Heritage Tourism in Taiwan's Desinicized Nationalism

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Abstract: In postmodern societies, the touristic consumption of symbols of identity contributes to the formation of national identities. The purpose of this study was to examine residents' and tourists' perspectives on the meanings attached to and impacts caused by heritage tourism development. Data collected through structured interviews and field observations in Lu-Kang, Taiwan revealed that the local heritage is seen as personally meaningful not only by local residents and culture brokers but also by domestic visitors. Tourism development is reported to bring economic and cultural revitalization but is also blamed for crowding, commercialization and environmental pollution. Lu-Kang, is thus a space for the dissemination of extant symbols of a Desinicized national identity; symbols that accentuate Taiwan's history of colonization and ethnic diversity, and that situate the nation's origin with the arrival of migrants from the Mainland.

Key words: Nationalism; Heritage; Taiwanization.

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Resumen: En las sociedades posmodernas, el consumo turístico de los símbolos de la identidad contribuye a la formación de las identidades nacionales. El propósito de este estudio fue examinar las perspectivas de residentes y turistas sobre los significados asociados a y los impactos causados por el desarrollo del patrimonio turístico. Los datos recogidos mediante entrevistas estructuradas y observaciones de campo en Lu-Kang (Taiwan) pusieron de manifiesto que el patrimonio local es visto como significativo no sólo por los residentes locales y los agentes culturales, sino también por los visitantes nacionales. El desarrollo del turismo ha traído la revitalización económica y cultural, pero también hacinamiento, comercialización cultural y contaminación ambiental. Lu-Kang, es, pues, un espacio para la difusión de los símbolos existentes de una identidad nacional; con símbolos que acentúan la historia de Taiwan de la colonización y la diversidad étnica, y que sitúan el origen de la nación con la llegada de migrantes procedentes del continente.

Palabras clave: Nacionalismo; Patrimonio; Taiwanización.

Introduction

The growing efforts devoted to the study of heritage tourism support the idea that heritage tourism is more than just the commercial provision of services to fulfill society's nostalgic search for authenticity (Bandyopadhyay, Morais and Chick 2008; MacCannell 1976; McCain and Ray 2003; Urry 2002). Rather, heritage tourism is now widely regarded as a biased selection and interpretation of history in ways that further the ideology of those with the means of cultural production (Johnson 1999). For example, Light (2001) reported that the heritage of the "House of the People" in Bucharest has been renegotiated and is now narrated in a way consistent with Romania's emerging post-socialist identity. Pretes (2003) indicated that Mount Rushmore National Monument, the Wall Drug Store and Rapid City Dinosaur National Park in South Dakota, USA provide symbols of independence, freedom, equality, free enterprise and natural grandeur central to American nationalism. Chronis (2005) claimed that social values of patriotism and national unity permeate the stories conveyed to thousands of visitors to the Gettysburg National Park (USA). Lastly, both Arranz (2006) and Pritchard and Morgan (2001) commented on how promotions of Wales to the British were embedded with hegemonic portrayals of Wales as the primitive other, while promotions for foreign markets were embedded with nationalist discourses of resistance against British rule.

One of the frequent preoccupations of tourism scholars is that the tourism system is complex and, as a result, tourist experiences are typically co-constructed by factions with potentially conflicting interests (Bandyopadhyay and Morais 2005; Bandyopadhyay, Morais and Chick 2008; Chronis 2005; Davis and Morais 2004; Nuryanti 1996). Therefore, it is not surprising that tourism researchers have challenged the idea that heritage tourism experiences reflect the ideology of one single homogeneous group. Instead, several authors have commented that heritage tourism experiences are negotiated cultural productions, co-constructed by the tourism industry, the media, the government, non-governmental organizations, local residents, and by the tourists themselves (Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher 2005; Chronis 2005). Accordingly, while some of the aforementioned sources make important contributions to understanding the ideological motivations influencing the official framing of the past in heritage destinations, few authors have examined how other groups involved in the co-construction of heritage for tourism interpret, negotiate, translate and strengthen the destinations' symbols of identity.

Another predominant focus of research has been the nature of the relationship between heritage conservation and tourism development. Some authors have noted that tourism development tends to cause heritage degradation (Jansen-Verbeke 1998; Mitchell 1998). Namely, some argue that tourism leads to the standardization of built and live heritage (Jansen-Verbeke 1998) as the industry responds to tourists' demands with easily recognizable and interpretable cultural products (Johnson 1999; Light 2001; Lowenthal 1996). Conversely, some authors support the belief that the relationship between tourism de-

velopment and heritage preservation may be synergistic (Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher 2005; McKercher, Ho, and du Cros 2005). Those authors point out that heritage preservation is costly and demands political will, and that economic and political value can be obtained through the thoughtful use of the heritage resources for tourism.

Nationalism

Despite the contemporary prevalence of widespread labor mobility, cultural hybridity, and global division of production and trade, nations seem to remain at the center of today's "world order, the main object of individual loyalties, the chief definer of [an individual's] identity" (Smith 1971, p. 2). Nationalism, or individuals' collective allegiance to a nation (Hutchinson & Smith 1994) is foremost centered in the principle of self-determination: the populace must govern their own future free from outside control or the control of domestic elites (Hutchinson & Smith 1994). Furthermore, nationalism requires a sense of commonality among members of the nation and of difference in contrast to outsiders; a commonality based on a collective consciousness of a shared past and vision for the future (Weber 1948).

Much of the contemporary debate over nationalism centers precisely in the intersection of these two principles: self-determination and communality. Namely, some authors argue that collective perceptions of a national identity may be manipulated to influence desirable political choices resulting in a false sense of self-determination due to careful manipulation of history (Coakley 2004). While many take a Marxist view of nationalism and see it as a transition of power from an elite to the masses, others argue that nationalism results from the rise of a new elite; the intelligentsia, a social class that controls the means of cultural production and dissemination (Smith 1971). Indeed, Hobsbawm (1983) proposed that the process of nationalism lays on inventing traditions by focusing on slices of history that support the intelligentsia's ideology. Coakley (2004) further proposed that, since history is subjective and complex, this purposefully crafted and easily consumable history is frequently based on "over-simplification, if not misinterpretation and fabrication" of the past (p. 533). Anderson (1991) also con-

tended that this is the process through which nationalism turns otherwise dispersed and fragmented populations into a national community united around an imagined common heritage.

In addition to concerns over the engineering of a national identity, the study of nationalism requires thinking about how this imagined identity is disseminated and assimilated by the populace (Coakley 2004). This process is critical because without widespread socialization of the population into the identity imagined by the intelligentsia, nationalism movements would be perceived as internal colonialism or as a new form of autocratic government. Some of the tools used by nations to "communicate" with their populations include closely managed institutions such as public education, and the mass media (Coakley 2004). In addition, nations also nurture desirable national identities through the sanctioning of important symbols of nationalism such as language, maps, currency, and holidays (Anderson 1991; Smith 1991). While these tools of political socialization have been widely debated and studied by nationalism scholars (Anderson 1991; Lowenthal 1996; Wang 2005), less attention has been given to the contemporary phenomenon of heritage tourism. Heritage tourism has become increasingly associated with nationalism because this form of tourism allows individuals to gaze and experience selected symbols of identity (Johnson 1999; Palmer 1999; Richter 1999; Walsh 1992). Moreover, Light (2001) notes that in postmodern societies heritage tourism is becoming a predominant factor in shaping national identities because postmodern individuals define and express who they are through conspicuous consumption. Hence, the current increased interest in heritage tourism in the context of nationalism is warranted and timely as this postmodern consumption of national symbols is likely to affect much of what has been written about construction and dissemination of national identities.

The Taiwanization Movement

Most nationalist movements are characterized by turbulent and, all too often, violent transitions from authoritarian rule to democratic self-determination (Smith 1971). A few nations, however, are able to progress through the nationalism process in a relatively peaceful way (Laliberté

2004). Taiwan is arguably one of those na-tions as it has over the last three decades emerged peacefully from a 400-year long history of autocratic rule into a growing sense of shared national identity and of self-determined destiny (Laliberté 2004; Makeham 2005). Taiwan's nationalism movement is commonly termed *Bentuhua*, literally meaning localization. In this paper the Taiwanese nationalism movement will be termed Taiwanization (Jacobs 2005; Rudolph 2003; 2004) to better reflect its intended meaning – the process whereby "the uniqueness of Taiwanese socie-ty/culture/history must be appreciated and interpreted from the viewpoint of the Tai-wanese people," and the process in which all peoples from Taiwan "achieve equal political citizenship and political power, and are able to pursue the goal of a distinct nation-state status for Taiwan" (Makeham 2005, p. 11). The Taiwanization movement germinated in the 1960's and 1970's while the Kuomintang regime governed the isl-and as the displaced legitimate government of all China (Chang 2003; Wang 2005). During this period, the Kuomintang adopted a policy of cultural Sinicization by promoting Chinese culture and repressing Aborigine cultures, Hakka culture, and Hoklo culture (hybridized Han culture brought by early Han immigrants from Fujian province) (Hsiau 2000). For exam-ple, the Kuomintang initiated the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement in 1966 to establish Taiwan as "the defender of au-thentic Chinese culture" and to instill pride in the Chinese culture among all Taiwa-nese (Wang 2005, p. 61). Further, the Ku-omintang declared traditional Mandarin as Taiwan's official language and by imposing fines on anyone caught using aborigine and Taiwanese regionalects (Wang 2005). This China-centered view was also reflected in the government's media policies limiting the amount of broadcasting in non-Mandarin dialects, in the control of text-book contents portraying Taiwan a one of China's 36 provinces (Wang 2005), and in the investment in and preservation of Chi-nese built heritage (Taylor 2005). Contras-tingly, the birth of the Taiwanization movement is often associated with the Danhua party's (unofficial opposition party) publication of dissident magazines and

mass public demonstrations where natio-nalist "elites begun to construct their own [desinicized] version of national [identity]" (Wang 2005, p. 69). The four decades of the Taiwanization movement have resulted in widespread changes permeating all facets of Taiwanese politics, society, religion and culture (Chang 2003; Sangren 2003). For example, the *Renshi* Taiwan education movement led to the infusion of history, geography and languages specific to Tai-wan in school curriculums (Wang 2005). In addition, media broadcasting has included increasing amounts of programming in Taiwanese regionalects, and there has been an increased interest and investment in theme parks, historic areas, and festivals focusing on Aborigine, Hakka or Hoklo heritage (Hou 2000; Taiwan Tourism Bu-reau 2003).

While the Taiwan-centered version of a national identity is complex, disputed and ever evolving, there are several tenets that have remained central over time. First, since the arrival of Taiwan's aborigines, various ethnic groups migrated to Taiwan and were often ruled by colonizing powers until they were allowed to democratically elect their president in 1996 (Wang 2005). Second, the national identity is intimately connected with Taiwan's colonial heritage. On one hand, it portrays the period during Japanese rule (i.e., 1895-1945) as a golden age by highlighting education and infra-structure developments brought by the Japanese, and underplaying their alleged atrocities (Taylor 2005). On the other hand, it characterizes the period of Qing dynasty rule (1683-1895) and the period of Kuomin-tang rule until the 1996 elections as dark ages in which foreign colonizing powers exploited the Taiwanese (Wang 2005). Third, the Taiwanese national identity is anchored also in an age of struggle for de-mocracy with particular focus on the Dan-huai party leaders imprisoned by the Kuo-mintang after the Kaushong incident in 1979 (Jacobs 2005).

Lu-Kang's Taiwanese Heritage

Several authors have already aptly commented on the role of institutions such as formal education (Wang 2005), official language (Hsiau 2000), religion (Katz and Rubinstein 2003), popular literature (Had-

don 2005; Hsiau 2005) and the media (Jacobs 2005) in the Taiwanization movement. However, with a few exceptions (Hou, Lin and Morais 2005), the study of the role of tourism in the Taiwanization movement has been largely neglected. This paper attempts to bring additional insight into the intersection of Taiwanization and tourism by focusing on a heritage tourism destination closely aligned with the previously discussed central tenets of Taiwan's national identity.

Lu-Kang (鹿港) is arguably one of Taiwan's most popular heritage tourism destinations displaying the island's history of migration, and colonization by the Japanese and well as religious traditions (DeGlopper 1995). In the 17th century Lu-Kang was a major harbor for exports by the Dutch. Subsequently, it became the primary gateway to Central Taiwan and was designated as a sister sea-harbor of the town of Han-Chiang on the east coast of Mainland China. During the 17th and 18th centuries Lu-Kang became one of the biggest commercial and cultural centers in Taiwan thanks to intense trading across the strait and continuous inflow of Hakka and Hoklo immigrants from the Fujian, Xinghua, Zhangzhou and Guangdong provinces (DeGlopper 1995). As a result, Lu-Kang now retains "a fabulous legacy of temples and buildings constructed in various regional styles" (Bender, Grundvig, and Kelly 2004, p. 208) as testament of Taiwan's origin as the home to diverse groups of industrious immigrants. The period of Japanese colonial rule registered important changes to the town. Buildings were demolished to make room for better roads, a train line was built, and the sea port was closed due to silting. Further, several Japanese colonial style buildings were built and still remain well preserved (e.g., the Lu-Kang Folk Arts Museum) (Bender et al 2004). At the end of the 19th century, Lu-Kang finally lost its key role in national and cross-strait trade due to the closing of its port, and due to advances in ocean and land transportation in the region. As a result, Lu-Kang's economy collapsed and, during the first decade of the 20th century, a large number of its residents migrated to regions experiencing fast growth (i.e., Taipei and Kaushung) (DeGlopper 1995). Lu-Kang remained a repressed and isolated town during most of the 20th century until its heritage tourism industry begun to grow. It's rich history and fast economic collapse spared it from the cultural homogenization brought by the rapid economic development and modernization registered in other regions of Taiwan during the 20th century (DeGlopper 1995). Today Lu-Kang has several sites officially designated as national heritage (Taiwan Tourism Bureau 2003) attracting between .4 to 1.2 million visitors in 2003 (Taiwan Tourism Bureau 2004). Figure 1 illustrates Lu-Kang's location in the central region of Taiwan.

Meanings and Tourism Impacts in Lu-Kang

Nationalism movements and national identities have long been the focus of academic research as they are central to domestic and global relations, allegiances and conflicts. In this postmodern era where individuals' identities are strongly associated with conspicuous consumption, heritage tourism has gained an important role in national identity formation. While several authors have made substantial developments in the understanding of the intersections between tourism and nationalism, their collective efforts have seldom addressed nationalism movements in South-East Asia, a region known for its ethnic complexity, long history of autocratic regimes, and inexperience in democracy. Furthermore, most contributions have typically focused on the ideology influencing formal institutions of cultural production (i.e., the sate) and have paid less attention to the meanings, opinions and motivations of other groups informally involved in the co-construction of heritage tourism experiences (e.g., residents and tourists). Therefore, the purpose of this study was to compensate for this lacuna by examining residents' and tourists' perspectives on the meanings attached to and impacts caused by heritage tourism development in Lu-Kang, Taiwan. The following two objectives guided this inquiry.

1. To examine what meanings residents and tourists attach to Lu-Kang.

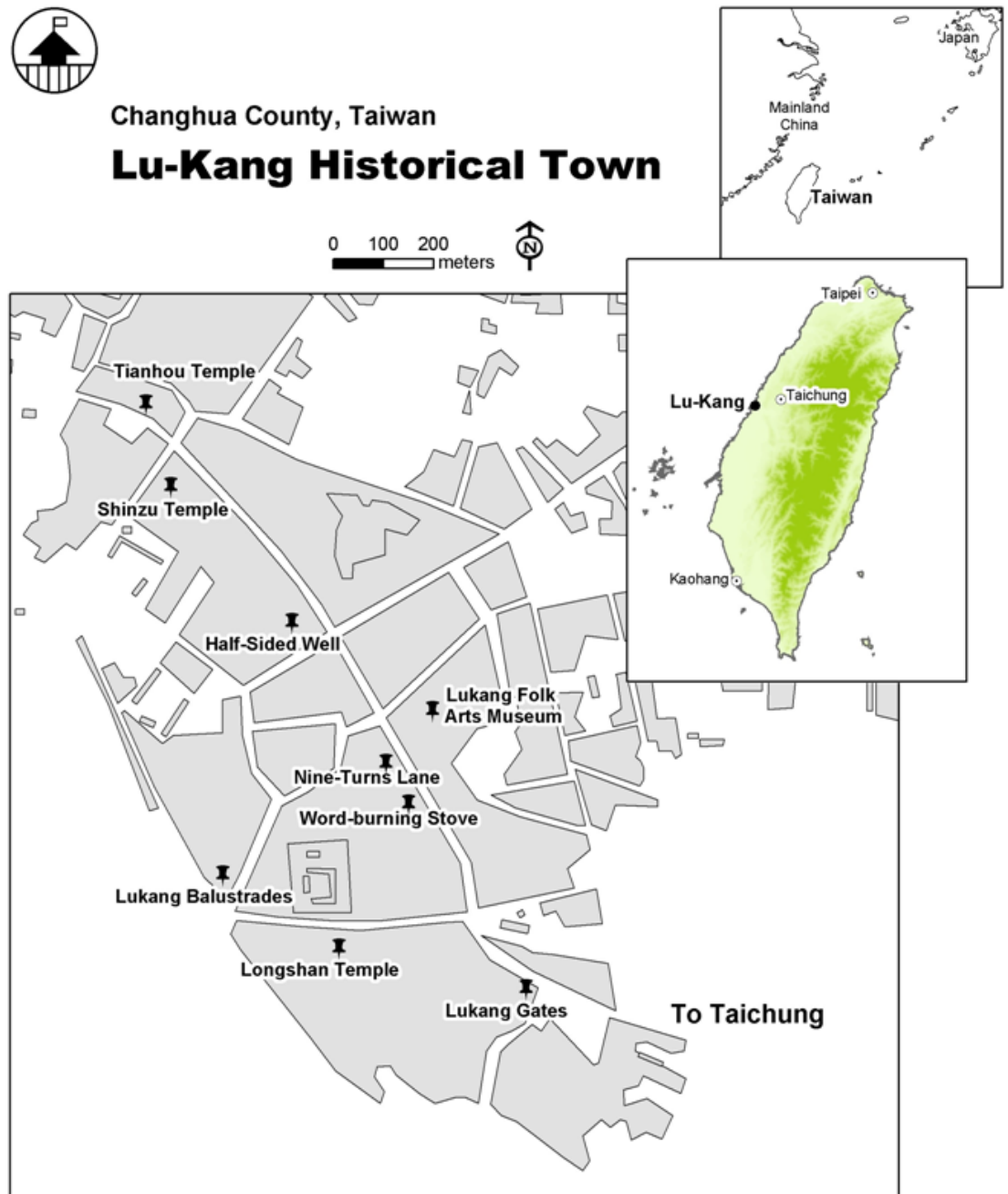2. To examine residents' and tourists' perceptions of tourism impacts in Lu-Kang.

Figure 1. Study site

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Study Methods

Heritage tourism experiences are co-constructed by groups of hosts involved in preparation and delivery of tourism services (i.e., local residents, service providers, retailers) and by the tourists who bring specific motivations and expectations to the destination (Chronis 2005). Therefore, in order to study meanings and tourism impacts in Lu-Kang, data were collected from four different groups of informants: individuals living in the historical sections of Lu-Kang, individuals working as gui-

des, craftsmen working on furniture or wood sculptures, and tourists. The data were collected through structured interviews using a common interview protocol with minor modifications to fit each group of informants. The protocol included six questions of which three were used for this article. Namely, the informants were asked: What does Lu-Kang mean to you? How is tourism positively impacting Lu-Kang? and How is tourism negatively impacting Lu-Kang?

Over a 5-day fieldwork period in July 2004, eleven local residents were interviewed in Lu-Kang's two main temples and in the street clusters of Lu-Kang's historic center. The residents included six males and five females with ages ranging from the mid 20's to 70 years old. Their occupations were equally varied, with many owning and often managing tourism businesses (e.g., tea shop, store selling paper money used in religious offerings), and some being students in a neighboring college or being retired from the government. During this fieldwork, the researchers held two debriefing sessions daily to assure that the information gathered was shared among the researchers and to detect when the data were saturated (Creswell 2003). The data were considered saturated after 11 interviews, and as a result no more resident informants were sought. The interviews with tourists followed the same general procedures described earlier for local residents. The debriefing sessions revealed that data saturation was achieved after 15 tourists were interviewed. These tourists represented both genders and had ages ranging from the mid 20's to the 50's, with most traveling in nuclear families or in groups of three to five friends.

Collecting data from local guides and craftsmen required a completely different recruiting and interviewing methods. Since these informants were geographically dispersed it was more feasible to interview them in groups. Accordingly, the local Tour Guide Association, the Craftsmen Association and

the Tourism Bureau coordinated recruiting for and scheduling of group meetings with members of the two target informant groups. Specifically, two group interviews with guides and two group interviews with craftsmen were scheduled. The first interview with guides included one woman and three men with ages ranging from the mid 20's to the mid 50's, and the second interview included 2 female college students (mid 20's) working part-time as guides and two full-time male guides in their 30's. The first interview with craftsmen included seven males with ages ranging between the mid 30's and the mid 60's, and the second interview included two females and three males with ages ranging between the mid 30's to the mid 60's. In both cases (guides and craftsmen), the second interview generally supported the findings from the first interview; therefore, the data were deemed saturated and no more group interviews were scheduled. The interviews followed a Nominal Group Technique structure (Ritchie 1985) because this technique allows for individual input from each informant in the group before assessing the group's general consensus on the questions asked (Creswell 2003). During these group interviews, the informants were asked to call out their responses to a question so their answers could be recorded as lists on flip-charts. Next all informants were given three red stickers and asked to place them in the flip-chart next to their three preferred responses. This procedure was repeated to produce a ranked list of answers for each question.

The data from individual and group interviews were collected and recorded in traditional Mandarin, the official language in Taiwan. After the data were transcribed to MS Word files, they were independently translated to English by two individuals fluent in English and Mandarin to maximize accuracy of translation (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). Once the interviews were translated, the answers regarding meanings and impacts were isolated for content

analysis. The analysis of the meanings attached to Lu-Kang required initial open coding to identify the main underlying themes but the analysis of impacts employed the 3-dimensions of impacts prevalent in the tourism literature (i.e., cultural, economic, environmental; Gartner 1996). Next, the data were analyzed with axial coding according to the underlying themes previously identified. The results of this analysis were compiled in tables and organized in decreasing order of occurrence. The analysis was led by the primary author with constant involvement of the American and Taiwanese co-authors to provide cross-rater and cross-cultural reliability (Creswell 2003; Denzin and Lincoln 2000).

Information collected from interviews with residents and tourists was this study's primary source of data. However, insight from field observations was instrumental in bringing context and meaning to the results, and adding richness to their interpretation and discussion (Dewalt, Dewalt, and Wayland 1998). While the primary author's onsite exposure to Lu-Kang was limited to the 5-day fieldwork in July 2004, the Taiwanese co-authors had extensive experience in the area due to their long-term involvement in tourism planning and development projects for the local county government – Changhua County.

The Meaning of Lu-Kang's Heritage

The first objective of this study was to examine what meanings residents and tourists attach to Lu-Kang. A preliminary examination of the responses to the question "what does Lu-Kang mean to you?" revealed that the informants' responses could be coded into four dimensions: personal roots, pride in shared culture, historic importance, and utility value (Table 1). Axial coding of the data produced lists of statements weighted according to frequency of occurrence. A first dimension, personal roots, was very prevalent in responses of residents interviewed in the historic streets of Lu-Kang. Many simply responded that Lu-Lang was their hometown or that it was

"the place where [they] grew up (…)." Guides and craftsmen also alluded to their lifetime roots in the community but, most importantly, they indicated that their professional roles in Lu-Kang were central to their self identity ("we are interpreters of Lu-Kang;" "the carpenters in Lu-Kang are the best"). These comments indicate that local residents formally and informally contributing to the tourists' gaze upon Lu-Kang have a real connection with the local heritage and are not simply acting inside a touristscape to collect tourist revenues. They seem to feel that they are sharing their personal heritage with the nation – not just performing an act for money. Contrastingly, tourists' responses were seldom classified in this category with few exceptions coming from tourists with ancestors in/from Lu-Kang ("I am Taiwanese. My parents lived here but moved to Taipei"). This finding suggests that a few of the informants were legacy tourists returning to Lu-Kang to visit relatives or to reconnect with ancestors (McCain and Ray 2003). Most importantly, the way in which those legacy tourists declared their personal roots to the destination suggested that they considered this characteristic as proof of their true Taiwaneseness.

According to a second dimension, pride in shared culture, local residents seldom alluded to how Lu-Kang's culture had a special significance within the broader national heritage. The guides and craftsmen, however, were keener in mentioning how proud they were about Lu-Kang's cultural significance: "The changes of rituals from bamboo to paper" (alluding to the traditional art of making baskets and lanterns used in rituals); and "This was the second hometown for aliens coming from China" (referring to the town's important role as a gateway for immigrants from Mainland China during the 17th and 18th centuries). These findings suggest that, while some local residents seemed to pay less attention to the nation's interest in their personal heritage, the local individuals involved in tourism were quite cognizant that their heritage is of national significance. Moreover, the slices of Lu-Kang's heritage that seemed particularly valued by the respondents were the city's key role in receiving immigrants from Mainland China and its

rich material culture exemplary of the region's tradition of combining techniques and styles from several coexisting cultures (e.g., lamps, dialect). Interestingly, both themes are highly consistent with Taiwan's emerging identity as a nation where several cultures coexist and enrich each other. Nations need a myth of origin (Coakley 2004) and Lu-Kang is one of the last remaining places in Taiwan documenting the arrival of Hakka and Hoklo immigrants from Mainland China during the 17th and 18th centuries. The emphasis on the growth, prosperity and cultural openness of this era further legitimizes the desinicized nationalist ideology because it speaks of a golden era where cultural freedom and self-determination (limited intervention from the Mainland) led to the nation's greatest accomplishments (Coakley 2004). Also the idea that this golden period preceded the Japanese and the Kuomintang lends additional support to the nationalist movement as precedence provides legitimacy and power (Lowenthal 1996).

The residents' expressed pride in the local dialect and in other local cultural traits and the tourists' comments about local and folk culture also show a clear localization of Lu-Kang's heritage. The heritage constructed and consumed in Lu-Kang is, therefore, representative of that place, and consequently of Taiwan, and not of the ethnic group or dynasty from which it originated. This localization of culture is central to the Taiwanization nationalism movement (Makeham 2005) as it recognized the legitimacy of all cultures in Taiwan (Wang 2005). Conversely, this narrative contrasts with the cultural homogenization policies of earlier (allegedly colonial) governments.

Comments recorded from tourists frequently alluded to the national significance of Lu-Kang's culture. Several tourists referred to Lu-Kang's culture as theirs ("Lu-Kang represents our culture") and as their country's ("Preservation of customs and culture of Taiwan") suggesting that heritage tourism destinations may indeed allow visitors to experience their national identity (Palmer 2005). In addition, it was evident that tourists engage in this process of identity creation or reaffirmation conscientiously as some affirmed, for example, that Lu-Kang was a place where "children can

learn local culture and customs" and where one can "absorb culture because there are few paces like this in the north." Interestingly, while authors have aptly documented on how the public and private sector may actively use heritage tourism as a means to disseminate symbols of a common identity (Palmer 1999; Pretes 2003) few authors have examined whether the tourists are conscious participants in this process. This study suggests that they are; supporting Chronis' (2005) assertion that tourists are actively involved in negotiating, defining and strengthening the cultural meanings of the destination.

Informants also highlighted the historic and purely utilitarian value of Lu-Kang. Namely, tourists commented frequently on Lu-Kang's historic importance, particularly regarding its "interesting historic sites;" and "traditional temples and settings." In addition, they commented on Lu-Kang's utility value as a good destination to pursue the pleasures of family travel such as "purchas[ing] well-known local crafts," "traditional children's toys," and "eat[ing] famous local food." Residents did not comment significantly on Lu-Kang's historical importance but craftsmen did comment on how they depended on Lu-Kang. For example, several indicated that "Lu-Kang is inspiration for [their] work" and others noted that "masters in Lu-Kang never worry about finding jobs." Interestingly guides and residents did not mention this level of dependence on Lu-Kang, although the guides and many of the residents were locally involved in the heritage tourism industry. These findings indicate that, for the respondents, the conservation of heritage and its enjoyment (through work or leisure) are compatible, and suggest that tensions between tradition and modernity are not paramount or universal (Nuryanti 1996).

Residents	Guides	Craftsmen	Tourists
Personal Roots			
My hometown (3) The place where I grew up and whish to get better and better (3) Rooted here since childhood (2) A place I am deeply rooted and will live forever (1) Rootedness because I inherited my father's shop (1) My second hometown (1)	Hometown enthusiasm & devotion (5) We are interpreters of Lu-Kang (4) Important first time life experience (2) All of life (1) Makes me feel that I am unique (1)	The carpenters in Lu-Kang are the best (7) A place where I was born and grew up (1)	I am Taiwanese. My parents lived here but moved to Taipei (1) Reminiscence of my roots (1)
Pride in Shared Culture			
Pride in Lu-Kang (1) Before Lu-Kang was undeveloped, now it is prosperous (1)	Pride – special local accent (5) Great pride in Lu-Kang (5) Culture can be handed down for generations (3) Pride to be from Lu-Kang (3) Dialect is a feature of our people (2) The changes of rituals from bamboo to paper (1)	Hai-Kou dialect and coastal accent denote unity and uniqueness (9) Pride (7) This was the second hometown for aliens coming from China (4) Lu-Kang is rooted in culture (3) A place where culture originated (2) Commercial and economic center transformed into a cultural center (2)	Lu-Kang represents our culture (5) Children can learn local culture and customs (3) Preservation of customs and culture of Taiwan (2) Absorb culture here because there are few places like this in the north (2) Folk representations/customs (1)
Historic Importance			
Many historical sites need/deserve to be protected (1)	We care about historical sites (4) Traditional religious rituals (2)	We care about historical sites (6)	Interesting historical sites (3) Traditional temples & settings (3) A scenic place with ancient culture (2) Religious heritage (1)
Utility Value			
Not much, I came here because of marriage (1) Enjoy emotional attachment: walk and bike ride leisurely, chat with friends (1)	Lu-Kang's interpretation system was the earliest (7)	A subject for creation (7) Drive us to devote more into culture work (6) Inspiration for my work (5) Masters in Lu-Kang never worry about finding jobs (2) There are many talented people (1)	Purchase well-known local crafts (4) This is where I worship Buddha (4) Friendliness, relaxation and peace (3) Spiritual comfort (3) Our family can travel together (2) A destination for play and fun (2) Traditional children's toys (1) Eat famous local food (1) Fulfill my wish to visit this place (1)

Table 1. Meanings of Lu-Kang

Perceived Impacts of Tourism on Lu-Kang's Heritage

The second objective of the study was to examine residents' and tourists' perceptions of tourism impacts in Lu-Kang. Previous literature has traditionally divided perceptions of impacts into cultural, economic and environmental (Gartner 1996). Therefore, these three dimensions were used for the axial coding of the informants' perceptions of positive and negative impacts. Overall, cultural impacts were the most frequently mentioned benefits of tourism in Lu-Kang (Tables 2 and 3). Namely, all groups of informants indicated that heritage tourism in Lu-Kang helped the conservation and dissemination of local culture. The guides and craftsmen mentioned

specific ways in which tourism was facilitating cultural development in Lu-Kang. Namely, several guides noted that many books about Lu-Kang were being written and sold, and that guides were now being trained, tested and certified by the local government. The craftsmen indicated that the local youth was getting increasingly interested and engaged in the local culture, alluding to the recent influx of young apprentices to their workshops. These findings suggest that heritage tourism in Lu-Kang is not seen as sacrificing local culture for the sake of economic development, which elucidates the debate over tensions between tradition and modernity in heritage tourism (Nuryanti 1996).

Residents	Guides	Craftsmen	Tourists
Cultural Impacts			
Culture is preserved (1) Introduce local culture to visitors (1) Emphasis in local culture – life, snacks, crafts (1) Development and dissemination of local culture (1)	Increasing number and interest in textbooks about local culture (6) Promotion of folk arts and crafts (6) Stronger awareness of protection of historic sites (5) Increase prestige of Ku-Kang (3) Increased training of professional interpreters/narrators (4) Outsiders are more interested in local culture (3) Inventory and sharing of local literature and historic resources (1)	Residents cherish historic spots (8) Revitalization of traditional arts (7) Lu-Kang historic sites (5) Increased awareness of protection of historic sites (4) Increase youth's connection with Lu-Kang culture (4) Inventory and sharing of local literature and historic resources (4) Cultural exchange (3) Improve tourists' understanding of Development of native and local education (3) Increase prestige of Lu-Kang (3)	Historical sites and culture are rich (4) Historical sites are preserved (3) Culture and architecture are preserved (2) Traditional food is good and preserved (1) Religious culture is disseminated (1) Traditional atmosphere is preserved (1) We can learn about Taiwanese culture (1) Cultural edification, we can learn about ancestors' history (1) Handicrafts are preserved (1)
Economic Impacts			
More people attracted to the area (4) More business and job opportunities (4) Development/prosperity (3) Improved economy (3) Improved competitiveness of Lu-Kang people (1) Business is stable (1) Transformation from a business town to a tourism town (1) Jovial/bustling life (1)	Promote economic development and business opportunities (5) Increased job opportunities (2) Increased business opportunities (1)	Revitalization of traditional industries (10) Economic development and increased business opportunities (6) More job opportunities (5) More restaurants (1) Reduce the exodus of the youth (1) More joviality in some districts (1)	
Environmental Impacts			
Improved parking (1) Enhanced tourism services and facilities (1)		Improved use of space in town (6)	Good parking lots (2) Bathrooms are in good condition (1) Signage is good (1) Environment is tidy (1)

Table 2. Positive Impacts of tourism in Lu-Kang

Residents	Guides	Craftsmen	Tourists
Cultural Impacts			
Increased vendors detract from cultural authenticity (2) Small cultural town has changed into a small busy city (1)	Local residents are disturbed by curious tourists (5) Historic sites have been damaged (3) Non-professional guides cause misinformation of tourists (2) Worship becomes tourismified (1) Cultural products are commodified (1) Modern culture is too mixed with ancient culture (architecture) (1) People cannot renovate their houses because they are protected heritage (1)	Fake souvenirs are imported with limited local characteristics (8) Increased commercialization brings homogenization (6) Local artist creations are not displayed (6) Non-professional guides cause misinformation of tourists (6) Historic sites have been damaged (5) Local residents are disturbed by curious tourists and noisy traffic (4)	Too much commercialization (1) Impossible to know if landscape is authentic (1) Not enough information about the historic sites (1) No information to pass along to children (1)
Economic Impacts			
Quality of life for locals has deteriorated (2)		Profits from tourism are not shared to the whole town (3)	
Environmental Impacts			
Tourists leave trash everywhere (5) Parking problems (2) Traffic congestion (2) Environmental quality has worsened (1)	Traffic congestion (7) Trash disposal problems (4) Drainage/flooding problems not fixed because of historic protection (4) Too much crowding (2)	Traffic congestion (12) Improper trash disposal by tourists & restaurants (12)	Environment is unclean (2) Parking is inconvenient/difficult (2) Signage is not clear (1) Vendors are disorganized (1) Transportation was not convenient (1) Too much traffic (1) Too many people (1) Some stores are closed (1) Too much construction/renovation (1) Motorcycles use pedestrian paths (1) Not enough bathrooms (1)

Table 3. Negative Impacts of tourism in Lu-Kang

Regarding negative cultural impacts, all informants reported concerns about the possible degradation of the heritage tourism experience in Lu-Kang. Interestingly, while all informants shared this concern, each group focused on aspects closest to them. Namely, residents declared that "increased [number of] vendors detract from cultural authenticity," guides noted that "non-professional guides cause tourists to be misinformed" craftsmen reported that "fake souvenirs with limited local characteristics are imported," and tourists complained about the lack of reliable information about the local heritage. These comments suggest that both producers and consumers of the heritage tourism experience in Lu-Kang are interested in the authenticity of the experience which is consistent with a growing body of literature examining the importance of authenticity in heritage tourism (Chhabra, Healy and Sills 2003; Chronis 2005; Taylor 2001;

Waitt 2000). Interestingly, when contrasting the interview data with observations from the field it was evident that the informants had a selective preoccupation with cultural authenticity. Namely, field observations revealed that several cultural practices have been modified to suit the pressures of increased tourism in the area. For example, paper money offerings are no longer burned in the most visited temples because they caused excessive air pollution; instead, they are collected in bags and recycled. Contrastingly, both interview data and field observations revealed great concern over fake crafts imported from China, denouncing them as inauthentic and of inferior quality. As a result, complaining about loss of authenticity is a statement against Mainland China and a reaffirmation of the current nationalist ideology.

The local respondents' comments about the economic impacts brought by tourism were generally positive. For example, in-

formants indicated that tourism development was attracting businesses, jobs and, most importantly, young people, to the area. Interestingly, the guides noted that tourism was particularly instrumental in the "revitalization of traditional industries." Conversely, most responses regarding environmental impacts were negative. Namely, the most salient environmental impacts were poor parking, intense and noisy traffic, and improper disposal of garbage by tourists and restaurants. The Changhua County government hoped that heritage tourism would bring much needed economic revitalization to this economically stagnant region and these findings suggest that it did. Namely, respondents noted that tourism development had led to government subsidies for infrastructure improvements, to an influx of youngsters and outsiders due to new job creation, and to the reappearance of bustling and jovial atmospheres in Lu-Kang's commercial streets. These findings are consistent with Strauss and Lord's (2001) report that heritage tourism in Southwestern Pennsylvania, USA, had produced substantial economic benefits to the region. Further, they also suggest that the economic benefits are trickling down through the economy and felt by the service providers and local residents.

Conclusion

This paper attempted to contribute to the ongoing debate regarding the potential role of heritage tourism as a tool of political socialization (Bandyopadhyay, Morais and Chick 2008; Chronis 2005; Light 2001; Palmer 2005; Pretes 2003). Namely, the meanings of a heritage destination in Taiwan were investigated to ascertain whether these meanings coalesced or collided with the emerging Taiwanese national identity. The findings reveal that the respondents generally felt an intimate personal connection with the local heritage, and felt responsible with disseminating it with visitors. The slices of history/culture chosen as central to the local heritage were well aligned with Taiwan's current Desinicized nationalism, turning local residents into protectors and disseminators of the nation's identity and turning the destination into a space for learning and celebration of the

nation's origin, prosperity and multiculturalism. Therefore this study supports previous assertions that history is framed in easily consumable products for touristic consumption, and that these heritage tourism products consist of incomplete stories that reflect the political orientation of those with the means of cultural production (Johnson 1999).

Along with this study, there is growing evidence that heritage tourism is being used, much like public education and mass media, as a tool to disseminate desirable identities (Anderson 1991; Bandyopadhyay, Morais and Chick 2008; Johnson 1999; Lowenthal 1996; Wang 2005). However, few have considered that some efforts to shape national identities may be detected as propaganda and consequently resisted and ineffective (Hutchinson & Smith 1994). Nationalism movements require a feeling of self-determination in which the populations feel that their identities are not being manipulated by foreign or domestic elites with the means of cultural production (Coakley 2004; Hutchinson & Smith 1994). Therefore, successful efforts of political socialization require the perception of agency in the process of identity construction. While several authors have commented on the contemporary importance of heritage tourism in this process of political socialization (Light 2001; Palmer 1999), only a few have noted that, in tourism, the populace (typically domestic tourists) is actively involved in the construction of the experience (Chronis 2005; Palmer 2005). In this study too, there is evidence that tourists consciously sought out sites and experiences that helped them develop and/or celebrate their national identity. Thus, it seems that tourism may have unique characteristics as a tool of political socialization, and that it may be particularly fruitful to further examine the comparative role of the state and the populace in the definition, renegotiation and interpretation of the cultural capital that forms modern national identities.

While this study makes a substantial contribution to the understanding of the role of heritage tourism in shaping national identities, the generalizability of its findings is limited to the study region. Taiwan is an Asian country with a disputed national identity and even a questioned sove-

reignty; therefore, it would be interesting to examine the application of the findings to other regions of the world. For example, it would be interesting to examine how the United States National Heritage Areas office (http://www.nps.gov/history/heritageareas) and the European Commission Heritage Routes program (www.culture-routes.lu) operate in the selection, promotion and management of heritage destinations and their cultural content. Furthermore, Lu-Kang is visited almost exclusively by domestic tourists in contrast with other destinations in Taiwan where many tourists are from Mailand China (e.g., Sun Moon Lake); therefore, future research efforts might contrast this study's findings with those obtained from other destinations with different proportions of domestic and international tourists.

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