

Achieving Values through Governance as Pattern of Power-Sharing: Challenges of Taroko's Public Leadership

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Abstract

While not everyone is convinced that policymakers should move in the right direction to support the means of collaborative public management to solve policy problems and leverage resources, based on in-depth interviews, focus groups, and questionnaire survey, this research confirms in many ways what policy stakeholders present their outstanding remarkable values in an era of governance. Along with China's economic growth, the number of the Chinese outbound tourists had been expanding substantially for several decades. As the Chinese visitors flock to Taiwan and the Taroko National Park, diverse stakeholders emphasize different aspects of their association with outstanding remarkable values, whereas public managers of the Taroko national park, to achieve policy goals, need to integrate Taroko's ecosystem complexity integrated into cultural sustainability and tourist experiences. The research indicates that linking outstanding remarkable values to policymaking and collaborative public management tools is necessary and may help accomplish policy values in the future.

Keywords: Outstanding Remarkable Value; Policy Entrepreneur; Public Leadership; Public Value; Taroko National Park.

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I. Introduction

If public policy is “what governments choose to do or not to do” (Dye, 2005: 1), it is of importance whether they choose to do things right or do right things. While it is through public policies that societies aim to give practical form to their collectively held values (Stewart, 2009: 202), the concept of values has not previously been accorded explicit attention by policy analysts (Stewart, 2009: 1) in that values are changeable and very difficult to capture. If politics is about who gets what when and how and public policy is the delivery mechanism, a value perspective would help us “understand more fully what public policy does and they it does it” (Stewart, 2009: 2). However, unlike the private sector that has widely understood metrics like profitability, there are no universal accepted standards for measuring and assessing values in the public sector (Cole and Parston, 2006: xiii), especially when facing conflicting values. Public managers therefore will go a long way toward making their organizations accountable in the eyes of the public and improving their performance over time (Cole and Parston, 2006: xiv).

In the past several decades, to define a map of ‘declining relationship between jurisdiction and public management’ in a ‘fragmented and disarticulated state’ (Bingham, 2011: 386), the concept of governance has attempted to make sense of the moving of public administration ‘toward theories of cooperation, networking, governance, and institution building and maintenance’ (Fredrickson, 1999: 702). Kettl (2002: 159) notes that the forces transforming governance are ‘the diffusion of administrative action, the multiplication of administrative partners, and the proliferation of political influences outside government’s circles’. And thus he points to the need for improved skills in negotiation and coordination (Kettl, 2002: 163) which provide channels for citizens to participate, and supply bottom-up accountability to the public (Kettl, 2002: 169-170). Moreover, this coordination across multiple organizations and stakeholders from public, private, and non-profit sectors combines in a network to address a common and shared problem (Bevir, 2006). According to Salamon’s

observation (2005: 16), “unlike both traditional public administration and the new public management, the new governance shifts the emphasis from management skills and the control of large bureaucratic organizations to enablement skills, the skills required to engage partners arrayed horizontally in networks, to bring multiple stakeholders together for a common end in a situation of interdependence.” In a word, for governance, public managers need skills in negotiation, persuasion, collaboration, and enablement (Salamon, 2002: vii).

How does public administration of national park authorities respond to the challenges of more and more visitors in one hand and achieve the policy goal of protecting local ecosystem and a range of wildlife and biodiversity on the other hand? Public administrators and managers need to operate within public law's framework for collaboration and practice public policy dispute resolution, stakeholder processes, and civic engagement (Bingham et al., 2008: 270-271), whereas this begins to reconfigure their professional identity by a compelling vision provided by Feldman and colleagues (2006: 93): “the public manager as inclusive manager facilitates the practice of democracy by creating opportunities for people with different ways of knowing public problems to work together in a collective space to solve problems.”

Governments and other stakeholders often see national parks as important vehicles for spreading messages about national identity (Frost and Hall, 2009: 76-77). While some discussions of national identity and tourism have mainly been concerned with museums and cultural heritage (McLean, 1998; Howard, 2003; Timothy and Boyd, 2003; Chhabra, 2010), recent studies explore and focus on identity and image, culture and community, and history and heritage (Frew and White, 2011). A copious literature, however, exists on sustainability and tourism, often focusing on the relationship between the environment in general and tourism in particular (Boyd, 2000: 162-163; McCool and Moisey, 2008; Mitchell, 2010). Although there remains an unwillingness to be critical with the dilemma of tourism and sustainability, empirical information demonstrates clearly that tourism can be sustainable in nature (Wheeller, 1993; Butler, 1999; Van Egmond, 2007; Buckley, 2004, 2009, 2010a; Hall and Frost, 2009). Tourism

has been criticized for its destructive impact on local and traditional communities and culture. And thus governments are drawn into tourism because of the importance of the industry and its problems, and its sometimes controversial impacts (Elliott, 1997: 6-7).

The connection between tourism and parks are simple (Buckley, 2010b: 1). Parks agencies control icon areas of nature with high value for conservation and also for tourism; but they are underfunded. Tourists have money and want nature-based experiences that are largely available in parks. While national parks exist within and are dependent upon the environment in which they located, national parks can not be studied in isolation from the system that it operates. Since the 1990s, public sector organizations in Taiwan are faced with an urgent need to stand out from private sector enterprises in order to successfully compete for funding, talent, and influence. Public sector managers and policy entrepreneurs, particularly in Taroko National Park Headquarters, have been challenged 'to do more with less' and 'being customer driven' in the past decades. Major new initiatives hold significant promises to demonstrate success by attracting tourists and visitors from the Chinese Mainland. While national parks in Taiwan are often thought of as protecting natural heritage, they may also include and protect sites of cultural heritage. To implement the Executive Yuan's (the Taiwanese Cabinet's) "Project Vanguard for Excellence in Tourism (2009-2012)" and to enhance Taiwan's tourism quality image, a set of marketing tools help the Taroko National Park Authorities attract more Chinese visitors.

Especially since 2008, Political tensions between Taiwan and China gradually ease and more and more Chinese tourists visit Taroko National Park. Facing global tourists and the Chinese visitors from Mainland China, the Taroko authorities has to meet the needs of the present generation without compromising the needs and aspiration of future generations. Although the topics on the political nature and value perspective of national parks management received less research attention than others, the authors' attempts start with a close look of the case study of Taiwan's Taroko National Park and the Chinese visitors. Based on empirical data collection, this research demonstrates that to engage policy entrepreneurs and stakeholders in problem solving, governmental

officials of the Taroko authorities, with their collectively held values confronting with outstanding remarkable values of policy stakeholders, develop tools for evidence-based approach to public policymaking process in an era of collaborative governance.

II. Taroko National Park and the Chinese Visitors

The 1945-1949 Civil War between the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party separated Taiwan from Mainland China, the People's Republic of China (PRC). In 1949, the communists gained control of the Chinese Mainland through military force, and on October 1, 1949, they proclaimed the establishment of the PRC (Lu, 2009: 130). The focus of Taiwan's economy slowly shifted from the industrial sector to the service sector since then. When Taiwan's economy made strides of progress in the 1970s, the government's tourism policy turned from attracting foreign visitors to Taiwan to satisfy domestic travelers since the early 1980s. In 2001, the government announced the policy of 'two-day off per week', along with fast rising national income since the 1990s. Massive demand of emerging domestic travelers ballooned in the past decades. Ever since the late 1990s, eastern Taiwan's natural beauty, e.g. Taroko Gorge and east coastline with geographical wonders, ranging from its rugged sea hugging cliffs to a variety of uniquely shaped rocks formed through centuries of erosion, have been the major recreation choice for domestic and global tourists.

The establishment of Taiwan's national parks has taken into consideration the standards and ecological conservation set by the International Union for Conservation of Nature. National parks in Taiwan were initially constituted under the National Park Act of 1972, containing 30 articles, which were amended in 1983, and supporting bylaws with thirteen detailed regulations. According to the Act, national parks are established to protect the natural scenery, historic relics and wildlife; to conserve natural resources; and to facilitate scientific research and promote environmental education. Based on the very basic structure of the Act, major provisions are as follows. According to the National Park Act of 1972, the central government provides for the

funding for national parks (Article 23). The competent authority is the Ministry of the Interior (Article 3); and National Park Planning Committee is subordinate to the Interior Ministry (Article 4). More specifically, based on the Interior Ministry Organization Act, national parks are administered by Construction and Planning Agency. For the purpose of administration, the national parks may designate various areas in the parks, including common control areas, recreation areas, historical site conservation areas, unique landscape areas, and conservation areas (Article 12).

When Taroko National Park was established on November 28, 1986, it was of special significance for the environmental protection movement in Taiwan. The Taroko National Park, an area of 92,000 hectares (approximately 227,336 acres), features high mountains and marble gorges, whereas many of its peaks tower above 3,000m with some natural wonders. The spectacular Taroko Gorge and the scenic beauty of Liwu River can be conveniently viewed from the Central Cross-Island Highway. The varied mountain peaks, numerous waterfalls, diverse plant forms and animal life, together with the indigenous Taroko people, create the rich texture of this unique natural ecosystem. Cultural heritages of Taroko National Park can be identified as three categories: (1) prehistoric sites; (2) the aboriginal Taroko culture; and (3) the Old trails and the present highways. During the 1990's, Taiwan's Parliament passed significant environmental laws to protect the Taiwanese landscape. Many of these affected the management of both natural and cultural resources in the National Parks.

After the Taiwanese government launched restructuring plan and implemented in January 1, 2012, thirty-seven ministries and cabinet-level commissions had been reduced to twenty-nine, with a total of ten cabinet-level agencies being merged. In this ongoing restructuring process, based on amendments to the Executive Yuan Organic Act, the Central Government Agencies Organic Act, and the Temporary Statute Governing Adjustments of the Executive Yuan's Organization, Functions and Services, the competent authority of national parks management is the newly established Ministry of Environmental Resources.

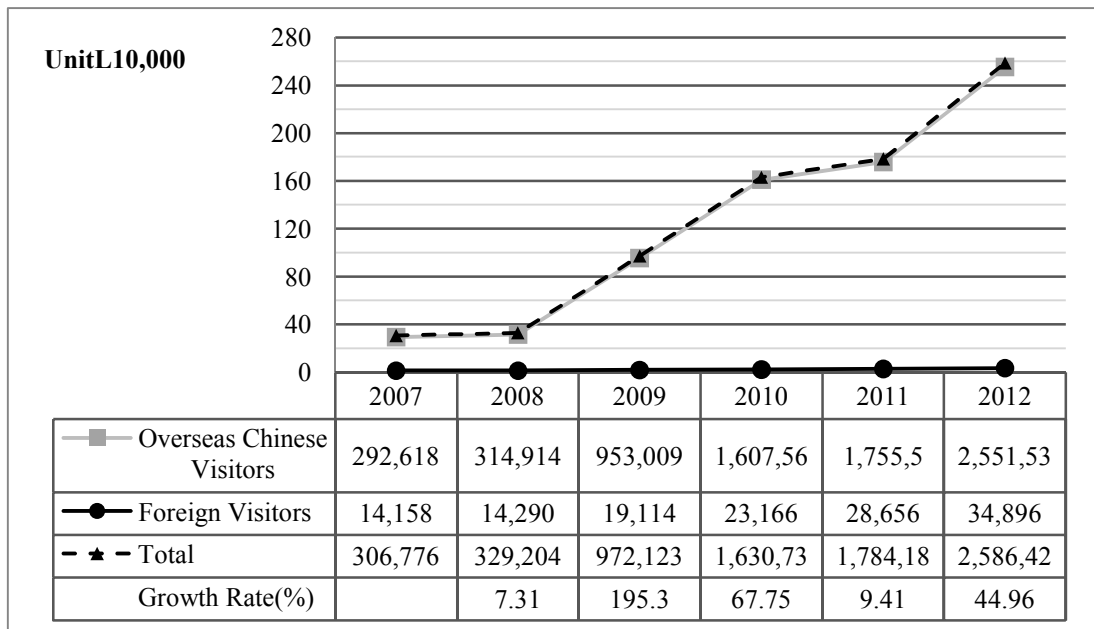


Figure 1. Trend of Fast Growing Chinese Visitors 2007-2012

Source: <http://admin.taiwan.net.tw/upload/statistic/20130116/cc5eec5e-756c-4460-98b4-77ca9b950907.xls>

Since 2008, political tensions between Taiwan and China gradually ease and more and more Chinese tourists visit Taroko National Park. To implement the Executive Yuan's (the Taiwanese Cabinet's) "Project Vanguard for Excellence in Tourism (2009-2012)", the Taroko authorities faces the challenges of a dilemma of quantity and quality. As indicated in Figure 1, since the policy of "Opening up to Mainland Chinese Tourists Arrivals", the growth rate increased from 7.3% in 2008, 195.3% in 2009, to 67.5% in 2010 and 45% in 2012, whereas the overseas Chinese visitors increased from 315 hundred thousands in 2008, 953 hundred thousands in 2009, to 1.6 million in 2010 and 2.6 million in 2012.

As indicated above, the central government's painstaking efforts since 2008 have been successfully in opening to the Chinese visitors and achieving the policy goal of "Project Vanguard for Excellence in Tourism (2009-2012)". However, as the most visited national park by the Chinese visitors in Taiwan, the challenges of more and more visitors to the Taroko authorities has been severe. The authors' awareness of the

importance of conflicting policy values develop gradually during the course of this case study. Do interagency government officials understand how their actions affect outcomes and drive undesirable results? Do the outcomes, taken as a whole, reflect the Taroko authorities' core capacities and strategies? Can the Taroko authorities create values for involved diverse stakeholders? Policy entrepreneurs and public leadership aiming to deliver the end results to key stakeholders may have the ability to master the art of dealing with differences.

III. Literature Review: Policy Entrepreneurs, Leadership, and Collaboration

This section begins with an elaboration of the characteristics and definitions of policy entrepreneurs. In addition to governments, business, markets, nonprofit and voluntary sector organizations, the authors also consider “community” as an informal sector capable of collective action to solve public problems (Cavaye, 2004; Hall, 2006; Bryson and Crosby, 2008) and give special attention to a ‘no-one in charge’ world by Bryson and Crosby (1992: 4): “In this world, organizations and institutions that share objectives must also partly share resources and authority to achieve goals”.

Since the 1990s, public sector organizations are facing greater environmental turbulence and community and are in greater need of corporate renewal than their private sector counterparts (Morris, 2007; OECD, 1995; Teske and Schneider, 1994; Zerbinati and Souitaris, 2005). Public administrators face a variety of obstacles and challenges when implementing strategies, leading organizational changes, and dealing with many different stakeholders with competing priorities (Fenlon, 2002: 4; Milner and Joyce, 2005: 42). The need for a more entrepreneurial and customer-oriented approach is thus espoused (Bellone and Goerl, 1992; Hederer, 2007; Osborne and Gaebler, 1992; Sadler, 2000). Policy entrepreneurs, however, remain a concept which is difficult to formalize and open to multiple interpretations. While policy entrepreneurs are long recognized as important contributors to the policy process, the term ‘entrepreneur’ has always been associated with the efforts of one individual who manages to transform a vague vision into a great success (Munir, 2000; Bernier and

Hafsi, 2007). The challenge for entrepreneurs thus is to build congruent organizations both for today's work and tomorrow's innovation (Kearney et al., 2008: 308).

Definitions of 'policy entrepreneurs' vary widely. Considerable attention has been devoted to the need for 'policy entrepreneurs' (King, 1988; Kingdon, 2003; Mintrom, 1997, 2000; Mintrom and Vergari, 1996; Roberts and King, 1991). Polsby (1984: 171) sees the 'public entrepreneurs' as individuals "who specialize in identifying problems and finding solutions," whereas Boyett (1997: 90) defines as individuals with the ability to spot market opportunities and to act on them through manipulation. Moreover, one of the most important contributors is Feeley's (2002: 126) conception: "A successful policy entrepreneur is able to correctly assess which goals will be most attractive to the constituency groups." In a somewhat different way, Kingdon (1984: 179) describes entrepreneurs as "advocates who are willing to invest their resources – time, energy, reputation, money".

To have the vision and skills necessary to substantive leadership in the public sector organizations, Lu (2009) defines policy entrepreneurs as '*those entrepreneurial individuals who own certain personality characteristics to initiate and facilitate innovative thinking and behavior in the public agencies.*' The definition regards policy entrepreneurs as public administrators, including executive and bureaucratic entrepreneurs defined by Roberts and King (1991: 152), and agents of innovation in the public sector who seek to find new sources of revenues; but at the same time, they have "a vested political self-interest" (Bellone and Goerl, 1992: 131). As a matter of fact, several academics define this kind of leadership as a process of influence where a person or group influences others to work toward a common goal (Gardner, 1990: 1; Northouse, 2004: 2-4).

In a shared-power world, where "nobody is in charge" (Cleveland, 2002; Crosby and Bryson, 2005), the leadership-as-motivating-followers notion often breaks down. Especially in times of turbulent and rapid change, organizations govern themselves by becoming capable of learning both what their goals are and the means to reach them as they proceed (Paquet, 2001: 187-188). And thus, Cleveland (2002: xv) defines

leadership as “bringing people together to make something different.” To Morse et al. (2007: 4), this definition is subtle yet important in that beneficial change does not happen without committed, concerned action by groups of people (Crosby and Bryson, 2005: 34). To be effective, these change agents could draw on and sort out into at least three perspectives: political leadership, organizational leadership, and public leadership (or collaborative leadership). While political leadership focuses on political leaders, either elected or high appointees (Burns, 1978; Kellerman and Webster, 2001; Greenstein, 2004), public organizational leadership focuses on formal leadership within public organizations from line supervisor on up and how those leaders lead organizational change and produce results (Behn, 1991; Van Wart, 2005; Morse et al., 2007).

To this study, what many generally call public leadership and what others have labeled “collaborative leadership” (Chrislip and Larson, 1994; Chrislip, 2002), “catalytic leadership” (Luke, 1998), and “leadership for the common good” (Crosby and Bryson, 2005) focuses not on public “leaders” (people in formal leadership positions in government) (Morse et al., 2007: 4-5) so much as on the process of creating public value inside and outside government and all levels of organizations. The focus of leadership development in public administration is on leading organizations, whereas today’s public managers “often must operate across organizations as well as within hierarchies” (Agranoff and McGuire, 2003: 1; Morse, 2008: 79-80).

In today’s interconnected world, Chrislip and Larson (1994), Luke (1998), Chrislip (2002), Linden (2002) and Crosby and Bryson (2005) all discuss leadership from a collaborative governance perspective. Even though Agranoff’s (2006: 57) study of public managers across fourteen “public management networks” revealed, “there is a premium on the ability to understand and function across boundaries, but this skill has not necessarily replaced the need for internal skills.” According to O’Leary and colleagues’ definition (2006: 7), collaborative public management means, based on the value of reciprocity, to co-labor, to cooperate to achieve common goals, working across boundaries in multi-sector relationships. Thus, Luke (1998: 33) defines public

leadership as “a type of leadership that evokes collaboration and concerted action among diverse and often competing groups toward a shared outcome.” To put it in another way, the focus of these scholars is on leadership as a process of pulling stakeholders together to solve public problems, and thus none of them are explicitly public sector. In a word, “collaborative” leadership is exercised across all sectors, and “public” leadership is not just confined to government organizations (Morse, 2008: 82).

To sum up, to consider multiple options for satisfying diverse constituencies (Burns, 1978; Nutt, 2002; Bryant, 2003), leaders need visionary skills to develop shared understanding of public problems, build support for beneficial solutions, and develop commitment to collective actions (Crosby and Bryson, 2005: 129). All leaders, nevertheless, have their demands, constraints, and choices (Stewart, 1976, 1982). Here, constraints are defined as relatively structural or long-term elements that set parameters or limitations on the leader's range of choices (Van Wart, 2005: 55). These constraints, according to Van Wart (2005: 55-59), are as follows: legal/contractual constraints, limitations of position power, availability of resources, and the limits of leadership abilities.

IV. Data and Methods

In this paper, the authors approach the study with a cross-sectional research design using multiple methods of data collection, including in-depth interviews, focus groups, and questionnaire survey. Together, these methods are unveiling a world that has always existed, but that we were never capable of fully seeing. In-depth interviews were conducted with 41 participants in 2010, beginning from early July to November, to explore national park authorities' goals and objectives, most remarkable values, and threats to sustainable development. Participants were obtained through “snowball sampling” (Bernard, 2005) and were initially obtained through acquaintances who meet the criteria for participation. The interview itself explored participants' visiting experiences and the interview instrument was semi-structured and involved a series of open-ended, in-depth questions which covered the following themes: (1) goals and

objectives of the national park authorities; (2) the most outstanding remarkable values (ORV) of Taroko National Park and threats to its sustainable development; (3) indecent behavior of visitors, mismanagement of the national park authorities, and policy implications for the national park authorities.

All interviews were tape recorded and transcribed. Interview transcripts were analyzed by the authors in two ways: to analyze each individual interview across all questions for meta-themes and to analyze responses across all participants, allowing meta-themes across all interviews to emerge. Throughout the data collection phase, demographic data on participants were monitored to ensure a diverse sample of ethnicity, senior volunteers, tourism industry, and backpackers, because these demographics emerged as important in analyzing interviews. The interviews allowed subjects to provide spontaneous ideas and to give a more detailed and personal account of their attitudes and opinions. Of the 41 respondents in the sample, 9 were women and 32 were men, whereas 14 interviewees were local residents and aboriginals, 13 interviewees were tourists and backpackers, 10 interviewees were national park volunteers, and 4 interviewees were from tourism industry.

In addition to in-depth interviewing, while the Chinese questionnaire survey was conducted from mid-June to early August, the English survey was conducted from mid-June to late September. In the end, after distributing questions in seven sightseeing locations in the Taroko National Park, 403 Chinese questionnaires and 195 questionnaires were collected, based on convenience sampling and quota sampling. Two major categories of questions asked were as follows: attitudes about tourism and development; and attitudes about environment protection. In order to capture the intensity of their feelings, based on a five-point Likert scale, respondents need to specify their level of agreement or disagreement on a symmetric agree-disagree scale for a series of statements.

Moreover, in this research, three-round focus groups provided information about a range of ideas and feelings that participants have about related national park issues, as well as illuminating the differences in perspectives between groups of individuals

(Krueger, 1994; Krueger and Casey, 2000; Rabiee, 2004). Participants in three focus groups held to develop key outstanding remarkable values did explore and make decisions regarding a range of values associated with long term sustainable development, in late August and mid-October 2010. The process began with abundant documentation and full understanding for the Taroko authorities' internal staff, and then, by skillfully facilitating the discussion and generating rich data from academics and experts in the second round focus group and local residents and aboriginals in the third round, research team members started interpretation and analysis of data.

V. Challenges of Public Leadership

At the local, regional, and national levels, various interests attempt to affect the determination of policy, policy outcomes and the position of tourism in the political agenda (Hall, 1994: 12). Tourism has been rarely studied in terms of its political importance (Matthews and Richter, 1991: 122). More important, Tourism policy cannot be separated from the milieu in which it evolves (Hall, 1994: 191). According to World Travel and Tourism Council (1998: 2), travel and tourism is a service business which has grown up in the latter part of the twentieth century as countries have opened their borders, business have globalized their markets, consumers have exploited their increased leisure time/disposable income and technology has produced faster cheaper transport. The doubling in the use of fuel, pollution, and noises likely to be caused by the fast increased number of the Chinese visitors place the Taroko Headquarters on a collision course with the local Hualien County Government, local community and aboriginals in the protected area, and the central government's policy goal to push Taiwan's tourism to grow massively in the next decade.

In this case, the Taroko Headquarters authorized and funded convening workshops to build strong relationships with local residents and aboriginals, promote cooperation and conflict resolutions by identifying the nature of resources and multi-stakeholder interests, and establish forums and mechanism to address problems together over an extended period of time. As government officials and indigenous people have seldom

succeeded in working as closely together (Pfister, 2000: 130-132), through the collaborative public management of the Taroko authorities, this case study may illustrate that collaboration is one of the keys to unlocking public values of national park management. When the Taiwanese government set out to implement the policy of “opening up to mainland Chinese Tourist Arrivals” in 2008, the Taroko authorities performed a critical role to impair its relationship and image with tribal people and local communities, by making real efforts to involve them with the park, from providing jobs and grants and incorporating their presence into the Taroko tourist experience. While public management can help foster collaboration by creating an friendly environment, improving public value significantly needs policy entrepreneurs from the public, private, and non-profit sectors in the ways that tourism policy and national park administration and services are organized, managed, and delivered.

What Outstanding Remarkable Values?

As indicated in Table 1, in the first round focus group, six outstanding remarkable values were identified by the Taroko authorities’ staff and team members of this research. When academics and experts discussed about ORVs in the second round, however, it became evident that they regarded geology as the major outstanding remarkable value. Although some of them talked at length about the aboriginal culture and the history of aboriginal resistance to Japanese colonial rule during the period of 1895-1945, one participant mentioned the possibility of building outdoor environment education classrooms. These respondents did not express their views of leisure value and recreation value.

Table 1. An ORV List of Focus Group

ORV	Round I	Round II	Round III
Biology Value	○	○	○
Culture Value	○	○	○
Geology Value	○	○	X
Leisure Value	○	X	X
Recreation Value	○	X	X
Water Resource Value	○	○	X
Others	X	○	○

Serious concerning about culture value in the third round, local residents and aboriginals described their sense of belonging about Taroko Gorge and a more cultural and traditional life they had experienced. Moreover, greater attention of local residents and aboriginals is placed on government statutes of cultural heritage protection and national parks that had been conversely threats and exclusion, especially in terms of culture and subculture.

As the Landscape Changes...

As mentioned earlier, two major categories of questions asked in the questionnaires: attitudes about tourism and development; and attitudes about environment protection. When respondents were asked make choices, many respondents, including tourists, backpackers, and local residents, changed their attitude about the balance between tourism development and economic benefits. When asked the management of the Taroko authorities should balance tourism and development and economic benefits and emphasized more diverse interests (e.g. aboriginal livelihood), and not just tourism and other economic products, respondents showed their similar attitude toward national park management. And the mean for domestic respondents was 3.34 and 3.58, and the mean was 3.20 and 3.67 for foreign respondents respectively. However, the mean for domestic respondents and foreign respondents dropped to 2.46 and 2.41 respectively, when respondents were asked “negative ecosystem impacts could

be acceptable if the Taroko authorities permits leisure and recreation activities along Liwu river in the protected area”.

Uncertainties about Policy Values and Taroko’s Outstanding Remarkable Values

As Healey (1997: 254-255) points out, policymaking occurred in a definable ‘action space’ separating activities from the world around it. And thus the key problem for strategy-making is the resolution of uncertainty. To explore what individuals believe or feel as well as why they view what Taroko’s policy goals and objectives important, the original attention of the researchers was that the national park should be managed by clearer goals and objectives. Although some respondents presented positive goals and objectives of protecting wildlife and natural and cultural landscape, an opinion leader of local indigenous people emphasized the establishment of ‘joint management mechanism’, i.e., a broad participation and joint responsibility for the policy-making process ensuring mutual beneficial results by the collective wisdom and resources. When the traditional aborigine society draws strength from their holistic relationship to the environment and to the spirits present in the landscape, then the government policy-makers perform a critical role.

What has become clear in the foregoing analysis is that every attempt to include the rights, needs, or potential judgments of future indigenous people faces fragmentation of government organizations and programs standing in the way of solutions. In search of an impartial standpoint for the relationship between indigenous people and national park authorities, a senior national park volunteer pointed out that there is a need to integrate policies, programs, and resources to address the nature of the problem of ‘joint management mechanism’. In the shared-power environment, bringing the right stakeholders together to the table and building local support and capacity are central to issue re-framing. From the perspective of local indigenous people, as indicated by another local resident, the ‘joint management mechanism’ can be a bridge between cultural diversity and biodiversity and the original statutory purpose of Taroko National Park’s policy goals and objectives, such as the preservation and enhancement

of the natural beauty of Taroko areas and the promotion of enjoyment by the public. To pursue for the answer to this multi-dimensional issue, a respondent from the tourism industry suggested that more information and more coordination are needed and setting policy priorities, i.e., ecosystem protection versus traditional aborigine life, may facilitate relationships to build trust between local residents and the Taroko authorities and build commitment and political support.

Leading Strategic Vision and Collaborative Management

Given the differences within our research respondents on the goals and outstanding remarkable values of Taroko, while protected areas are national government-managed and funded, entrepreneurial public managers of Taroko National Park Headquarters show their sharing vision through communication skills. Among the common characteristics of tourists from Japan and the West is an interest in unspoiled and authentic nature and culture, whereas the Chinese group visitors are mostly interested in several famous sightseeing spots. After the authorities identified values of biology and culture and confirmed the cultural dimension is an extremely important feature and attraction for tourists, policy measures as follows provide opportunities for indigenous people and others to work together and learn about one another, and a window into indigenous Taiwanese culture.

First, since the late 1990s, the Taroko authorities had made efforts to communicate the 'co-management' concept to aborigines by establishing a 'co-management' consultant committee. This is an important aspect to the conservation work and local aboriginal participation in visitor programs as a means of income generation, cultural heritage support, and visitor satisfaction and understanding of rich cultural history (Welling, 2007; Trau and Bushell, 2008: 270-277). However, different Directors of the Taroko authorities have different perceptions of the role of public participation. Basically all of them aim at communicating their visions and building capacity of staff and support for their move into success through partnerships between tourism and conservation. Still, several interviewees, including community residents and experts,

show their anger about how their comments and suggestions were not considered seriously and factored into decision-making formulation. Their frustrated expressions and complaints highlight an assumption of Dryzek (1997), Sarewitz (2004), and Stern et al. (2011), i.e., more information may lead to consensus and conflicts are the results of misunderstanding and misinformation.

Second, facing with government statute regulations and planning for desired economic benefits and social and cultural impacts, policy actions of the Taroko authorities require a variety of agencies, individuals, and programs, each bringing different and somewhat competing goals into the policymaking process (Moisey and McCool, 2008: 285-288). To empower and enable citizen involvement, what the director of Taroko National Park Headquarters needs, based on the central government's policy goal of "Project Vanguard for Excellence in Tourism (2009-2012)", is political skills, including persuading and convincing people. And because of the political aspects of their work, public managers of Taroko formulate a vision of 'ecotourism'. According to the International Ecotourism Society (TIES), ecotourism is 'responsible travel to nature areas which conserves the environment and improves the welfare of local people'. Not surprisingly, those focus group participants with different background also hold different views about outstanding remarkable values. Their preferences for ORVs are cultural or natural resource dependent and may be influenced by social and cultural impacts, the complexities, and the level of controversy and conflicts surrounding of the proposed policy actions.

Third, to engage the Chinese visitors in the process of problem solving is a vital force for collaborative public management. According to questionnaire survey, some indecent behaviors of the Chinese tourists in Taroko National Park are as follows: noises, un-decent sanitary manners, and throwing cigarette butts away on the ground. As focus group participants, community residents and government officials thus propose an education ORV. Some interviewees, including community aborigines, senior volunteers, and tour guides of tourism industry, to sustain natural resources of Taroko, suggest that social marketing for changing mis-behaviors are necessary, such as

personal promotion, brochures, signs, slogan-posters, banners, streamers, and even placement short films if necessary. Moreover, Taroko officials and participants in the focus groups propose that, to reduce peak time congestion, travel agencies may change routes, since the Chinese group tourists flock to specific famous sightseeing spots at 10-12 AM and 2-4 PM. The awareness concerning environmental problems is a beginning point for the Taroko authorities. However, to achieve the central government's policy goal, only tourists understand the importance of conservation and ecotourism can they trigger urge to cooperate and persuade their colleagues. The questionnaire survey respondents are far from being conclusive. It appears an interesting challenge to start cross-cultural comparative studies and explore cultural differences between tourists.

VI. Discussions: Building a New Vision

To keep the big picture in view, the authors' first attempt at the beginning would like to address an area that needs substantially more attention from experts and scholars in the focus groups and local people in in-depth interviewing. The former presented major outstanding remarkable values (ORV) such as values of biology, culture, geology, and water resource, whereas the latter regarded the most important ORV is the value of culture. Even for interviewees from the tourism industry, national park volunteer system, and tourists and backpackers, in addition to the culture of Taroko Tribe, Atayal Tribe's culture and the history of the Central Cross-Island Highway were viewed as essential elements of Taroko's sense of place and traditions which provides the Taroko authorities an additional tool for building a sustainable tourist destination.

In terms of economic sustainability, the Taroko National Park is fully funded by the central government, unlike national parks established in the United States. Today, because the spectacular Taroko Gorge and the scenic beauty of Liwu river are attractions themselves, more and more Chinese visitors visit Taroko to see the Taroko Gorge, the varied mountain peaks, numerous waterfalls, diverse plant forms and animal life, together with the indigenous people that create the rich texture of the unique natural ecosystem. A drastic increase in the Chinese group tourists to Taroko National

Park generates millions of dollars of economic benefits which might not be shared by local residents and aboriginals. To work with local communities and tourist industry and to ensure its low environmental impacts, a new attention is being paid to the ORVs of Taroko and how best to meet tourist expectations without endangering its natural resources.

The rising pressure on the capacities of the Taroko authorities and local tourism industry brought about by the new Chinese tourists' requirements thus result in radical changes in the public management of Taroko National Park Headquarters. Although larger size of a national park allows large numbers of visitors without appearing crowded and without straining infrastructure (Meyer, 2008: 151-153), in the case of Taroko so far, the authorities and local tourist industry cannot arrange routes dispersing the Chinese group tourists throughout the spacious park area rather than concentrating them in few famous sightseeing points at the same time.

Having gone through data collection process of the focus groups, to understand and explain the beliefs that influence the feelings, attitudes, and behaviors of multi-stakeholders, helpful fresh ideas and new insights were generated by the Taroko authorities. Public managers assist in forging agreement by developing a non-confrontational agreement-building process for selecting multiple strategies and including local residents and aboriginals' expectations in the decision-making process. In this case, it is easier for multiple stakeholders to accept changes that do not destroy what the park has come to represent, such as providing national park vehicles for the Chinese visitors' re-routed journey in Taroko, allowing more economic activities of indigenous people at the contact zone between tourists and destination residents, and offering more employment to local residents and indigenous people by revising the Act of National Parks to facilitate relationships to build mutual trust.

With the Chinese economy booming and income rising, overseas travel is more affordable for the ordinary Chinese. As the Chinese visitors flock to Taiwan and Taroko, one of the authors' attempts is to deal with their mis-behaviors in Taroko National Park, including the violation of the Cigarette Harm Protection Act, i.e., throwing cigarette

butts away on the ground, and un-decent sanitary manners against national park regulations and others. Participants in the focus groups proposed a very special outstanding remarkable value of education that is for domestic tourists and the Chinese tourists. To domestic Taiwanese tourists, it involves authenticity of tourism products and interpretation of indigenous stories and objects, and the recognition of intellectual property rights of their oral history, dance, song and artistic designs. And more important, the education value lies in the protection of aborigine cultural and spiritual landscapes, and a workable system for their access to the traditional sites and ceremonies. To the Chinese visitors, focus group participants and interviewees realized that legal regulations cannot help, whereas the challenges for national park management continues to be ensuring obedience and compliance and more promulgation and announcements before their arrivals.

Dye (2005: 1) defines public policy as what governments choose to do or not to do. In this case study, the public face of government is about trying to do better suggesting that for many of us, “governance is a value-based activity” (Stewart, 2009: 1). Most research observations and evidences of this study agree that conflicting values between diverse self-interested stakeholders come into picture. The Taroko authorities need to “deal creatively and pragmatically with differences – differences in priorities, interests, and values” (Forester, 2009: 186) in political standing, environmental protection worldviews, and aboriginal cultural identity. To be responsive to affected stakeholders and build a new vision, the authorities needs to deal with a similar range of differences, by identifying values, interests, and priorities of diverse stakeholders and policy entrepreneurs.

VII. Conclusions

As Barber (1984: 272) writes, ‘people are apathetic, because they are powerless, not powerless because they are apathetic’. While democratic participation ought to be broadened to as many social spheres as possible (Hansen, 2008: 248), policy values and goals are themselves complex and not always clear-cut which leads not to an abstract

concept of widely accepted as collaborative leadership and governance but to a ‘better’ society we want to be. If “policy oscillates between values” (Stewart, 2009: 203) and policy tools and techniques for mediating conflicts cannot bridge conflicting values divides, based on this case study, the authors argue that the value of a ‘substantial’ common good inherent to democracy can be maintained by transforming conflicts into ‘creative consensus’ (Barber, 1984: 9), through a set of plural or particular interpretations and the consensus on the ‘rules of the games’ (Hansen, 2008: 260).

This paper’s primary focus is to direct the sustainability dilemma to the real world context of Taroko National Park. By identifying the ORVs, the Taroko National Park Headquarters articulates ORVs in national park management in general, and in implementing evidence-based actions in particular. Based on a comparison of ORVs identified by different stakeholder groups, the public leadership development and a new vision building cannot be divorced from policy stakeholders. Through creating goal and building vision by involving stakeholders, policy entrepreneurs of the Taroko authorities bring people along with the vision in the past decade.

Handling disagreements and managing conflicts, with empirical research evidences, is another illustration of the way Taroko Directors’ putting welfare of aborigines and community residents first and providing a ‘win-win’ solution, but also about moving from mass tourism to planning for the ‘right’ tourists of ecotourism. Yet as Davis et al. (1993: 15) describe public policy as ‘the interaction of values, interests and resources, guided through institutions and mediated by politics’, the public value of governance in this case is not a matter of the existence of one ‘just’ result, but rather democracy itself (Connolly, 1995; Mouffe, 2000, 2005): allowing all participants to have a say in the democratic struggles and accepting all democratic positions as legitimate opponents. Indeed, engaging stakeholders in planning and implementing solutions may bring greater information, perspectives, and resources and ultimately behavioral change among target populations (Campbell et al., 2011: 1127). The Taroko authorities pursue two main goals in public leadership processes: communicating participatory planning and translating vision into reality. The emphasis on

communicating participatory planning suggests a very strong awareness of the value of reciprocity to achieve common goals among diverse and even competing groups. Involving the public prior to the start of policy initiatives, during the period of identifying purposes and needs for actions and development of a proposed action, “can make a big difference” (Stern et al., 2011: 1299).

The emphasis on translating vision into reality as a goal for the Taroko authorities' public leadership is more difficult to explain. One of the most obvious explanations is that to build a vision and to translate a vision into reality is not legally mandated. The factor of politics cannot be ignored. Qualitative results suggest that, by arguing that some publics are competent and highly educated, some respondents express their willingness to collaborate with public managers of the Taroko authorities. Based on the National Park Act of 1972, public agencies of Taiwan's national park management have a clearly defined mission statement. While several interviewees emphasize different aspects of their association with outstanding remarkable values, mission-focused public administrators, to achieve policy goals and to create values for stakeholders, need to integrate Taroko's ecosystem complexity integrated into cultural sustainability and tourist experiences. Continuous efforts to build relationships and trust may solicit feedback from local participants and aboriginals which in turn change skeptical views and contribute to policy implementation.

Another interpretation of this research is that a process of pulling stakeholders together to solve problems across all sectors may connect with a collaborative process on one hand, and is influenced by legal constraints of the amendments of the National Park Act of 1972 and limitations of the head of Taroko Headquarters' position power. In the focus groups, public managers realized that human-caused disasters do devastate Taroko's wildlife population and ecosystem and tourists need to be re-routed to viewing another, different species and sightseeing points. Several interviewees did not view the values of leisure and recreation as important as those values of focus group participants. While different stakeholders emphasize different aspects of their association with the park, to attract both mainstream tourists and wilderness enthusiasts, the Taroko

authorities need to integrate Taroko's ecosystem complexity integrated into cultural sustainability and tourist experience by exercising communication and political skills.

Results of this study suggest that different public managers in the same contexts may lead to different scenarios. The value perspective of this research, outstanding remarkable values or policy values, makes explicit what is implicit in some ways. Firstly, the authors try to be more open about our own values, even when writing up the descriptive part of the research. Secondly, while the researchers' majors are public administration and national parks and tourism management, the authors try to argue that values-driven collaborative public management for public leadership is beneficial to the good governance of Taroko National Park. Moreover, when confronting the values territory of the state, through implementing partnerships, self-interests of stakeholders must be taken into consideration and the righteous virtue might not be always on the side of the public authorities. Finally, the policy of national park management deals with significant values, whereas the government officials know far less about outstanding remarkable values of the Taroko National Park, from stakeholders' perspective, than they make decisions upon more common national park management. And as we can see, policy values are themselves complex, this research indicates that linking outstanding remarkable values to policymaking and collaborative public management tools is necessary and may help accomplish policy values in the future for a very long time.

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權力分享治理模式的價值： 太魯閣國家公園管理處公共領導統御的挑戰

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摘要

雖然並不是每一個人都相信決策者應該要支持協力公共管理能解決政策問題，筆者在本文運用深度訪談，焦點團體訪談，以及問卷調查等多元研究方法，確認政策利害關係人針對太魯閣國家公園提出所謂的秀異價值。隨著中國大陸過去數十年的經濟成長，愈來愈多大陸遊客出訪海外，太魯閣做為陸客到訪的重要景點之一，不同利害關係人強調不同的秀異價值，國家公園管理處為了達成政策目標，公共管理者因而試圖整合當地生態體系，文化永續，以及旅遊體驗。本研究的結果顯示，將太魯閣的秀異價值連結到決策和協力公共管理工具，將會有助於政策價值在未來的貫徹完成。

關鍵詞：太魯閣國家公園、公共領導統御、公共價值、政策企業家、秀異價值

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