yang (1985), a Member of Parliament and an Olympic medalist, argued that the central government had ignored the announcement of President Chiang Ching-Kuo to establish such a facility in Taipei.

The policy of central government to establish an international standard stadium to contain sixty thousand people was held off for six years without starting. The policy was clearly against President Chiang-Ching Kuo's announcement to promote sport at an international level. (Yang, 1985: 27-28, translated by the author.)

Both the KMT and the DPP legislators Liu and Yu (1993) argued with Hau, the leader of Executive-Yuan, and Mao, Ministry of Education about political promises to establish the Dome, however, it seemed to be a lost cause.

Legislators representing the local community asked central government to subsidize construction of a dome. KMT legislator, Shen (1993) suggested that central government and Taiwan Provincial government should subsidize the establishment of a modern stadium in Tai-Chung.



In order to bid for the 2002 Asian Games successfully, central government and the provincial government would be better to launch a special project for 4.2 billions Taiwan Dollars to prepare for the bidding and make sport provision for the people in Middle Taiwan. (Shen, 1993:122-123, translated by the author.)

The KMT legislator Li (1994) and Han (1999) suggested that Taipei County might be the best place to establish the Dome.

Due to the shortage of an ideal location for the Dome in Taipei, Taipei County particularly Hsin-Chuang would be the best place to establish a centre for international sport events and competitions. Taipei County could provide an ideal location with good traffic networks and residential support. (Li, 1994:124-125 and Han, 1999, 203-204, translated by the author).

The KMT legislator Li (1995) argued that the decision of central government to subsidise the modern baseball stadium in Kaohsiung was inappropriate.

The Executive Yuan did not consider the difference of population size, or local government financial capacity when it subsidized sport establishments with the same amount of funding to various local governments without taking into account these factors. (Li, 1995, 161-162, translated by the author).

The KMT legislator Luo (1997) pointed out the shortage of suitable places for international events, and highlighted the limitations of location in Taipei. Luo (1997) suggested that central government should negotiate this issue in order to progress this plan.

The shortage of international standard indoor facilities for sport, art and performance is significant ...although central government has set up the plan in the 'National 12-Year Development Project'; the problem of location (crossing the airport) remains unsolved. As a result, it would be necessary to consider the regulation of the airport and to improve the Taipei

development. (Luo, 1997: 242-243, translated by the author.)

The DPP legislator Chiu (2001) reflected the Hin-Chu County government's candidacy to provide a location.

Hin-chu County government has provided the budget and ideal location for building a Dome. However, the funding is still not enough. It would be better if central government subsidized Hin-chu County or adopted the 'Build, Operation and Transform' model cooperating with private companies to establish an international stadium. (Chiu, 2001: 299-300, translated by the author.)

Two KMT legislators representing Taipei County challenged the proposal of the Taipei City Government to establish a Dome in the city centre. KMT legislators Huang (2000) and Li (2001) argued that the Taipei City government had provided an inappropriate location for the Dome.

The location provided by Taipei City Government is wrong. First of all, its location in a city centre would affect the traffic network in eastern Taipei; and secondly, removing a traditional cultural and ecological site would damage the local traditional values. However, Tan-shui Town close to Taipei and being the 'Seattle City' of Taipei with an accessible traffic network would be a better alternative for establishing the Dome. (Li, 2001, 213-214 and Huang, 2000:153, translated by the author).

Former ROC basketball team member and Member of Parliament Hung (1993) argued that the absence of the Dome in Taiwan could damage the development of sport for all and professional sport in Taiwan.

Economic success has not had a proportionate impact on sports development in Taiwan...the successful economic growth of Taiwan has not been reflected in the sport facilities. The absence of an indoor international standard dome has endangered the development of professional sport such as baseball, basketball and horse racing. It also limits the possibilities for people in Taiwan to experience an international sporting event. In order to

avoid a poor international reputation the central government should study this issue seriously and launch a properly planned project. (Hung, 1993:277, translated by the author.)

The 'National Six Year Establishing Plan' from 1990 to 1995 was the biggest national public investment over fifty years in Taiwan (see Chapter 3). In terms of sport facilities, the international stadium was, however, not a priority (see Table 8.7). It might be argued that the government commitment to establish the international standard stadium was questionable. Instead, priority was given to provision for general community sport facilities which were provided at Local County level such as sports parks, swimming pools and baseball courts.

**Table 8.7: Context of National Six Year Establishing Plan in Sport 1990-1995**

Programme	Priority	Funding/Million (NT\$)	Quantity
Establishing sport facilities at vocational schools	2	1303	
Swimming pool in the town	1	3000	100 pools
Sport park in town	1	7500	150 parks
Baseball court in local County	1	2100	
Stadium in local County	3	1000	
International standard stadium	2	46000	
Establishing disabled sport stadium	3	2000	

Source: Ministry of Education (1990) White Paper of National Six Year Establishing Plan

(Priority 1: Executive-Yuan level; priority 2: Ministry level; priority 3: Department level)

The incident of a major fire at the 'ROC Stadium' in Taipei is relevant to this issue. The only international stadium, which contained 15,000 seats for sports events, was destroyed in 1988. This accident posed a dilemma for the central government. They obviously needed to consider the establishment of a new stadium in Taipei. However, the difficulties of financial sources, the location of the dome, and political interventions caused serious problem.

The DPP took control of the Taipei City government in 1994 for the first time.

Mayor Chen had different political considerations from the central government (KMT). DPP considered that maintaining the cultural legacy and protecting the environment were priorities, rather than economic benefits. The KMT took control again following the 1998 local election and insisted on establishing a dome in Taipei. Mayor Ma adopted a 'win-win' strategy to reach this goal. The Taipei City government cooperated with central government to solve the financial dilemma by selling land to central government. At the same time, the Education Commission of Taipei City Council passed the 'Taipei Sport and Culture Area' bill and authorized Taipei City Government to claim 23.964 billion New Taiwan Dollars (1 US dollar equal to 34 NT\$) to establish the Dome (China times, 20<sup>th</sup> of October 2002, <http://news.chinatimes.com/chinatimes/moment/>).

However, arguments about establishing an international standard stadium (dome) have been on-going over the last two decades amongst local actors, politicians of the KMT and DPP in parliament, and the sport authorities. The nature of those arguments is illustrated in the following discussion.

The central government (DPP), had different perspectives for establishing an international stadium. The debate about the location of the stadium in Taipei is still pending. As a result, the City government has not pushed this plan ahead...Ironically, President Chen (DPP) was the mayor and promoted the same issue, but it seems to me that such an issue is not important to the DPP any more. What's worse, this plan cannot continue smoothly and successfully without the cooperation of central government. (Interview with Representative of the Taipei Sports Authority, 04/11/01, translated by the author).

#### **8.4.3 The Exclusion to the Bidding of the 2001 World Baseball Cup in 1999: The KMT Ruling**

Taipei City government (KMT) hosted the '2001 World Baseball Cup' and this raised arguments within and between central and local government and among members of Taipei City government, Kaohsiung County, the NCPFS and the International Baseball Association (IBA). The issues of sports facility provision,

political actors' arguments and international sports regulations were the three key aspects of the debate.

The bid for hosting the 2001 World Baseball Cup staged in 1999, went ahead with, at that time, both central government and Taipei City government controlled by the KMT. In 2000, the DPP took control of central government and the Executive-Yuan asked the chairperson of the NCPFS to negotiate with Taipei City government and ask the International Baseball Association to reschedule the opening ceremony and closing ceremony, moving it to Kaohsiung County Stadium. The political intervention by the DPP and the ensuing power struggles amongst the international governing body, central government and the two local governments with different political affiliations were evident. Arguments between political actors in Taipei City and Kaohsiung County government were highlighted in the following arguments. The Deputy Director of Education in Kaohsiung County (2001) claimed that Kaohsiung County had been excluded from discussion about the location for staging the World Cup.

The NCPFS did not give equal access to bid for the international sports events while Kaohsiung County was also keen to attend the bidding competition. Kaohsiung County government sent a formal application form to the NCPFS and ROC Baseball Association; however, both the NCPFS and ROCBA ignored the application. In addition, the NCPFS combined with the ROC Baseball Association and Taipei City government won the bid without giving opportunities to the Kaohsiung County. (Interview with Deputy Director of Education in Kaohsiung County, 2001 translated by the author).

However, the Mayor of Taipei (2001) claimed in public that the Taipei City government had already considered the balance between Taipei and Kaohsiung, north and south of Taiwan, and proposed to allow part of the events to be held in the Kaohsiung County stadium. The Mayor of Kaohsiung County was satisfied with this decision, which reflected a compromise between the major factions.

#### **8.4.4 The Power Struggles and the International Sports Rules: The DPP Ruling**

The evidence from interviewees and parliamentary documents thus suggests that political actors played a significant role in the bidding for the 2001 World Baseball Cup. Both the KMT and DPP controlled local governments were involved in the bidding for the right to host the event. Key actors at the NCPFS, Taipei City Government, and Kaohsiung County government, Republic of China Baseball Association (ROCBA) and International Baseball Association expressed their views. The DPP, however, came to power at central government level in 2000. Interviews with a representative of the sport authorities in Kaohsiung County (2001) highlights the political transition in 2000 from the KMT to DPP at central government level. The change of government affected the local subsidy to the DPP controlled County. This is evident in the total 2001 Kaohsiung County government sport budget and in the central government (NCPFS) subsidy to Kaohsiung County.

After the DPP took power at central government level, Kaohsiung has apparently gained more financial aid from central government because it has the same political orientation. (Interview with Kaohsiung Sport Authority, 2001, translated by the author).

Having successfully hosted the '1999 World Senior Youth Baseball Games'. Kaohsiung County government argued that its exclusion from the '2001 World Baseball Games' was irrational. The Mayor of Kaohsiung County, Yu (2001) highlighted the importance of the criteria for hosting the Games. At the same time, Premier, Chang, supported his proposal to renegotiate this issue with Taipei City government:

The necessary supplies for hosting the games are important, particularly the baseball stadium and the weather...as a result, instead of loading only in Taipei we might be better to develop baseball around Taiwan. (United News, 7<sup>th</sup> of July 2001:2, translated by the author.)

and;

At the same time, the central government, DPP, has supported the Kaohsiung County government's proposal to negotiate this issue with Taipei City government. The head of the DPP supports the request of the Mayor of *Kaohsiung County* to discuss this issue with Taipei City government. (China Times, 12<sup>th</sup> July, 2001:6, translated by the author.)

This matter, promoted by the DPP Mayor raised the argument in the Executive-Yuan. The President of Executive-Yuan, Chang decided to require a renegotiation between Taipei City government and Kaohsiung County government. The Mayor claimed that the DPP intervention was politically inspired and that the schedule was inappropriate. He also emphasized that the action of the Taipei City government in bidding for the 2001 World Baseball was in accordance with the regulation of the International Baseball Association (the world level body for baseball).

Taipei City government cooperated with the ROC Baseball Association to bid for the 2001 World Baseball Cup. Taipei City government bid for the Games following the International Baseball Association regulations. (Interview with Taipei Sport Authorities, 04/11/01, translated by the author.)

The NCPFS, as the principal government agency, played a significant role liaising between government and those organizations such as the International Baseball Association, ROC Baseball Association. With political commitment to the DPP, the Chairperson of the NCPFS, Shu, discussed with Taipei City government and the ROC Baseball Association about renegotiating the location of the opening ceremony, the closing ceremony and the schedule of playoff:

The Chairman of the NCPFS, Shu, is still negotiating the places for the closing ceremony and the playoff. (China Time, 21<sup>st</sup> July 2001:31, translated by the author.)

and;

The NCPFS is under pressure both from the local governments and from the International Baseball Association. It claimed that it serves as the 'negotiator to work out everything about World Cup'. (China Time, 13<sup>th</sup> July, 2001: 31 translated by the author.)

This intervention by the NCPFS immediately caused a response from both the Taipei City government and ROC Baseball Association. The Mayor of Taipei (2001) claimed " I have no idea how the Executive-Yuan could change the schedule of the World Cup without going against international rules" (*China Times*, 13<sup>th</sup> July, 2001:6). There is no chance of moving the play-off from Taipei to Kaohsiung County, particularly, since countries participating in the World Baseball Cup have already been informed of the location of the opening and closing ceremony in the Tien-mou Stadium by the IBA. (*China Times*, 15 July, 2001:18). The Secretary General of the ROC Baseball Association Lin (2001) pointed out the negative impact of changing the location, and highlighted the negative implications for the sale of rights and arrangement for broadcasting.

ROC Baseball Association put their bid forward in July of 1999, and won the following November in Sydney. During the bidding period, there was no argument. However, in 2000 DPP took power at central government level and the argument was raised...This argument has given a negative image to the international sponsorship and broadcasting rights (United News, 13<sup>th</sup> of July 2001:4, translated by the author.)

Oting, the Secretary General of the IBA, arrived in Taiwan on 24<sup>th</sup> July 2001. The IBA insisted that there should be no change in location and schedule. Oting claimed according to the regulations that:

...There is no precedent for changing the schedule of the World Baseball Cup; and the time schedule of the *2001 Baseball Ball World Cup* cannot be changed. (*China Times*, 29<sup>th</sup> July, 2001: 31, translated by the author).

This announcement delivered by Oting influenced both the Kaohsiung County and Executive-Yuan to reach a compromise for the 2001 World Baseball Cup and rescued the dilemma of the NCPFS. The NCPFS and Kaohsiung County government agreed subsequently to follow the IBA ruling.



## 8.5 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to explore sports policy as a consideration and a party political issue at local government level in the context of the central-local government structure changes. In particular, discussion has focused on the case of the bidding for the '2001 World Baseball Cup'. The structure of this chapter was firstly to highlight the development of central-local government relations, secondly to illustrate the main sports policy statement developed in the capital, Taipei City and another four local governments, and finally, to illustrate the political controversy in the 2001 World Baseball Cup bid between Taipei (KMT) and Kaohsiung County (DPP).

The relationship between central and local government has indicated elements of the power structure and its relationship to funding subsidies. It helps to understand how local sports policy was implemented at local level. Demonstrating sports policy at local government level has also illustrated the elite sport orientation, which is particularly evidenced in the tension between Taipei City government and Kaohsiung County government over the '2001 World Baseball Cup' bid. In this discussion, political competition between Taipei and Kaohsiung County was clearly visible. Before 2000 with the KMT in power in central government, the access for bidding for the Games can be seen as controlled by the cooperation between the KMT, NCPFS and ROC Baseball Association. After 2000 the DPP's first term in power in central government, the DPP made use of political advantage and attempted to intervene in the decision made by the International Baseball Association. However, the Taipei City government and KMT interests were able to appeal to international regulations and thereby legitimate their claims as well as drawing on the strength of the IBA which lay beyond Taiwan's own sporting and political constituency. The implications of this and the pattern of policy making discussed in preceding chapters for strategic relations analysis forms the subject matter of the concluding chapter of this thesis.

## **CHAPTER 9**

### **CONCLUSIONS**

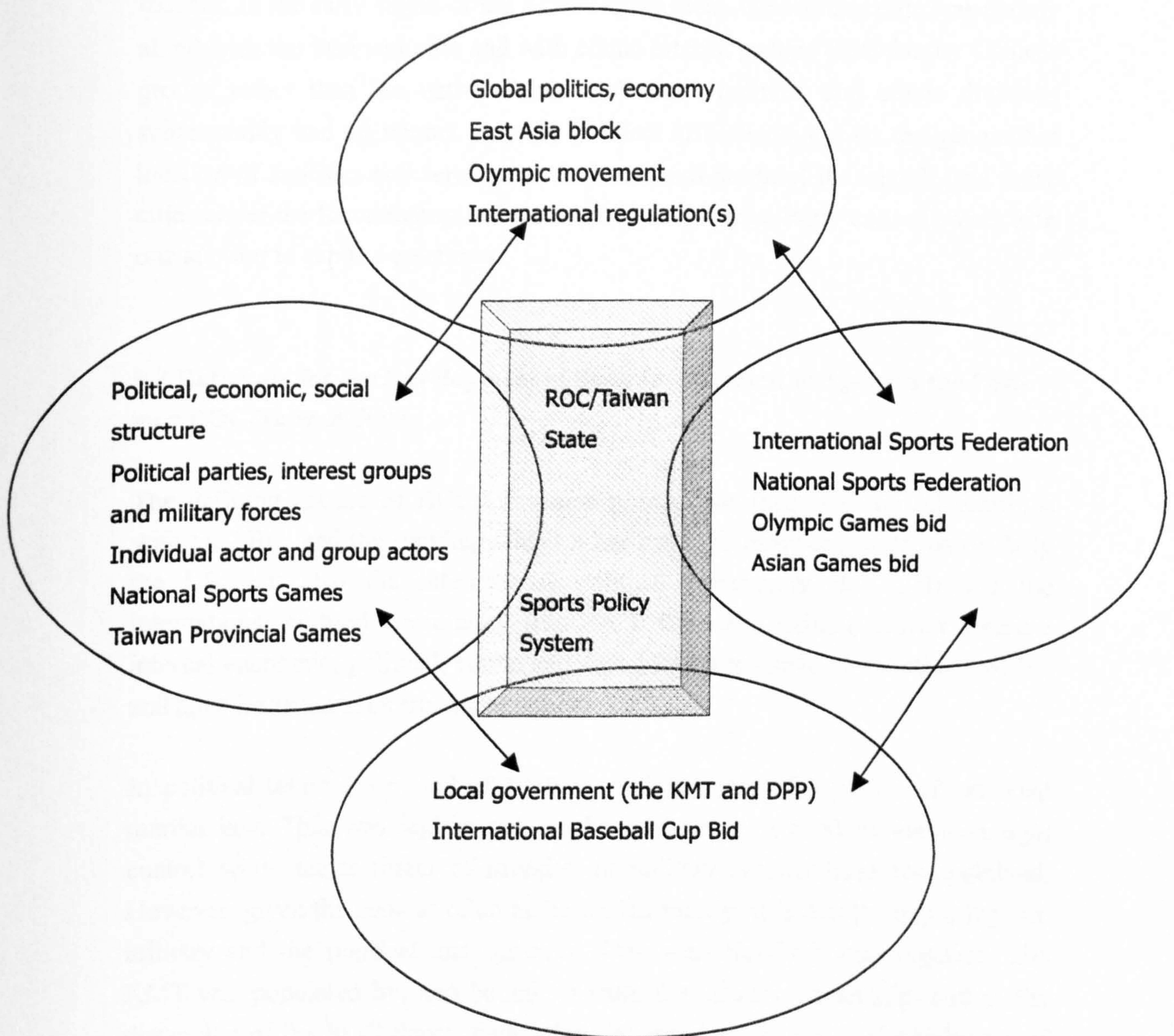
#### **9.1 Introduction**

This study has sought to address the nature of the evolution of sports policy in ROC/Taiwan since 1973, within the context of a strategic relations approach to analysis of policy. The aims of the study as articulated in the opening chapter were as follows:

- (a) to review the global context within which the development of ROC/Taiwan has taken place;
- (b) to understand the nature of the ROC/Taiwanese State and its development over time, and its evolving role in sports policy;
- (c) to examine the roles of various groups of actors in constructing the sports policy agenda;
- (d) to analyse particular cases relating to sports policy at the National Governing Bodies of sport and local government levels; and
- (e) to explore the strategic context within which sports policy in ROC/Taiwan has been formulated.

These aims have been addressed by the development of analysis of the ROC/Taiwan's position in international relations and their implications for sports policy; of the internal structure and history of the state at national level and their implications for national level policy; and of the local government context. In each case explanation sought to identify both the structural context of policy development and the explanation provided by individual policy actors. Figure 9.1 summarises the nature of the interrelationships between macro, meso and micro issues.

**Figure 9.1: The Interrelations of Macro, Meso and Micro Levels in Sports Policy in ROC/Taiwan**



The theoretical framework on which the study draws involves a recognition that the state is influenced by particular interest groups (the neo-pluralist position), in which elites (the neo-elite position) often, though not exclusively, drawn from business interests (the neo-Marxist position) are in evidence. The particular

make-up of these groups will vary according to the issues concerned at the particular point of time in the history of the ROC/Taiwan state on which one focuses. In the early stages of the ROC/Taiwan state, the military elite was closely allied with the business elite and with ethnic interest groups (Mainlander Chinese groups rather than the native Taiwanese). Such political and ethnic divisions subsequently had an impact on party political affiliations and on the geographic location of facilities and services as the North and South of the island, (and those cities under the Kuomintang and Democratic Progressive Party control), vied with one another to capture resources.

## **9.2 Rationale for the Development of State Involvement in Sport in the Post-war ROC/Taiwan State**

The defining feature of ROC/Taiwanese politics has thus been its relationships with the PRC, and the standing which it has had with other countries, particularly the US, but also the international political community (the UN) and the international cultural community (the IOC). It is the defining feature because internal economic, political, ethnic and social structures have been influenced by, and have influenced, international policy.

In political terms the period of 1949 to 1987 represented a period of extended martial law. This was legitimated by the government's need to maintain tight control while under threat of invasion or military actions from the mainland. However, given the context of an authoritarian society, it is hardly surprising that military and the political and business elites were tightly bound together. The KMT was populated by, and bound up with, the military leadership, and as the discussion of the ROC Sports Federation illustrated in chapter 7, the influence of military/business/KMT elite was well embedded in the sports governance system well beyond the period of martial law. In party political terms, international politics have shaped the local political scene with the primacy of the 'one versus two Chinas' position taken by the DPP and KMT, and associated parties. The building of an independent Taiwan implies a different policy mind-set from that of viewing Taiwan as an integral element of a Chinese nation-state implying some

form of political integration in the longer term. Domestic politics, and domestic sporting politics specifically, are thus intimately affected by some differences as the discussion of the DPP social and educational politics for sport indicated in chapter 6.

Political divisions are, however, not simply related to the existence of military and economic elites they are also bound up with ethnic differentiation between the incomer populations whose origins are in Mainland China, and those of Taiwanese origin. This related distribution of population of Mainland and native Taiwanese origins between the north and south of the islands is reflected in the battle between the DPP and KMT at local government level to secure the hosting of the 2001 World Baseball Cup.

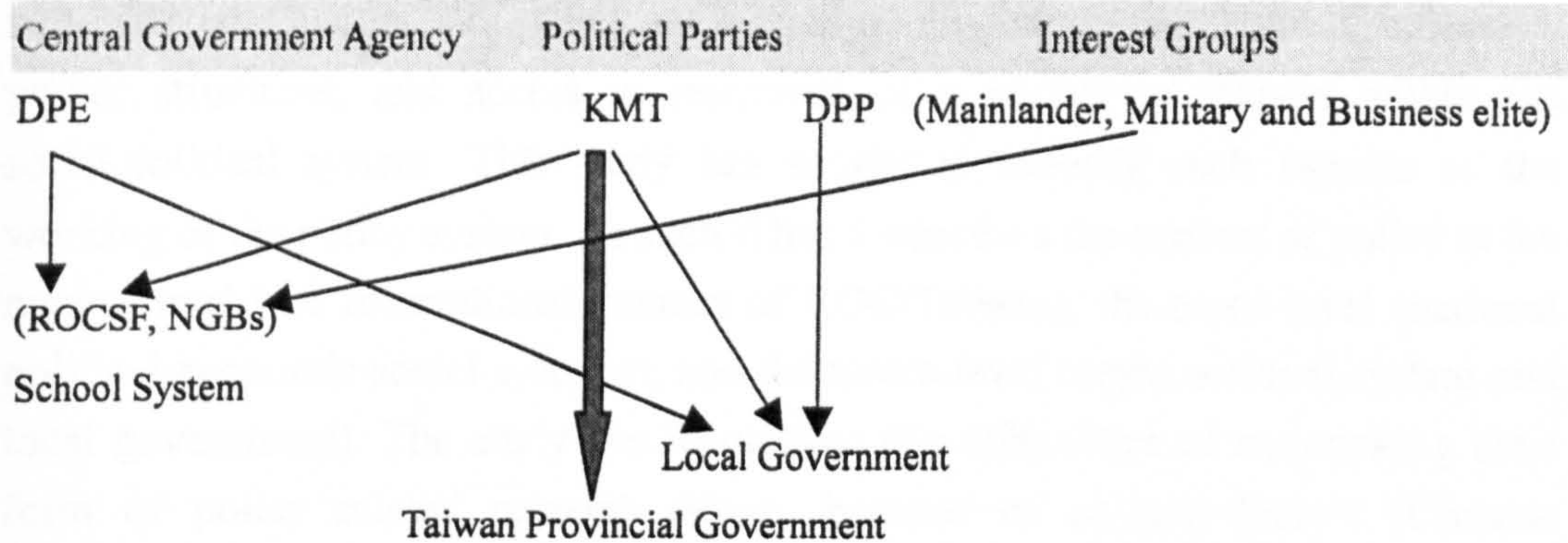
In addition to the influence of military elites, political parties, and ethnic groups, business elites also play a major role in the development of a number of sports, as the analysis of NGBs described in chapter 7 indicates. Business elites not only directly fund some NGBs activities, but as the interview evidence indicates they have sought to exert influence via political parties on government. Though much of the relationship between individual entrepreneurs involved in sports governance, and government itself was not discussed frankly by most respondents, there was some evidence of types of political clietelism analogous to that manifest in a study of the Greek sporting system (Henry and Nassis, 1999).

However, changes in policy and struggles over outcomes cannot only be characterised as the product of party politics, and the activities of military and business elites. They are also the product of inter-organisational conflicts, for example between the DPE, the NCPFS, and the ROCSF, which have become more active in the period since the DPP took control of central government since the organisations themselves reflect differential political support.

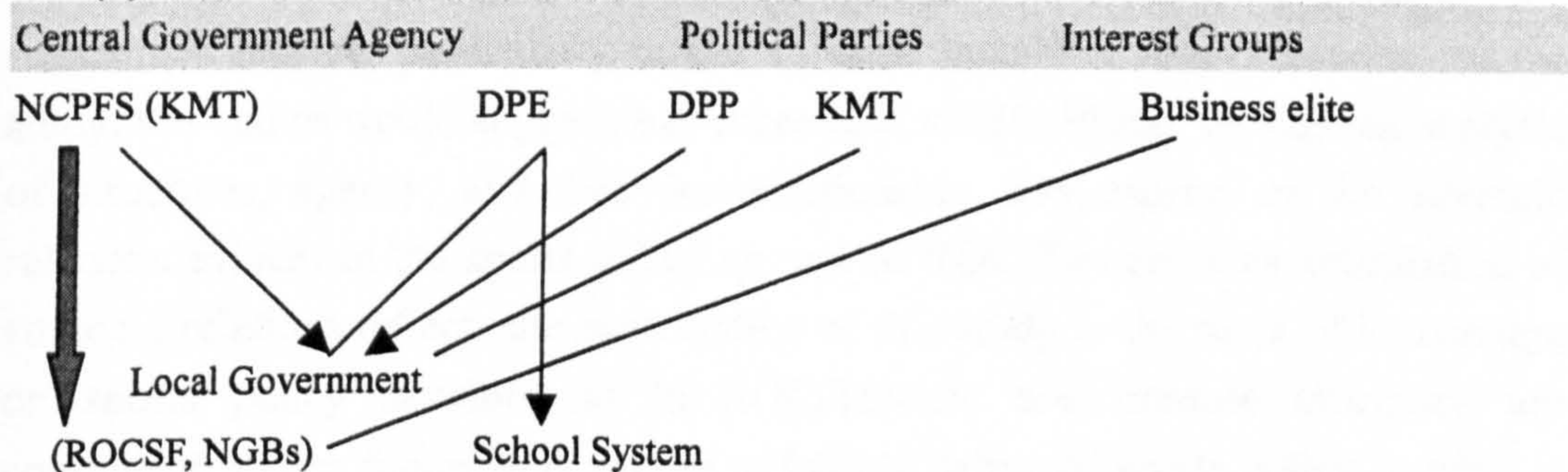
Figure 9.2 (a-c) seeks to illustrate the nature of the changing influence in sports policy from pre 1997 up to 2002. Influence is expressed by direct financial subsidy, by appointment of persons sympathetic to a particular political respective and by political party fostering of particular policy goals.

**Figure 9.2: Graphical Structural Shifts in Government and Sport in ROC/Taiwan**

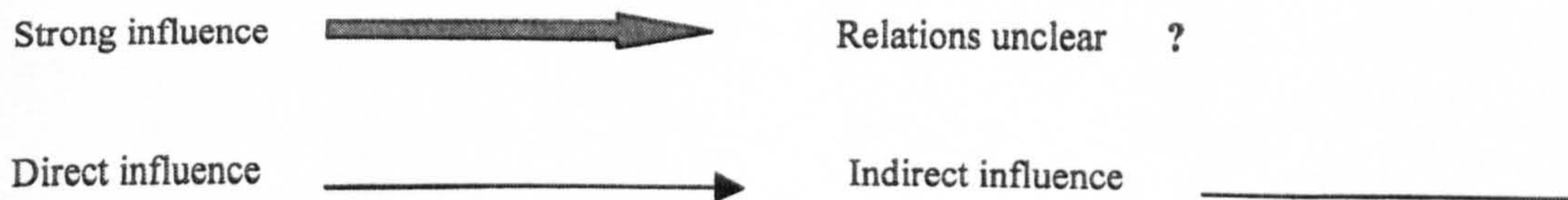
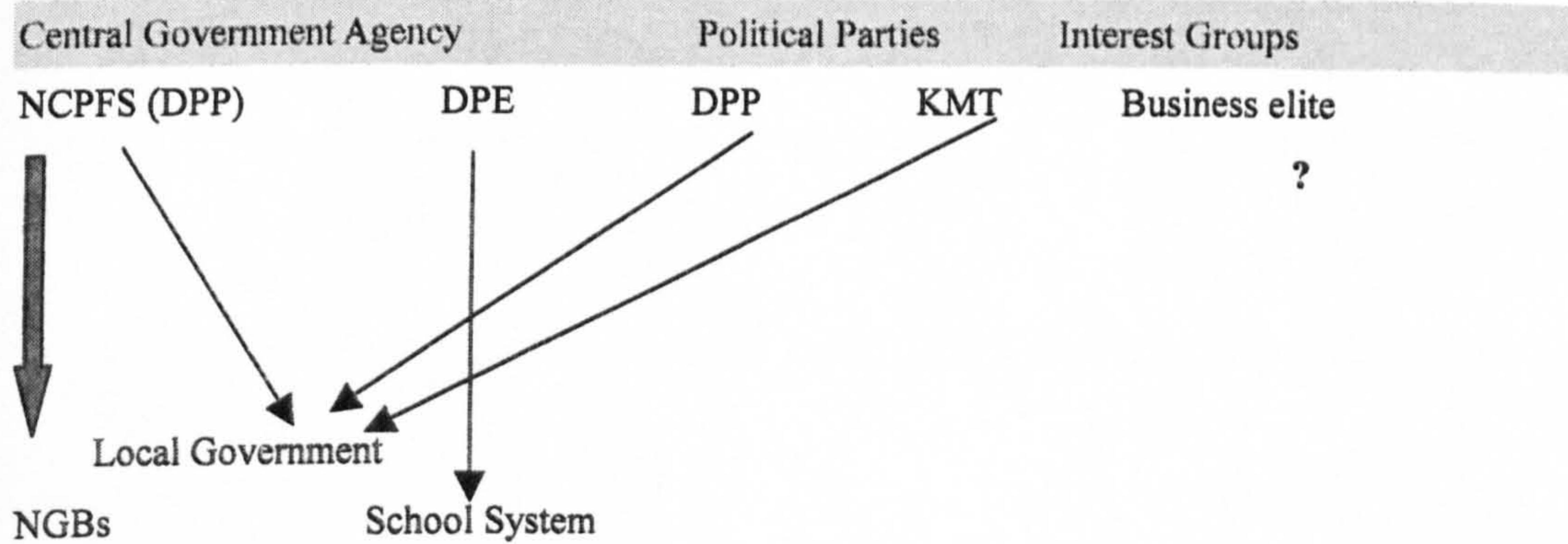
**9.2 (a) Pre-1997 Period with the KMT Power**



**9.2 (b) 1997-2000 Period with the KMT Control**



**9.2 (c) Post-2000 Period with the DPP Power**



### **9.3 Conclusions: A Strategic Relations Approach**

The origins of the strategic relations approach as developed by Jessop in 1990 are neo-Marxist. Outcomes of policy are seen as contingent on the nature of influence, power structures, and access to resources of a variety of groups within the socio-political system. This study has sought to identify such aspects of the working of the policy system. As such it has focused on the context of policy at the macro level (the international context of ROC/Taiwan), the meso-level (national political-economic social systems), and the micro-level (organisational system and local government). The study has recognised the difficulties of undertaking their form of policy related research where, because of cultural factors (Chinese reticence in open criticism), and because of the relatively recent promotion of a pluralist system with open expression, data on the exercise of influence are sometimes elusive, particularly in the form of interview data. Nevertheless the study, the author would suggest, has succeeded in identifying, through an analysis of structures, agency, and their interrelationship, key aspects of the strategic relations evident in the sports policy system in ROC/Taiwan. This articulation of strategic relations reflects the contribution of this study to the stock of knowledge on sports policy development in ROC/Taiwan, and because outcomes are contingent invites future work on the unfolding nature of sports policy in what is still a relatively recently developed politically pluralist system.

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# APPENDIX 1

## Interview Questions

### Introduction

Thank you for letting me talk to you, perhaps I should begin with a brief overview of my research. I am doing PhD research on sports policy in ROC/Taiwan from 1973 to 2002; I am looking at the internal dynamics of policy-making process in the DPE/NCPFS and policy-makers with the wider global environment over time. I have a semi-structured interview schedule that I hope we can complete in the time available. I will start with some broad questions but the information that will be most useful to me will come towards the end of the interview, I may therefore have to move to that if we are pushed for time.

### 1. Central Government Level

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**1) What were the main reasons for state support for sport in ROC/Taiwan during your period in office? Were they different to those which ROC/Taiwan had adopted before/after your time in office?**

- a) What were the main objectives and goals of sports policy pursued by DPE/NCPFS during your time in office? Did these differ from, or were they similar to, the main objectives before/after your time in office?
- b) What are the main political ideology/values of the main parties and how have these affected sport policy in Taiwan?
- c) What is the main consideration between sport for all and elite sport policy by government? What form did the government's policies in relation to elite sport and sport for all take during your period of office? What was the relationship/balance between the two policy areas? Why did the government support sport for all, and why elite sport?

- d) What was the thinking behind the financial allocation to sport for all, elite sport, and why the budget between sport for all and elite sport by government?
- e) What types of people were appointed to sports positions during your period in office? What kinds of background did they have in terms of sport, and other areas (e.g. business, politics etc).

**2) What has been the rationale of the two major parties for supporting the bid for the 2010 Asian Games and for the 2008 Olympic Games with PRC?**

- a) What would be the impact on sport of Taiwan's bid for the above Games?
- b) What would be the other benefits for bidding the above Games? Do you foresee any potential negative impacts?
- c) What is the process of DPE/NCPFS budget construction in relation to sport and what is the role of the political Party in the above process?
- d) In what ways have international sports event held in Taiwan affected the budget of the DPE/NCPFS in particular?

**3) In what ways do/did national governing bodies of sport bid for grant in aid from DPE/NCPFS? In what ways do local governments bid for sporting resources/budget?**

- a) What are the main resources for the parliament to support the budget of the DPE/NCPFS?
- b) What are the main factors in decisions to subsidy private sector and voluntary sector sport organization?
- c) What is the relationship between Taiwan and the global sports community?

- d) What types of sporting links did Taiwan try to develop with international sporting bodies during your time in office? Were these links seen as important?

## **2. National Governing Bodies of Sport**

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**1) To what extent has the central government change in 2000 affected the main direction in sports policy in your organisation?**

- a) In what ways did the above changes affect your organisation?
- b) Were the changes a response by the organisation to budget or other changes?
- c) What is the main impact of bidding for grant in aid from central government? Is it the only access for sport budget or any others?
- d) Has the impact of these changes been positive or negative? In what ways ?

**2) What is the main consideration for budget construction within the governing body?**

- a) What is the main source of the budget in the governing body? Are there any other sources from individual/ groups for the organisation? In what ways does the organisation bid for grant-in-aid?
- b) Is your own role (Chairman of NGBs) important in bid for grant in aid from central government? Why? Is it important to have good political or commercial connections for NGBs ?
- c) What is the main rationale for, and division of the budget between sport for all and elite sport?
- d) What are the main rationales for central government to subsidise the NGBs?

**3) What kind of criteria does central government take into account in dividing subsidy for NGBs? Is it fair or not to your organisation?**

- a) What is the main rationale for division of the budget between sport for all and elite sport?
- b) What is the relationship among the NGBs and the central government?
- c) What are the main policies in the organisation?
- d) In what ways did/does your organisation interact with the other NGBs?

### **3. Local Government/Civil Servants in Local Government**

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**1) What are the main goals/objectives of your local party on sport?**

- a) In what ways do these differ from the other party's policy?
- b) Was the rationale of the sports policy different from central government/NCPFS? Why?
- c) What are the main policy priorities in local government between sport for all and elite sport? Were/are these different from central government?

**2) What were the main changes in the relationship between central and local government after the election of the DPP government year 2000?**

- a) In terms of national gymnasium in Taipei, what is the main difference among central government/NCPFS and local government?
- b) In what ways have those changes affected the city council?

**3) What is/was the main role of sports development in local government?**

- a) In what ways do/ did sport promote the image of local government?

In what ways did /do bid for international sports event have an impact on local government's image, budget or anything else?

b) For what reasons did Taipei city government establish a sports committee in year 2001? Was it important to promote sport? In what ways?

## Appendix 2

### The Evaluation for Sport for All Programme 1985

#### 1. The Promotion for the Programme

- 1) Have schoolteachers been volunteers to the community?
- 2) Have local schools invited the community residents when a sport event was held?
- 3) Have any positive promotions encouraged community residents' attendance?
- 4) Were there any regular consultants for the community sports programme?
- 5) Were there any awards for community sports events?
- 6) Were there any awards for individuals who promote sports?
- 7) Were there any awards for volunteers?
- 8) Were there any year-plans to promote this programme?
- 9) Were promotions of the programme regular?
- 10) Were there any penalties to the community who stopped to promote this programme?
- 11) Were there any committees for promoting sports events?
- 12) Have any local authorities joined the programme?
- 13) Were there any statistics data of the population joining this programme?

#### 2. The Encouragement of the People Joining in the Programme

- 1) Have schoolteachers been volunteers to the community?
- 2) Have local schools invited the community residents when a sport event was held?
- 3) Have any positive promotions encouraged community residents' attendance?
- 4) Were there any regular consultants for the community sports programme?
- 5) Were there any awards for community sports events?
- 6) Were there any awards for individuals who promote sports?
- 7) Were there any awards for volunteers?
- 8) Were there any year-plans to promote this programme?
- 9) Were promotions of the programme regular?
- 10) Were there any penalties to the community who stopped to promote this programme?
- 11) Were there any committees for promoting sports events?
- 12) Have any local authorities joined the programme?
- 13) Were there any statistics data of the population joining this programme?
- 14) Has the budget gone to the sports events correctly/directly?

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### 3. Maintaining Information for the Programme

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- 1) Was there any information regarding self-evaluation in the community?
- 2) Were there any advertisements for this programme?
- 3) Were there any investigations about residents' intentions in sports?
- 4) Were there any figures of statistics for population in the programme?
- 5) Were there any lists of the attendants in the programme?
- 6) Were there any photos or videos for the sports events?
- 7) Have documents been categorised?

### 4. The Maintenance of the Facilities in the Programme

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- 1) Were there any swimming pools or sports areas in the community?
- 2) Were there any gymnasiums in the community?
- 3) Were there any regulations for renting the facilities?
- 4) Were there any plans to increase the sports facilities every year?
- 5) Were there any plans to increase simple sports grounds?
- 6) Was there any community residents providing sports areas?
- 7) Were there any established profiles for all the sports events?

### 5. The Exercising Power of the Organisation in the Programme

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- 1) Have sports for all committees been in the community?
- 2) Have any presidents of the community contributed to the sports events?
- 3) Did the consultants of the community work?
- 4) Did the committee of the community exercise well?

### 6. The Expenditure Using in the Programme

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- 1) Were there any financial experts to regulate the budget?
- 2) Have the use of the budget and report made to the DPE on time?
- 3) Has the budget been used reasonably?
- 4) Were there any sponsors in the area?

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Source: DPE (1985) The Report of the Sport for All Programme