

# **Confronting a Nuanced Past: Mapping Chiang Kai-shek's Legacy**

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# **Abstract**

How should nations worldwide portray controversial historical figures from their past? Chiang Kai-shek is Taiwan's most polarizing historical figure, with an intense political discourse surrounding his legacy in Taiwanese history. Was he a nationalist hero and modernizer or a brutal authoritarian? In collaboration with Dr. Fu-Sheng Shih, a Professor of Sociology at Soochow University in Taipei, Taiwan, we developed an online tourist route that takes visitors to historically and culturally significant locations relating to Chiang Kai-shek around Taipei. Upon completing the route, tourists can come to their own conclusions about Chiang Kai-shek's legacy and gain further insight into the portrayal and memory of complex historical figures worldwide.

# Executive Summary

## Introduction and Background

The depiction of Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan is highly contentious. Some celebrate him as a hero who saved Taiwan from communism, while others believe he was a ruthless dictator. Showing both sides of this discourse is needed to educate people about Chiang Kai-shek's legacy and we propose creating an online tourist route that would provide historical insight into his portrayal by analyzing historical and cultural sites related to him. The website will allow tourists to develop their understanding of Chiang's legacy after completing the tourist route. Taiwan is a unique cultural and political entity as an island of predominantly Han Chinese people separated from mainland China due to civil war. Chinese cultural influence is present on the island, but a unique Taiwanese identity is also apparent. Furthermore, the island stands to benefit from increased tourism, with studies showing that it positively affects the nation's economy. The focus of the tourist route, Chiang Kai-shek, was the leader of the Republic of China until his death in 1975 and is a polarizing figure for many of the nation's inhabitants.

## Methods

Four methods were used to find information about Chiang Kai-shek and related tourist sites. Archival research was conducted to find significant sites relating to Chiang Kai-shek around the Taipei area, mainly near the MRT redline. Four minor sites were also found further from the MRT for enthusiastic tourists. Next, interviews were conducted with four people; two were tour guides from the company TourMeAway, one was with a cultural site staff member, and the last was with a Kuomintang spokesperson. All interviews provided in-depth insight into how they feel about Chiang Kai-shek's legacy in Taiwan. Surveys were conducted on Taiwanese locals and tourists in the Taipei area. This survey was intended to help us learn more about the views of Chiang Kai-shek from locals who are impacted by his legacy. The final method employed was conducting ethnographic research. This was done by visiting all the sites to find specific information unavailable online. Such information includes accessibility, price for entry, and transportation price. Other information gathered was the demographics of visitors and where the most popular locations were.

## **Website Development**

The website was developed as a deliverable for our sponsor and an informational website available to the public. This website includes a home page giving background on Chiang Kai-shek and an interactive map depicting the site locations along the MRT. The next tab on the site brings the user to the main route page. This page contains the route details and the same interactive map, allowing users to click on each site location for more details. On the left-hand side of the page, there are links to each site that we included on the route. The user can also access these pages by clicking on the ‘Sites’ tab at the top, which opens a drop-down list of each site. Towards the bottom of this page are brief descriptions and locations of the four minor sites for enthusiastic tourists. The individual site pages have a brief history and summary of their respective site, along with pictures. Also mentioned on these pages is essential information such as accessibility, price to enter, operating hours, and other relevant information. Some sites also contain questions for tourists to consider while going through the tour, allowing them to form their own conclusions about Chiang Kai-shek. The last tab on the site brings users to an “about us” page containing photos of the development team and their college majors. The website can be found at the following hyperlink: <https://samkarkache.github.io/TamsuiWebsite/>.

## **Findings and Conclusion**

Each site visited portrayed Chiang Kai-shek in very different ways. For instance, the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall has a massive bronze statue on display in his honor. However, on the floors beneath this statue, there are exhibits that educate on Chiang’s role in authoritarianism in Taiwan. The descriptions of these sites, along with photos, were used to write the tourist route website. The interviews added great insight into Chiang Kai-shek’s legacy and enhanced our tourist website. All interviewees acknowledged the polarization and nuance in the depiction of Chiang Kai-shek regardless of their differing personal opinions on his legacy. The survey responses were of limited usefulness as many responses were unhelpful or hyperbolic. Furthermore, the respondent’s demographics were homogenous, preventing us from making any generalizable conclusions based on the responses. Most of these findings, however, we implemented into our tourist website. Rarely is history black and white, and by creating the Chiang Kai-shek tourist route, we can educate tourists about Chiang’s legacy in Taiwan and express the importance of nuance and objectivity when considering the legacy of historical figures.

# Table of Contents

Abstract	1
Executive Summary	2
Table of Contents	4
Authorship Page	6
1.0 Introduction	9
2.0 Literature Review	10
2.1 The History of Taiwan	10
2.2 The Impact of Tourism in Taiwan and Around the World	11
2.3 Chiang Kai-shek's Controversial Impact	12
2.4 Opposing Views of Chiang Kai-shek's Legacy	15
2.5 Sponsor Background	16
3.0 Methods	17
3.1 Archival Research on Chiang Kai-shek	18
3.1.1 Data Collection	19
3.1.2 Field Locations	19
3.1.3 Data Analysis and Visualization	19
3.2 Online Survey of Locals and Tourists	20
3.2.1 Data Collection	21
3.2.2 Field Locations	21
3.2.3 Data Analysis and Visualization	21
3.3 In-Person Interviews with Site Experts	22
3.3.1 Data Collection	23
3.3.2 Field Locations and Schedule	24
3.3.3 Data Analysis and Visualization	24
3.4 Ethnographic Research on Tourists at Historic Sites	24
3.4.1 Data Collection	25
3.4.2 Field Locations and Schedule	25
3.4.3 Data Analysis and Visualization	25
3.5 Project Limitations	26
3.6 Ethical Considerations	27
4.0 Website Development	28
4.1 Data Collection	29
4.2 Home Page	29
4.3 Main Route Pages	30
4.4 Individual Site Pages	30
4.5 About Us Page	31

4.6 Technical Website Development	31
4.7 Limitations	31
4.8 Ethical Considerations	32
5.0 Findings	32
5.1 Site Visits	32
5.1.1 Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall	33
5.1.2 Chiang Kai-shek Shilin Residence	35
5.1.3 National Human Rights Museum & White Terror Memorial	37
5.1.4 228 Peace Park	38
5.1.5 Presidential Office Building	40
5.1.6 Ching-kuo Chi-Hai Cultural Park	41
5.1.7 National Revolutionary Martyrs' Shrine	43
5.1.8 Shuangxi Park	44
5.1.9 Grand Hotel	46
5.2 Interviews	47
5.2.1 Tour Guide Andy from TourMeAway	47
5.2.2 Tour Guide James from TourMeAway	48
5.2.3 Staff Member at Ching-Kuo Chi-Hai Cultural Park	49
5.2.4 Kuomintang Spokesperson Alfred Chia Hsing Lin.	50
5.3 Survey Results	51
5.4 Website	52
6.0 Conclusion	53
Bibliography	54
Appendices	57
Appendix A: Project Schedule	57
Appendix B: Online Survey Questions for Locals and Tourists	58
Appendix C: 1-on-1 In-Person Interview Questions	59

# Authorship Page

Report Section	Primary Author(s)	Primary Editor(s)
Abstract	SK	JD
Executive Summary	SK, JD	SW
1.0 Introduction	SK	IL, SW
2.0 Literature Review		
2.1 The Status of Taiwan	SK	IL
2.2 The Impact of Tourism in Taiwan and around the world	JD, SW	SK
2.3 Chiang Kai-shek's Controversial Impact	SK	IL, JD
2.4 Opposing Views of Chiang Kai-shek's Impacts	SW, JD, SK	IL, SK
2.5 Sponsor Background	JD, IL	SK, SW
3.0 Methods	JD, SK	SW
3.1 Archival Research on Chiang Kai-shek	JD	SW, SK
3.1.1 Data Collection	JD	SW, SK
3.1.2 Field Locations	JD	SW, SK
3.1.3 Data Analysis and Visualization	JD	SW, SK
3.2 Online Survey of Locals and Tourists	SK	JD
3.2.1 Data Collection	SK	JD
3.2.2 Field Locations	SK	JD
3.2.3 Data Analysis and Visualization	SK	JD
3.3 In-Person Interviews with Site Experts	IL	SK

3.3.1 Data Collection	IL	SK
3.3.2 Field Locations	IL	SK
3.3.3 Data Analysis and Visualization	IL	SK
3.4 Ethnographic Research on Tourists at Historic Sites	SW	IL, SK
3.4.1 Data Collection	SW	IL, SK
3.4.2 Field Locations	SW	IL, SK
3.4.3 Data Analysis and Visualization	SW	IL, SK
3.5 Project Limitations	SK, IL, SW	JD
3.6 Ethical Considerations	JD, IL, SW	JD
4.0 Website development	SW	SK
4.1 Data collection	SW	SK
4.2 Home Page	SW	SK
4.3 Main Route Pages	SW	SK
4.4 Individual Site Pages	SW	SK
4.5 About Us Page	SW	SK
4.6 Technical Website Development	SW	SK
4.7 Limitations	SW	SK
4.8 Ethical Considerations	SW	SK
5.0 Findings	SK	
5.1 Site Section	SK	IL
5.1.1 Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall	SK	IL



5.1.2 Chiang Kai-shek Shilin Residence	IL	JD, SK
5.1.3 National Human Rights Museum & White Terror Memorial	IL	JD, SK
5.1.4 228 Peace Park	IL	JD, SK
5.1.5 Presidential Office Building	IL	JD, SK
5.1.6 Ching-kuo Chi-hai Cultural Park	JD	IL, SK
5.1.7 National Revolutionary Martyrs' Shrine	JD	IL, SK
5.1.8 Shuangxi Park	JD	IL, SK
5.1.9 Grand Hotel	JD	IL, SK
5.2 Interviews	SK	
5.2.1 Tour guide Andy from TourMeAway	JD	SK
5.2.2 Tour guide James from TourMeAway	JD	SK
5.2.3 Staff member at Ching-kuo Chi-hai cultural park	IL	SK
5.2.4 Kuomintang Spokesperson Alfred Chia Hsing Ling	SK	SK
5.3 Survey Responses	SK, SW	SK
5.3 Website	SK	SW
6.0 Conclusion	SK	SW, IL

# 1.0 Introduction

Much like the Mausoleum of Mao Zedong in Beijing China or the Washington Monument in Washington DC, nations around the world go to great lengths to honor former leaders that play a significant role in their national identity. These former leaders are portrayed as almost god-like entities that always have the most grandiose depictions of their glory. However, for the island of Taiwan, officially the Republic of China, depictions of their most storied national leader are much more nuanced. Chiang Kai-shek is Taiwan's most significant former leader and is seen by many as the "savior of Taiwan". This sentiment is apparent through the memorials scattered around Taipei in his honor. However, upon closer inspection, we can see a tale of two worlds regarding this depiction of Chiang Kai-shek. For every monument and statue depicting Chiang Kai-shek's glory, just as many locations commemorate atrocities committed by his authoritarian regime. Predictably, Chiang Kai-shek's depiction has become a hotly debated political talking point in Taiwan over the past few decades after the nation transitioned into a democratic society. Pan-Blue parties like the Kuomintang see him as a brave leader who saved Taiwan from the communists, while Pan-Green parties like the DPP see him as a brutal dictator. Consequently, it has become easy to be swept up in the binary political rhetoric about Chiang's legacy. This problem necessitates creating a neutral medium to educate about Chiang Kai-shek's legacy. The disparity in the depiction of Chiang Kai-shek is most apparent via monuments, museums, and other cultural sites. Therefore, a tourist route that visits historically significant sites about Chiang Kai-shek provides substantial insight into what Chiang means to the people of Taiwan without the vitriol political discourse that may bias people toward a particular opinion. The best possible medium for the tourist route is a website. This format allows the assembled tourist route to reach the largest possible audience and provides an engaging and immersive experience. The website includes historical information about each site with photos and videos accompanying each explanation. The information is presented neutrally so that our personal biases about Chiang Kai-shek do not influence the reader. Tourists can use the website to plan their trip to Taiwan and develop a more meaningful understanding of Chiang Kai-shek's legacy. Upon completion of the tourist route, tourists will be able to come to their own conclusions about Chiang Kai-shek's legacy and what he means to the people of Taiwan.

## 2.0 Literature Review

### 2.1 The History of Taiwan

The island of Taiwan was initially populated by the indigenous population of Formosan people before Chinese control. The island also saw some European colonization by the Spanish and the Dutch before the Chinese Ming Dynasty annexed the island in the 17th century. The island was under Chinese control until 1895, when the Japanese Empire took the island via war concessions. Taiwan was under Japanese rule until the conclusion of the Second World War in 1945. At this point, the island was returned to the Republic of China. However, after the Chinese Civil War in 1949, the Republic of China and the Kuomintang were forced to flee to Taiwan to escape the communist takeover of the mainland. Since the end of the war, the Republic of China has operated as a de-facto independent nation with an independent government and economy.

Since the 17th century, many Han Chinese settlers have migrated to Taiwan, bringing their Chinese culture with them, and are currently the largest ethnic group on the island by a wide margin. The Chinese influence in Taiwan is extremely apparent. Many “historical remains in Taiwan, such as fabulous temples, city walls, and wells, associated with the Chinese power of the Ming...and Qing dynasties” [1]. The ethnic diaspora of Taiwan may lead foreigners to believe that Taiwanese culture is no different from the culture of mainland China. However, according to Ming-li Yao’s article on Taiwanese heritage, cultural discourse in Taiwan gradually shifted after the civil war. The Republic of China’s political rhetoric shifted from “being based on Chinese nationalism to being Taiwanese” [1], which indicates a cultural change among the citizens of Taiwan. Ming-li Yao suggests that Taiwanese culture is becoming increasingly distinct from Chinese culture despite apparent similarities. Ming-li Yao’s claim about Taiwanese culture is also found in A-chin Hsiau’s article on the cultural shift in Taiwan in the late 20th century. A-chin Hsiau’s article discusses how anti-colonialism movements under Japanese rule allowed for “dramatic democratization and indigenization of politics and culture in Taiwan” [2]. This conclusion by Hsiau furthers the notion that Taiwanese culture is starting to become distinct from its Chinese origins and that the legacy of Chinese historical sites has “been re-used to inform a distinctive Taiwanese cultural discourse” [1].

## 2.2 The Impact of Tourism in Taiwan and Around the World

It is important to study the effects of tourism and examine cases where tourism has had an overall negative and positive effect on the host country. Tourism is known to positively affect a country's economic development by improving infrastructure and citizens' welfare by providing jobs and promoting international trade. However, there are also cases where tourism can cause environmental problems, increase inflation due to heavier demand for goods, and affect the country's culture [3]. In Taiwan, the development of recreational areas and transportation for tourists often negatively impacts not only the environment but also the daily life of the locals [Andy, 4]. Tourists can also often negatively impact cultural sites, intentionally or not, by simply walking around and degrading the landscape [5]. In Jerusalem, several high-rise hotels have damaged the city's aesthetic appeal and created "visual" pollution due to the buildings clashing with the surrounding environment [6]. The natural landscape and culture of cities surrounding popular tourist locations can be heavily affected. Tusayan, a gateway community, is overrun with fast-food restaurants, motels, and tourist shops, to accommodate tourists visiting the Grand Canyon [6]. Tourism is a major contributor to Hawaii's economy, with over 6 million visitors generating 10 billion dollars annually. However, as the industry grows, the landscape and culture of Hawaii are no longer preserved, as there is little consideration for the local native culture and ecosystem [7]. With the many negative effects of tourism, it is important to be aware of these factors when creating a tourism page. There should be reminders for tourists to be respectful of native communities and their culture and to help preserve them.

Taiwan relies heavily on tourism for its economic development and growth. *Destination image* is important as it directly relates to the tourist's experiences and satisfaction [8]. The more positive the destination image, the higher the tourist satisfaction; the two are directly related [8]. The higher the satisfaction of the tourists, the more likely they will revisit or spread their experience of Taiwan, attracting more tourists. Due to the relationship between these destination images, tourist satisfaction, and economics, the more tourists, the better the economy gets for the local Taiwanese. This relation is supported by Kim in Tourism Management, who found that GDP and time-series data of total tourist arrivals (TOUR) are directly related; Average GDP from 1956-2002 was  $12.78\% \pm 10.87\%$  (SD), and TOUR was  $13.03\% \pm 16.55\%$  (SD) [9]. Over this period, it was observed that as GDP or TOUR went down, so did the other, and vice versa. In

addition to these statistics, another study found that tourism contributed to 4.2% of the Taiwanese GDP in 1996 [9]. These statistics show that Taiwan has benefited from tourism and will continue to do so from increased tourism. Notable historical sites and museums are popular among tourists in many countries, and Taiwan is no exception. If these sites are researched and mapped out for tourists, it could open the doors for improved tourism routes in Taiwan and help to develop their economy. Most information about Taiwanese cultural sites and heritage is in Mandarin, making it harder for foreigners to connect with Taiwan. Travel sites and blogs mention sites and buildings for tourists to enter, but there is less background or contextual explanation about their cultural significance [10]. By gathering history and culture from the local Taiwanese and directly translating it into English, it would be possible to make a website that allows foreigners and tourists to gain more insight into Taiwan's most notable leader Chiang Kai-shek.

## 2.3 Chiang Kai-shek's Controversial Impact

Taiwan's most notable leader, and the focus of the tourist route, is Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang played a crucial role in the Chinese Civil War as the leader of the Republic of China (ROC) and the Kuomintang nationalist party. As the Chinese civil war turned in favor of the Chinese Communist Party, Chiang Kai-shek, the ROC military, and refugees fled to the island of Taiwan. Chiang gathered support from the United States in 1955 for his fight against the CCP and is credited for saving the ROC government from complete eradication [11]. The Republic of China would not exist as it does today without Chiang Kai-shek's leadership during this period. As a result, many people argue that Chiang was a "savior in the minds of the Taiwanese" [12] as he was responsible for freeing Taiwan's ethnically Han Chinese inhabitants from Japanese colonial rule and saving them from communism.

After the ROC retreat to Taiwan, plans were created to retake the Chinese mainland as "The ultimate goal was a Normandy-like invasion of the mainland by 600,000 Nationalist troops" [13]. However, this invasion never materialized, angering many people who followed Chiang to Taiwan as they had hoped to return to the mainland. Chiang Kai-shek's legacy was further tarnished during the implementation of martial law [14]. During this period, Chiang and the ROC government ruthlessly crushed all opposition to KMT rule [14]. This period is known as the "White Terror" and had an unknown total death count as this era has never been appraised.

Officially, the number of arrests “under martial law from 1949 to 1986, when the decree ended—29,407” [13]. This number, however, is a vast underestimate of the total number of arrests during Chiang Kai-shek’s authoritarian rule. On top of this, Taiwan lacked freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and free elections. The state, and by extension, the Kuomintang Party, strictly controlled and policed all aspects of Taiwanese society. The most infamous event during the White Terror period was the 228 Incident. On February 28, 1947, a confrontation between a tobacco vendor Lin Jiangmai and two drug enforcement officers escalated into a full-scale “confrontation between the Taiwanese and the mainlanders” [15] due to “Taiwanese discontent with the Chinese Nationalist government” [15]. Fueling this unrest was the fact that the ROC government was not well received by the Taiwanese inhabitants due to the Kuomintang’s “corrupt and repressive” practices, along with the fact that government positions were only given to people from the mainland, a decision made by Chiang Kai-shek himself [15]. Chiang’s regime was unapologetic about these injustices, famously stating that it is “better to kill ten thousand by mistake than to set one free by oversight” [15]. While he was a ruthless ruler who committed countless human rights violations, it would be unfair to say everything he did was bad, as Taiwan would not be the country it is today without him. In 1951, Chiang Kai-shek ordered a series of land reform policies that allowed land confiscation from landowners and redistribution to the peasants and tillers working within the fields. This allowed the social hierarchy between the two classes to be destroyed and redistributed the wealth evenly among citizens. This land reform law was the beginning of other programs that went into effect and allowed for the setup of Taiwan's balanced societal hierarchy today [16]. After the land reform, five four-year economic development plans were enacted [16]. These allowed for the turning of Taiwan's agricultural economy into an industrial one, increasing the national income. Another act enacted by Chiang Kai-shek was his education reform. In 1968 he increased the required education time from six to nine years for all citizens. Part of this was developing higher education for a more experienced and qualified workforce [16]. Due to these reforms, Taiwan developed into a more socially equal society, allowing it to become the industrial powerhouse it is today.

Even after Chiang Kai-shek died in 1975, his legacy, albeit controversially, remains prevalent throughout Taiwan and the capital city of Taipei. Upon Chiang’s death, “rather than signal the demise of his personality cult, his death resulted in some of the grandest acts and sites

of commemoration in his honor” [12]. A prime example of this is the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall. A branch of the Republic of China called the Executive Yuan built this memorial as a place for the Taiwanese people to remember the glory of their former leader [17]. In the 1990s, Taiwan’s government changed to a more liberal democracy, and the status of glorifying Chiang Kai-shek’s legacy was questioned [17]. In 2017, the Legislative Yuan passed the Act on Promoting Transitional Justice, where Article 2 of the Act states the implementation of “Removing authoritarian symbols and preserving sites where injustices were committed” [18]. As a result, much of the memorial has been modified to a more neutral space where human rights, democracy, and freedom are emphasized. The upper floor of the memorial contains a massive statue of Chiang Kai-shek, with the lower floors hosting exhibits on Taiwan’s transition into a democracy and the history of brutal authoritarian rule. This shift in sentiment is not meant to cover up Chiang Kai-shek’s history but rather look into Taiwan’s past and better engage in historical complexity. There have been talks of removing the statue of Chiang Kai-shek from the Memorial Hall completely, as it lies under the Transitional Justice Act. However, many people in support of him oppose this idea. Nevertheless, the memorial received 314,019 visitors in May 2018, showing its strong impact on tourists and Taiwanese residents [19]. Another example of Chiang Kai-shek’s legacy being remembered is the Chiang Kai-shek Shilin Residence. The residence is in the Shilin district of Taipei, and Chiang lived there from 1950 until he died in 1975 [20]. The residence includes his main house, guest building, and several ecological parks. Many presidents from other countries would often visit Chiang in his house, increasing the significance of the residence as it adds to its history. The house also included several valuable artworks, official documents, and books. After Chiang died, the house became open to the public in 1996 and was further renovated for visitors in 2006 [20]. As the residence became managed by the government after his death, and it was a part of Chiang Kai-shek’s personal life, the opening of the residence shows the government’s efforts to humanize the generalissimo. Their efforts have shown a measurable impact on tourism, as Chiang’s residence remains in the top three places to visit in Shilin, according to TripAdvisor [21]. Other places that showcase Chiang’s influence include the Grand Hotel, which he ordered to build and is still in use today, and the Cihu Mausoleum, where his body resides. The existence and prevalence of these sites demonstrate how the government, locals, and tourists are still interested in and affected by Chiang Kai-shek's legacy, despite growing controversies surrounding his actions.

## 2.4 Opposing Views of Chiang Kai-shek's Legacy

Perceptions of Chiang Kai-shek among Taiwan's population are extremely polarized. The Kuomintang (KMT) party typically has a more sympathetic view of Chiang Kai-shek's actions during his time as the leader of Taiwan. This is because this was the political party that Chiang Kai-shek was a member of during his time as the leader of the Republic of China on the mainland and in Taiwan. The KMT states that Chiang Kai-shek did what was necessary to save the ROC from falling to communism and maintain order during intense political strife. In stark contrast to the positive depiction of Chiang Kai-shek by the KMT, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) is more critical of his actions. Supporters of the DPP point out atrocities committed by Chiang's regime, such as the White Terror and the 228 Incident, to further the narrative that he was a brutal dictator.

The opposing views on Chiang Kai-shek and his legacy can be seen on the DPP and KMT websites. The well-known 228 Incident sparked the beginning of what is known as the White Terror. The KMT website states, "The 2/28 Incident took place in Taipei, leading to province-wide civil disorder in Taiwan," without further explanation [22]. There is also no mention of the 38-year-long White Terror that occurs directly after this event. The lack of nuance in this description indicates that the KMT does not want to bring attention to these acts committed by Chiang's regime. However, the DPP mentions the 2/28 Incident and the White Terror on its main page. These events are described as, "After the February 28 Incident, the authoritarian government declared martial law in 1949, and the White Terror ensued for 38 years. During this period, countless people disappeared and were imprisoned and suppressed. Some even lost their lives in their pursuit of freedom and democracy" [23]. Not only does this show how the KMT chooses to turn a blind eye to the history of Chiang Kai-shek and how the DPP chooses to highlight and broadcast the tragic events under his rule, but it can also represent how the older generation perceives Chiang Kai-shek's history compared to the way the younger generation is learning about it.

In addition to Chiang Kai-shek's polarizing legacy in politics, a significant generational divide exists among Taiwanese citizens regarding his image. Typically, the older generation of Taiwanese people has a much more positive image of Chiang Kai-shek than the younger generation [Lau, 24]. A study by Redfield & Wilton Strategies found that 38% of respondents



above 55 viewed Chiang Kai-shek positively, compared to only 27% of respondents aged 18-24 [25]. As one looks from older to younger generations, there is a steady decline in approval. This trend may be partly due to Taiwan's political structure and resulting education over time. Before 1988, Taiwan was under martial law, and the public could not question the government's authority. As Chiang was the figurehead of the KMT, the primary political party of that era, propaganda existed to support Chiang's image. This included a single state-run textbook company, quotes from Chiang in notebooks, and statues of Chiang in schools [Andy, 4]. Those who are currently above 55 would have grown up in this time. However, the view on Chiang would change in the 1990s as martial law was lifted and Taiwan became a democracy. History textbooks became diversified, and the public could freely criticize Chiang Kai-shek. Those born in the 1990s would receive an education that viewed Chiang with a more critical lens and, thus, viewed him more negatively. With hindsight and preceding presidents, the public could view Chiang in a greater context. When asked to rank each of the former Taiwanese leaders for their contribution to Taiwan's overall development, a survey by the Taiwanese Public Opinion Foundation in 2020 found Chiang Kai-shek to be the least favorable [25]. As politicians could run freely, the generations who could vote and participate in opinion polls showed their disdain for Chiang. As the older generation diminished, the public sentiment slowly shifted toward viewing Chiang Kai-shek as a flawed historical figure rather than a glorious leader.

## 2.5 Sponsor Background

Soochow University was founded in 1900 in Suzhou, China, and was the first Western-Style university in China. Once the government of the Republic of China retreated to Taiwan, former alumni were re-established in Taipei, Taiwan, and Soochow University became the first private university in Taiwan, founded on November 10, 1964. Their Western roots are shown through their song, which is based on the American folk song "Alma Mater". Their English motto, "Unto a Full-Grown Man," represents the university's aim to educate their students until they become fully grown adults [26]. Soochow University currently has approximately 15,600 enrolled students in 23 different departments and is also one of the most prestigious universities in Taiwan, with six colleges. Throughout these colleges, Soochow offers 24 majors and 24 masters, in addition to 6 doctorate programs. The university is split into two campuses; the Waishuangshi campus, located near the National Palace Museum, contains the

School of Liberal Arts & Social Sciences, School of Foreign Languages and Cultures, School of Science, and School of Big Data Management. The Downtown campus, located in the commercial center of Taipei, contains the School of Law and School of Business [26].

Our direct sponsor, Dr. Fu-Sheng Shih, is currently an Assistant Professor for the Department of Sociology at Soochow University. He was the former Executive Director of the Central and Eastern Europe Center and the former Director of the International Affairs Office at Soochow University. Dr. Shih completed his Ph.D. in Sociology at Jagiellonian University in Poland. He specializes in Urban and Rural Sociology and issues of social stratification. He is interested in developmental sociology, globalization studies, cultural heritage, and social changes in Taiwan. He is also involved in Area Studies research in Poland and the Polish Language [27]. Dr. Shih has six publications between 2010 and 2015 on different cultures and their urbanization and development.

### **3.0 Methods**

Our project aims to convey Chiang Kai-shek's polarizing legacy in Taiwan to tourists and allow them to come to their own conclusions about what Chiang means to the Taiwanese people. This information is conveyed through a tourist route that outlines Chiang Kai-shek's controversial legacy and provides historical insight and nuance.

The following four methods were chosen for the project:

1. Archival Research - Historical records, documents, and archives were reviewed to gather information about Chiang Kai-shek and learn why his legacy is so controversial.
2. Surveys - Surveys were distributed to locals and tourists in Taiwan to gather information about possible sites relating to Chiang Kai-shek and their opinions on his legacy.
3. Interviews - Interviews with historical experts and political officials were conducted to gather information about Chiang Kai-shek's legacy.
4. Ethnography - The tourist sites were visited and observed. The experiences of tourists visiting these sites were documented in order to gain a deeper understanding of the site. Pertinent information about each site that may be helpful to tourists was also gathered.

These four methods were the most useful for the project as they allowed us to gather the background research needed to develop the tourist route and our website. They also allowed us to gather information from tourists and locals in Taiwan by directly interviewing/surveying them or observing them through our ethnography. Utilizing this multi-method approach helped us triangulate our findings and produce a more robust conclusion, which was included on the website.

### 3.1 Archival Research on Chiang Kai-shek

Before visiting any cultural sites or historical museums, research is needed to learn more about Chiang Kai-shek and why his legacy in Taiwan is so controversial. This research included both public and private archival data. Public archives can be categorized into commercial media accounts, actuarial records, and official documentary records [28]. We also had access to private archives at Soochow University in Taiwan. Private archives are broken down more carefully, including autobiographies, diaries, letters, home videos, and creative artifacts [28]. We utilized biographies and museum exhibits on Chiang Kai-shek. By analyzing private archives, we were able to form a deeper connection with the locals of Taiwan and their history, allowing us to understand the impact of Chiang Kai-shek on both the younger and older generations. This connection also helped us connect more with the site experts we interviewed and understand the significance of each historical site we visited. However, a weakness that comes with conducting archival research is selection bias. As described by Lustick, selection bias occurs when a “nonrandom selection of cases results in inferences, based on the resulting samples, that are not statistically representative of the population” [29]. To mitigate selection bias in our research, we used Quasi-Triangulation [29]. This includes using multiple primary sources, secondary sources, authors, methods, and datasets. To assess the credibility of these sources, we mainly used peer-reviewed sources. We also analyzed the authors' backgrounds to confirm whether they are experts in their field, which included looking at their other published works. This analysis of authors also included research into their political party, as each side portrays Chiang Kai-shek differently. Triangulation is an effective strategy but also has its limitations. Therefore, employing multiple methods and strategies to supplement and strengthen our findings is important.

### 3.1.1 Data Collection

Archival research was mainly done through online databases, such as the WPI Gordon Library, which provides us free access to multiple online databases, such as JSTOR, and other online libraries, such as Google Scholar. We also intended to use Soochow's database, which was unnecessary as the WPI database covers the same documents and more. As a result, our main requirement for archival research was access to the Internet. The research was done through our laptops.

### 3.1.2 Field Locations

Archival research was conducted at WPI and in Taiwan, where we had access to the internet so that we could use online databases. Before arriving in Taiwan, we started researching at WPI and continued the research, primarily at Soochow University. The research was conducted during weekdays when there was no planned field research but also took place over the weekends when necessary. In addition, we performed some archival research concurrently with other methods when visiting libraries and historical sites in Taiwan. Furthermore, exhibits located on-site can supplement the archival research findings.

### 3.1.3 Data Analysis and Visualization

Transferring information learned from research to a final deliverable were reasonably simple but time-consuming. Translating Mandarin documents to English was challenging as none of the team members were fluent in Mandarin. The team relied on the assistance of Professor Shih and students from Soochow University, as well as online translators such as Google Translate, to help with the translations. The team used Google Docs as the word processing software to gather and format data, which was eventually uploaded to a website for public viewing in the final deliverable. We also used Google Maps to create custom maps with location descriptions, pictures, and ways to insert links [30]. Creating a custom roadmap would give tourists an easy way to navigate Taiwan and provide a better experience.

## 3.2 Online Survey of Locals and Tourists

Surveying tourists and locals aims to accomplish two main goals. First, to provide a meaningful tourist route following Chiang Kai-shek's legacy, visitors must understand how polarizing Chiang's legacy is in Taiwan. Surveying the opinions of Taiwanese people about Chiang Kai-shek's legacy allowed us to add a level of nuance to our historical and cultural analysis. Consequently, the added nuance allowed for our tourist route to be more compelling to visitors and portray Chiang Kai-shek in a historically accurate manner. The second goal accomplished by conducting the survey was gaining more information about Taiwanese tourism. Asking respondents about particular sites of interest will allow us to identify possible tourist sites that warrant further exploration.

First, the survey included an optional section that asks respondents for demographic information. Some questions we asked respondents related to their age range, country of origin, and political alignment. The demographic information provided by respondents helped in identifying possible selection bias. Certain demographic opinions on Chiang Kai-shek greatly differed. Therefore, collecting demographic information helped us identify these biases. It is impossible to make general conclusions based on homogenous respondents. Along with general questions about Chiang's legacy, we also asked questions specifically to tourists and locals. We asked tourists about information that they found helpful when visiting Taiwan. These questions allowed us to identify important information to include on the website.

The survey was conducted online using Google Forms and posted on various Facebook groups. Online surveys have many benefits compared to other methods of surveys and interviews. Lune and Berg suggest that web-based research is "potentially far more anonymous than many other types of invasive data-collecting strategies" [28], increasing the odds that a given person would choose to participate in the survey. Furthermore, online surveys can help mitigate the language barrier that our group faces. Taiwan is a region that speaks predominantly Mandarin, while our group speaks exclusively English. An online survey can be easily translated into Mandarin, which allows us to survey individuals who do not speak English effectively.

However, online surveys, and surveys in general, have some inherent weaknesses. Berg and Lune stress that the "absence of face-to-face engagement could also be considered a loss of

potential data” [28]. Furthermore, one of the most important considerations that must be made when conducting a survey is mitigating selection bias. In the context of surveys, this would occur if the survey was given to a non-random population of individuals. The conclusions that would be drawn after the analysis of the survey results would be misleading.

### 3.2.1 Data Collection

The survey data was collected via Google Forms. The nature of online surveys makes creating and distributing the survey relatively easy; we simply need a PC or internet-capable device to create the survey questions. Once created, we distributed a link to respondents online. The target respondents of this survey were tourists and locals Taipei area that have general knowledge of the area. To reach these individuals, our group enlisted help from Dr. Fu-Sheng Shih, who aided in the distribution process by disseminating the survey to Soochow University students, faculty, and other stakeholders. The data inputted by the respondents is automatically populated into Google Forms for analysis.

### 3.2.2 Field Locations

Data from online surveys can typically be collected asynchronously after it has been distributed to the respondents. This means we had responses submitted throughout a given day. We checked the status of the responses every day to see the survey's progress. After roughly 3 to 4 weeks, our group noticed that we were no longer getting responses, and we closed the survey and began the data analysis of the results.

### 3.2.3 Data Analysis and Visualization

Included with Google Forms is its suite of data analysis and visualization features that can turn survey responses into tables, graphs, and other data representations. The demographic information and other multiple-choice questions were represented in a pie chart to see the relative distribution among respondents. Questions related to a relative scale would be best represented on a bar chart. The group could draw conclusions that aid in developing the tourist route based on the visualized data and use that information in other methods.

### 3.3 In-Person Interviews with Site Experts

To understand Chiang Kai-shek's impact in Taiwan, interviews with historical and cultural experts are necessary. These experts include but are not limited to members working at a given site, tour guides, and political officials. These interviews inform the team of information that is not be accessible online or through literature and help add more insight for each site [28].

Before meeting with interviewees, we needed to research each site to understand its context. We also needed to confirm that there was an expert on-site that had the necessary qualifications. Afterward, we sent an email or a phone call asking them if they would be interviewed, and if they agreed, the process could continue. For most interviews, our team used a semi-standardized approach. This would mean questions would be prepared ahead of time with the group deciding where the interview would go; however, these questions were flexible depending on the knowledge of each expert [28]. As the point of this method is to get information relating to sites, there is no need for the interview to be standardized, as this would limit the interviewee to a set path. Interview questions are provided in Appendix C. Many of these questions were adapted for each site. However, in general, the goal was to learn from the expert, gather relevant information for the website, and ask from their perspective on the site and Chiang Kai-shek.

There are weaknesses to this approach. One such weakness is that the interviewees may not share as much information due to discomfort, insufficient time to organize thoughts, or various other reasons beyond our direct control [28]. As a result, we had the potential to miss out on information relating to each site and Chiang Kai-shek. To compensate, the team sent specific questions beforehand so each expert knew how to prepare best and to prevent them from being caught off-guard. Another concern is that experts may give incorrect information due to answering the questions in real-time rather than having ample time to write an answer [28]. This point was harder to prevent but mitigated by allowing interviewees to redo their responses if desired. The most significant weakness is interviews are typically biased towards the interviewee's perspective. This issue is usually unavoidable, and any information gather from them needs to be crosschecked with other methods to triangulate a more accurate picture of each location and Chiang Kai-shek [28].

### 3.3.1 Data Collection

As mentioned above, we that confirmed the expert was willing to be interviewed, set up a time in which they were comfortable, and prepared questions ahead of time. The team originally believed we needed an interpreter, as Mandarin Chinese is the local language. However, many of our interviewees were comfortable speaking English, so this was unnecessary. Before arrival, the group needed to bring:

1. The interview consent form.
2. A paper copy of the interview questions.
3. A microphone to record the interview.
4. Notepads to write down important information.
5. A computer to take notes.

When arriving on-site, the team located the expert and greeted them, ensuring they were comfortable. The team asked if they were ready to be interviewed, and if they said they agreed, the team asked for roughly five minutes to set up. The location was best to be in a quiet place, and although noise was often inevitable. The team started recording on a 3, 2, 1 countdown, asking the interviewee to introduce themselves and begin asking questions. The roles of asking questions and writing answers were separate, which minimized mistakes. When asking questions, we made sure the interviewee had ample time and was comfortable. This was achieved by initiating small talk or asking questions that smoothly transitioned into the topic. Questions mostly followed the semi-standardized approach, but if the interviewer noticed a point to be expanded upon, they asked the expert to continue explaining. These questions took as long as necessary, although most interviews took roughly an hour. Once the interview was finished, the interviewer notified the expert if they had anything else to add and stopped recording from the microphone. The experts were thanked for their time, and the team packed all equipment.



### 3.3.2 Field Locations and Schedule

Typically the location of the interview was mainly dependant on where the interviewee felt most comfortable. In terms of timing, this would mostly depend on the expert's schedule. The team tried to work around when they were available to avoid inconveniencing them.

### 3.3.3 Data Analysis and Visualization

After the interview, we uploaded the files from the microphone to an external hard drive. Much like archival research, we took extensive notes on what the expert said and incorporated important and relevant elements into the website. This information must also be checked alongside other methods to recognize patterns and determine the most accurate results [28].

## 3.4 Ethnographic Research on Tourists at Historic Sites

To gain a better understanding of each historic site, it is important for us to visit the tourist locations ourselves. Therefore, conducting ethnographic research as a part of our field research provided us with important details that would have been missed if we had just simply referenced online and written sources. This methodology immerses the researchers within the environment of their study, allowing them to examine events and experiences as the subjects perceive them. This perspective enables researchers to collect first-hand accounts that accurately reflect the subjects' points of view [28]. Additionally, this research approach does not require specific language proficiency, as all the data was gathered through direct observations.

The primary focus of the ethnographic research would be to answer the following questions:

1. Is the historical site popular among tourists, locals, or both?
2. How many workers are present on the site?
3. What language is the information presented to tourists in?
4. What is the average time a tourist spends at the location?
5. How does the site portray the legacy of Chiang Kai-shek?

A significant obstacle in conducting ethnographic research relevant to this project is the impact of the researcher's presence on the environment being studied. The researcher's presence can potentially alter the natural behavior and interactions of the people and community being studied, affecting the validity of the research findings [28]. To mitigate this impact, we minimized our presence, and the research was done covertly through unobtrusive direct observation and did not involve interacting with tourists.

### 3.4.1 Data Collection

The researcher properly planned before conducting the ethnographic research, such as identifying the specific information they aim to gather at different stages of the process. The people conducting the ethnographic research observed the historic site's surroundings as if they were tourists. The time and duration of the field research was also recorded. With the research questions in mind, the researcher wrote notes of relevant observational data in a notepad or a note-taking app on their phone. Photos showcasing important details of the historical site were taken on a camera or phone. After exiting the field, the collected data was put together to create full and detailed field notes written in Google Docs. Photos were stored in a Google Drive folder.

### 3.4.2 Field Locations and Schedule

The ethnographic research was carried out at each historical site the team visited in Taipei. The main districts visited were Shilin, Beitou, and Taipei, which follow the Tamsui-Xinyi MRT Red Line. Since our main research topic is Chiang Kai-shek, we visited sites such as the Chiang Kai-shek Shilin Residence, Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall, and the 2/28 Peace Park. The time the research was done varied among each location, but most were conducted on a weekday during the historic site's busiest hours. Ethnographic research was carried out first during field research sessions. The time spent at the location varied due to the size of the site; we typically stayed slightly longer than an average tourist would to conduct our ethnography properly.

### 3.4.3 Data Analysis and Visualization

As the full field notes were being written, ideas that occurred, called observer comments, were enclosed in brackets to separate them from the actual data. These comments may be

theories that help to explain what was occurring in the field [28]. There were also personal reflections made by the researcher, called subjective reflections, which are about their emotional responses and experiences from observing events in the field, such as how a piece of information surprised the researcher. These reflections were set apart in brackets and labeled as "S.R." to distinguish them from other observations and comments made during the research process [28]. The field notes were standardized as much as possible to ensure consistency and organization. They included the time and date of entry and exit into the field and a brief, descriptive label that summarized the main focus of the field session [28]. The field notes were also simplified into a couple of paragraphs that would be placed on the website to give tourists an overall view of what the historic site is like and what to expect when visiting the site.

### 3.5 Project Limitations

Within each methodology, some limitations may pose challenges to the conduct of the research. The limitations of each method will be discussed and analyzed. During the process of archival research, we faced the challenge of limited access to sources, primarily in Mandarin Chinese. Despite this, the team attempted to utilize these sources by using Google Translate for translation. However, this method proved unreliable as there was a risk of losing important details and subtleties.

Surveys also have strict limitations that we must pay close attention to. Similar to the language issues faced with archival research, translation from English to Mandarin, and vice-versa, poses inherent research risks due to loss of nuance, subtleties, and intent during the translation process. Furthermore, as mentioned numerous times, there is a high probability of selection bias when conducting surveys. The possibility of selection bias could leave us with data that we cannot draw meaningful conclusions from. Since the team is collaborating with experts directly involved with the site, there may be a bias toward the importance of their respective sites.

In the case of ethnographic research, there is a concern about inaccurately representing tourists as the observations are made from the researcher's point of view. To mitigate this concern, multiple researchers were incorporated to conduct ethnographic research, which would reduce the potential for a singular perspective. The researchers were reflexive and self-aware of

their biases, assumptions, and cultural backgrounds that might influence their observations [28]. Another issue to consider is the timing of the field research on each historic site. The field research took place in March and April, meaning that the data collected would only reflect these months and would not account for the increased tourist traffic during other times of the year. To address this issue, the team collected data from other sources, such as tourist reports or surveys, to supplement the data collected during the field research.

### 3.6 Ethical Considerations

When conducting archival research, selection bias and the selection of information to present can arise. To address this bias, we stated that the research is from a foreigner's perspective and how that has impacted the tourist experience. Working with international and Taiwanese students and Professor Shih at Soochow University also helped mitigate any Western bias. The professor's Taiwanese background and the help of the students ensured that the information was presented in a way that could be easily understood by both foreigners and locals in Taiwan. By being transparent about the team's background and working with a diverse group of individuals, the goal is to minimize biases and ensure that the information is presented objectively.

When conducting surveys, protecting information and confidentiality is essential to consider. Many respondents may be uncomfortable with their personal information being collected and stored. There are many ways that we addressed this concern. Firstly, it was imperative to make any questions in the survey that ask for personal information optional. This would allow respondents who may not want to give personal information the ability to complete the survey. Other respondents could still be able to give personal information if comfortable. However, as noted by Lune and Berg, we must “avoid keeping identifying records and lists any longer than is absolutely necessary” [28]. This would entail deleting the records of the survey after our data analysis.

Since interviews are voluntary, the interviewee must consent to be in the interview before the process can begin. The team must also inform the interviewee that their words and opinions will be used in the project. In addition, they may need to sign a consent form to be recorded and be informed that their words may be used on a public website. Depending on their comfort level,

microphones may or may not be used, although, for all of our interviews, the experts consented to use a microphone. The files for the audio were stored on an external document, and at the end of the project, the files that were not used were deleted, as recommended by Lune and Berg [28].

Ethnographic research involves engagement with people, communities, and cultures. Therefore, it is essential to consider ethical considerations to ensure that the research is conducted responsibly and respectfully. In some cases, obtaining informed consent from participants was crucial in ethnographic research. They needed to be fully aware of the purpose and nature of the study, and the use of their data. However, this may not be needed for this type of research as the researcher made unobtrusive direct observations and did not interact with tourists. There is also a risk of causing harm or offense to subjects by sharing sensitive information in the final report. The researcher did not provide personal information within the field notes and website to mitigate this.

## **4.0 Website Development**

The team developed a website to convey the information collected from archival research, surveys, interviews, and ethnography. The created tourist route was displayed on the website for tourists to reference. The intended audience for this project is foreign tourists who would be visiting Taiwan and want to learn more about its complex history. The method by which we convey our findings must be intuitive and easily accessible to the average person. A website containing the tourist route and the collected data was the best choice. Websites are easily accessible for anyone with an internet-capable device such as a smartphone, tablet, or personal computer. Websites are also more digestible than a traditional written report containing our findings. By creating a website, we could maintain the quality of our research and findings while understandably presenting them to the largest possible audience. The project website was hosted on Soochow University's School of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences page via a hyperlink to our website. The style of our website aims to be consistent with Soochow University's website so that the transition is as seamless as possible.

## 4.1 Data Collection

The data collection for the website was mostly based on the information collected from the previously described methods. Each site has a page on the website that includes photos and paragraph descriptions that provide the site's historical background and how they are related to Chiang Kai-shek. Most of the photos on the website were taken by us while we visited each site. Historical information was mainly collected through archival research, interviews with historians and site staff, and survey responses. There is also information on how to travel to the site using public transportation and more logistical information such as pricing and hours of operation. Much of this logistical information was collected through ethnographic research and archival research. There is also a paragraph at the end of each site page that showcases the team's opinions of each site and offers questions for tourists to think about while visiting the site. Many updates made to the website were made after reviewing the information collected at each historical site visit.

## 4.2 Home Page

The home page includes a picture of Chiang Kai-shek and a paragraph briefly explaining his history and impact on Taiwan. Below, this section includes an introduction and a photo of the created tourist route. This route takes the user through all the chosen historic sites in a way that tells them a story of Chiang Kai-shek's past and slowly transitions into the impact he has had on Taiwan, good or bad. This route also enables tourists to reflect deeply on each historical site's impact on them as new history is uncovered at each new site. An interactive map of the tourist route is included on the home page and each site, which helps readers visualize where each site is located.

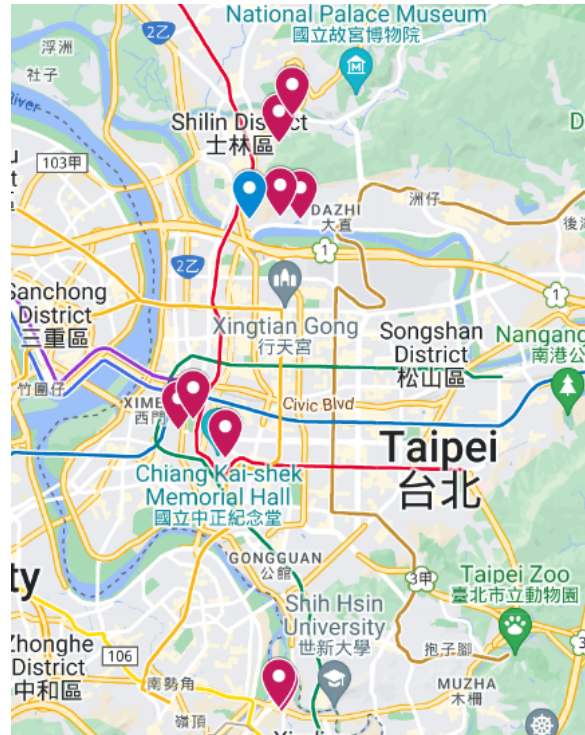


Figure 1. A map of the tourist route that is used on the website.

### 4.3 Main Route Pages

Each route page includes a detailed tour route map with numbered pointers at each site location. A more in-depth description of the route is provided below the map. A sidebar lists the site locations in the order they should be visited, with a short description of each site below. The user will be taken to our site page when a historical site is clicked.

### 4.4 Individual Site Pages

Each historical site has a page that provides photos, historical information, logistics, a paragraph on our thoughts on the site, and questions for the users to consider. There is a large photo provided that showcases the main attraction of the historical site. Below the photo is a paragraph narratively telling the site's history and any interesting facts. Logistical information such as how to get to the site from the MRT Red Line, hours of operation, accessibility, and pricing are provided below the historical section. The last paragraph showcases our personal opinions and thoughts on the site.

## 4.5 About Us Page

The About Us page includes a group photo of our team, sponsor, and the Soochow University students who aided in the development of our website. A paragraph under the photo describes who we are and why we created the website. Under that section, we include an individual photo of each team member and provide a short description with our name, who we are, and our main contributions to this project. We also provide a short paragraph on Worcester Polytechnic Institute and a link to our main school website.

## 4.6 Technical Website Development

During the initial stages of creating the website, a website template was made using Canva. This helped the team visualize the basic idea of what the website would look like and how it would be formatted. Much of the website is based on Soochow University's School of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences website, such as the colors, font, and formatting. The website was developed using Webstorm, an integrated development environment (IDE) that allowed us to write the necessary code. For the website, we wrote HTML to define the website layout, CSS to style the website, such as font and colors, and JavaScript to implement high-level scripting if needed. To collaborate, GitHub's version control features were used. The website files were put into a GitHub repository which all four team members can edit concurrently. The website is hosted on GitHub pages, a service provided by GitHub that allows us to host our website on the internet such that others can access it via a hyperlink.

## 4.7 Limitations

As the website is initially written in English, it will not be as accessible to those unfamiliar with English. If a user is more tech-savvy, they may be able to use Google Translate to automatically translate the page into whichever language they are most comfortable in. Another limitation of website development is making the website more accessible to the general public. One of the project's main goals is to inform tourists and foreigners about our tourist route, and having a website that is hard to reach will hinder the number of people who will learn about the history of Chiang Kai-shek. For the duration of this project, the website is on Soochow



University's School of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences website. Although Soochow University's status improves the website's validity, it might be hard to reach tourists.

## 4.8 Ethical Considerations

The website is public for anyone to see, so the team has to be careful about what is being written and published. Ethical considerations from past methodologies come into question, such as confidentiality. When publishing our information, the team needed to ensure not to publicize any personal or identifying information the subject did not consent to. Anonymity is important as the website should not cause any harm or offense to the locals or potentially cause others to harass them for their personal opinion. Another ethical consideration is ensuring personal bias is kept out of the writing. Especially with the section about our personal opinions, the team was careful not to include any opinions that could offend anyone or show that a certain side is being supported. This is important because Chiang Kai-shek is a very controversial figure, with a significant divide between the younger and older generations.

## 5.0 Findings

The team used archival research, interviews, surveys, and ethnographic research to gather information about each site relating to Chiang Kai-shek to present on a website. This website informs tourists and foreigners about the legacy of Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan through sites they could visit. Tourists should be able to learn about sites that encapsulate Chiang Kai-shek's influence, and by the end of the route, they should be able to formulate their own opinion about his legacy in Taiwan. This goal requires a neutral presentation of the information gathered in this section.

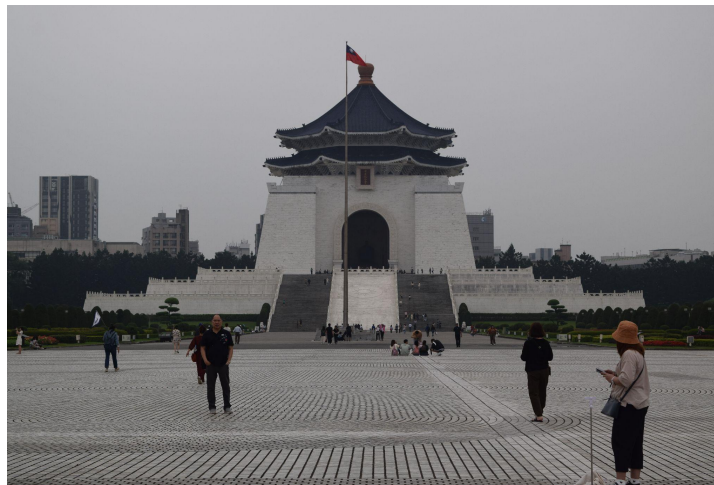
### 5.1 Site Visits

The team gathered invaluable information for tourists by visiting the sites in person. Most online information about Taipei historical sites is either absent or in Mandarin Chinese. The process of visiting each site gave us insight into many of the lesser-known aspects and information that tourists may find valuable. Further information, such as transportation to the

sites, relative accessibility, and cost of access to each site, are also included to ensure the tourist has the best possible experience.

### 5.1.1 Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall

Located next to the Chiang Kai-shek MRT station on the red line is the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall. This grandiose monument to Chiang Kai-shek was constructed to honor the former ruler after his death in 1975. The memorial is built in a vast open area in the middle of the bustling city of Taipei. The plaza, renamed Liberty Square in 2007, has been a popular area for public gatherings since its construction due to its large area and cultural significance. Contained in this area are also the National Theater and National Concert Hall. The memorial hall is a raised white building with a blue roof reminiscent of traditional Chinese architecture, with a single Republic of China flag roughly 100 meters in front of the building itself.



*Figure 2. The exterior of Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall.*

After traveling up a long staircase shown in Figure 1, onlookers are greeted with an enormous bronze statue of Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang's depiction of this area is almost god-like, with the massive statue towering over all visitors. The statue is flanked from both sides with large ROC flags that bear the Kuomintang emblem, a remnant of the era in Taiwan where the line between the KMT party and the state was blurred. The floor is stone fitted with a red carpet that lines the walkway up to the statue. The site reflected the fanatical devotion that many in Taiwan felt towards Chiang Kai-shek and clearly shows the strength of Chiang's cult of personality that was constructed during his rule.



*Figure 3. Bronze Chiang Kai-shek Statue.*

What once was a place that all Taiwanese would visit to pay their respects to Chiang has recently become somewhat controversial over the past few decades, especially since the end of martial law. For some Taiwanese citizens, the memorial perpetuates the legacy of authoritarianism in Taiwan. However, for many, Chiang Kai-shek is still the savior of Taiwan, who fought the Japanese in World War II and prevented a communist takeover. Due to this discourse, the team observed fascinating aspects and exhibits at Chiang Kai-shek memorial hall. In the statue room, a staircase leads to the inside of the memorial. This area houses many exhibits that display not only historical artifacts relating to Chiang but also exhibitions about Taiwan's road to democracy and the legacy of authoritarianism. One exhibit outlined Taiwan's path to freedom of speech and the nation's progress toward liberal democracy in the post-Chiang Kai-shek era. The duality of Chiang's depiction in this memorial was very interesting.



*Figures 4 and 5. Exhibits inside Chiang Kai-shek memorial hall regarding Taiwan's journey towards freedom of speech.*

The memorial is free for all to visit and is highly accessible via public transportation, so much so that it has its own dedicated MRT station. While our initial impression of the memorial was that it was inaccessible due to the large staircase, two side entrances at ground level exist on either side of the memorial. Inside these entrances are elevators that will take you to all exhibits inside the memorial and the statue itself.

### 5.1.2 Chiang Kai-shek Shilin Residence

The Chiang Kai-shek Shilin Residence is where Chiang lived in the Shilin district of Taipei. He lived in the house from 1950 to when he died in 1975. As stated in section 2.3, the house and the surrounding property were opened to the public in 1996, underwent restoration in 2006, and reopened in 2009 [20]. When Chiang lived in the house, it saw several important political figures, such as US President Nixon, whom Chiang was close with. The residence is near the Shilin MRT station, and visitors can take a bus to cover the remaining distance. It features several extensive gardens for tourists to walk through for free and Chiang's house. Both the garden and the house are wheelchair accessible. The house requires 100 NTD to enter, although students may receive a discount of 50 NTD. Provided with the admission is a device with an audio guide that explains the purpose and significance of each room inside the house. Furthermore, most rooms contain Chinese and English plaques explaining their contents. Following the audio guide and the plaques, the team took approximately 30-40 minutes to tour the house, and visitors should roughly take this long as well.



*Figure 6. Chiang Kai-shek Shilin Residence exterior.*

The house also contains artwork, treasures, literature, and furniture relating to Chiang Kai-shek and his wife. As a result of being his residence, the information given about Chiang is about his personal life rather than his political work. For example, visitors can walk through his bedroom, and the corresponding plaques describe his daily routine and hobbies. Perhaps being a consequence of focusing on his personal life, the residence paints Chiang in an overwhelmingly positive light. The residence never mentioned Chiang's controversial acts and instead focused on light-hearted comments, such as his wife's paintings, his Christianity, and the ornate furniture he possessed. Tourists who follow our route will humanize Chiang more after visiting his residence and will hopefully see a complete picture of Chiang's personal life. It should also be noted to tourists that the residence overlooks many of Chiang's political actions, and tourists may form a highly skewed perception of him if they only visit the residence.



*Figure 7. Photo of Jesus Christ in Chiang's Bedroom.*

### 5.1.3 National Human Rights Museum & White Terror Memorial

The National Human Rights Museum displays relevant human rights archives during the authoritarian rule of Taiwan. The location we went to was the White Terror Jingmei Memorial Park. Its main feature showcases the prison used to house political enemies of Chiang Kai-shek and the KMT and citizens suspected of being communist spies. It is located near the Jingmei station and the Dapinglin station on the green line of the MRT. The museum contains bathrooms and a small cafe and is mostly wheelchair accessible, with some buildings having bumps in their entrances. It takes approximately 1-2 hours to tour most of the museum. Tourists can enter Building 1, the visitor center, to receive an introduction to the museum, maps, and an audio guide in the form of a handheld device.



*Figure 8. Entrance/Building 1*

The map shows a recommended route throughout the museum for an optimal experience. As the museum is built using the prison layout, there are multiple different buildings for tourists to explore and learn about. Each of these buildings serves a different function. For example, the first building the map recommends tourists visit is a courtroom where prisoners were tried for crimes against the state. Another building displays the squalid living conditions of the prisoners. Although the prison was renovated before it became the National Human Rights Museum, it was clear that living conditions were far from ideal. In one room, almost 25 prisoners were squeezed into a cell where they had less than half a square meter of space on average per prisoner. Not all buildings displayed their uses; however, some merely explained different facets of the prison,

such as its history. Although the museum is tourist-friendly, many signs are only in Chinese, so non-native visitors may need a translator to read these signs or listen to the audio guide. Located on the far side of the museum is a monument honoring those who died during the White Terror and from the prison. It consists of a long row of names, each on a separate stone that circles a pond.



*Figure 9. The Political Dissenter Prison*

After seeing the condition the political prisoners were kept in and hearing the number of people incarcerated, innocent or guilty, the team saw Chiang Kai-shek in a much darker image, as a dictator who locked away anyone he saw as a threat. Even with the threat of communism, it is challenging to justify Chiang Kai-shek's actions when the prison was active.

#### 5.1.4 228 Peace Park

The team took a political history tour of the 228 Peace Park led by TourMeAway, which leads free tours in Taipei. The park is dedicated to those who died in the 228 incident. This incident started when a female tobacco seller was beaten for illegally selling cigarettes. Angry bystanders started to revolt, and riots ensued when a soldier's bullet hit and killed one of the bystanders. Although Chiang Kai-shek did not directly start the incident, as he was not in Taiwan at the time, the incident is indirectly linked to it as he did not fully address the damage, instead putting Taiwan under martial law and starting the White Terror.



*Figure 10. Entrance to 228 Peace Park.*

The 228 Peace Park is located outside the NTU Hospital MRT station and is wheelchair accessible. It consists of many gravel pathways, trees, grass, and shaded areas for visitors to enjoy and reflect upon the incident. Located inside the park is the main 228 memorial monument. It consists of 3 cubes, symbolizing indigenous people, Mainland Chinese people, and the Japanese influenced Taiwanese people who all inhabited the island at the time.



*Figure 11. 228 Memorial Monument.*

In the middle of the structure is a large tower, and surrounding the cubes is a shallow, circular pond. This water trickles around the side before splashing off, representing the tears of the victims. Stones are placed on the pond to allow visitors to enter the monument. Tourists are supposed to enter on the right side, the darker side, which represents how history is dark and violent, and exit on the left side, the lighter side, which represents the bright future. In the middle of the monument is an open cavity to a waterfall, which represents the wailing of the victims'



families. Visitors are encouraged to place their hands on the railing around the waterfall to look in, causing a natural bowing motion to pay respects to those who died.



*Figures 12, 13, and 14. Trickling Water, Stone Walkway, and Open Waterfall, Respectively.*

The monument is a somber look into Taiwan's dark history and fight for human rights. During the tour, we noticed a shift in tone from other tourists as they visited the monument. As the tour learned the context surrounding the monument, people quieted down and respected those who protested and died for human rights. It was clear that the 228 incident was not to be taken lightly. Future tourists who visit the park and the memorial will find Taiwan's path to democracy complex and tragic. Although Chiang Kai-shek was not solely responsible for all of the deaths, he was complicit in them in order to remain in control.

### 5.1.5 Presidential Office Building

The Presidential Office Building serves as the center of political power in Taiwan, featuring the offices of the President and the Vice President of Taiwan. It is located between the Ximen and NTU Hospital MRT station and is close to the 228 Peace Park. It was built in 1919 but has since undergone several repairs and renovations to what it is today. The building combines many architectural styles, including Japanese, Chinese, and European influences. It held the president's office and was also home to Chiang Kai-shek's regime. The building was renamed Chieh Shou Hall in 1946, meaning "Long live Chiang Kai-shek" [31]. It is open from 9 am-12 pm, and visitors can enter from the northeast entrance. Guided tours are also available at 9:15 am and 10:45 am, although audio tours are also available via audio devices. Visitors must have any bags searched and their passports checked for security. The building itself is wheelchair accessible, and as its layout is a rectangle, visitors should have an easy time exploring the building. Many rooms available to visit are similar to museum rooms; a central theme and plaques on the walls explain the event or theme. For example, the building has an exhibit on the Hakka, an ethnic group within Taiwan. In the middle of the building is a garden, where tourists

are usually free to walk through, although when the team visited, this area was closed off due to construction. Chiang's influence on the Presidential Office Building has decreased as the building's points of interest have been modernized, potentially showing how Taiwan is moving away from the generalissimo's rule.



*Figure 15. Presidential Office Building*

#### 5.1.6 Ching-kuo Chi-Hai Cultural Park

The Ching-kuo Chi-Hai cultural park is a museum and park created by renovating Ching-kuo's home compound. It is located in the Zhongshan District of Taipei City. It is easily accessible by public transport, as the National Revolutionary Martyrs' Shrine is located directly next door to the park and has its own bus stop. The entrance to the park is an office where tourists will be directed to purchase a ticket to enter.



*Figure 16. Entrance Office to Ching-Kuo Chi-Hai Cultural Park*

The park and museum admission fee is 100 NTD unless a student ID is presented, which provides a 50% discount. Entrance to the park and Ching-kuo's residence will be 180 NTD, and tourists may also receive a 50% discount for this ticket with a student ID. Both tickets are free to preschool children. Tickets may also be purchased on the website before visiting. It is recommended to buy tickets online if you are also visiting the residence as you need to reserve a time for a guided tour. After purchasing the ticket, you will be directed to the park entrance, where you can self-guide yourself. The Ching-Kuo Chi-Hai Cultural Park is wheelchair accessible and includes both English and Chinese explanations. The first stop through the park is the residence of Chiang Ching-Kuo. This is where he lived from 1958 to 1977, where he eventually died in his own home.



*Figure 17. Chi Hai Residence Entrance Sign*

The next stop in the park is the exhibition hall. The exhibition hall depicts artifacts and the history and life of Ching-Kuo. The first showroom is broken into six units, according to the website. The first is the memorabilia of Ching-Kuo. This is where his significant events and important actions are depicted in photos and historical texts. The second unit is his presidential story. This is where his personality and good actions towards his citizens during his presidency are depicted. The third unit depicts critical moments in his life and how these affected him and his future. The fourth unit shows "Governance of Ching-kuo". This includes the assets, construction, and political achievements he passed down to future generations of Taiwan. The fifth unit shows the "smile" of Ching-kuo. This unit is just pictures and stories from when he would visit citizens in the countryside and outer cities. The sixth unit of the first showroom shows the strength of Ms. Fang Liang. Ms. Fang Liang is Ching-kuo's wife, and this unit is dedicated to her as she kept the face of their family and allowed him to focus on his political

affairs. The second showroom shows the personal side of Ching-kuo and his hobbies and diaries. It also depicts the writing and memories of his staff throughout his presidency. This showroom allows the public to connect more with Ching-kuo.



*Figure 18. Entrance to Chi-Hai Exhibition Hall*

### 5.1.7 National Revolutionary Martyrs' Shrine

Before Chiang Kai-shek approved the reconstruction of the Martyrs' Shrine in December 1957, it used to be a Japanese Martyrs' Shrine for the Taiwanese soldiers lost during the Colonial Period. After the approval of the reconstruction, the shrine was completed on March 25, 1969, and was officially reopened as the National Revolutionary Martyrs' Shrine. It is now home to bust statues depicting notable wartime martyrs from the ROC. The shrine is dedicated to the soldiers lost during wartime during the establishment of the ROC and depicts the names of soldiers and civilians lost.



*Figure 19. Entrance to National Revolutionary Martyrs' Shrine*

The shrine is located in the Zhongshan district of Taipei City and is easily accessible by bus. The National Revolutionary Martyrs' Shrine bus stop is located directly across the street from the shrine. The shrine is also free to the public during its open hours from 9 am-5 pm every day. To fully walk through and appreciate the shrine, it would take about 30 minutes. However, those who choose to watch the changing of the guards may have to stay longer since it only happens once per hour. The team highly recommends watching the changing of the guards as it shows the guards' dedication to their job and the respect they show towards the dead. Before entering the Martyrs' Shrine, it is recommended to read the rules to the right of the entrance. After walking down the walkway and coming up to the actual shrine, it is required to remove any hats before entering. You will also be asked to be silent and not take photos, as this is a place to respect the dead.



*Figure 20. National Revolutionary Martyrs' Shrine*

### 5.1.8 Shuangxi Park

Shuangxi Park is a beautiful park located within the Shilin district of Taipei City. It is located between 2 roadways within the city and provides a nice break in the scenery. The park is within walking distance from the Chiang Kai-shek residence but is also easily accessible by public transport or Ubike.



*Figure 21. Entrance to Shuangxi Park*

The park was a gift to Chiang Kai-shek and used to be where he would take his daily walks. The park is approximately 5 acres large and allows the locals to connect with wildlife within the city. The park is popular in mid-late spring for its lily pads that envelop the pond's surface. During the rest of the year, the pond is easily visible, and you can see wildlife, such as fish and turtles swimming below as you walk over the bridges. Young children and their parents can often be found feeding the birds or the fish or having picnics in the pavilions placed directly over the water. The park is also a popular spot for both tourists and locals as it provides a beautiful background for photos. It is mostly handicap accessible as most of the ground is flat, except for a few bridges that require stairs. The park also has public bathrooms, drinking water, and trash cans to prevent pollution. The entrance on the side closer to the Chiang Kai-shek Shilin Residence has a cave you can walk through, almost as if it is transporting you from the city into a beautiful garden.



*Figures 22 and 23. Scenery from Shuangxi Park*



*Figures 24 and 25. Scenery From Shuangxi Park*

### 5.1.9 Grand Hotel

After retreating to the ROC and becoming president, Ching Kai-shek found it challenging to entertain high-ranking officials and important guests, so he built the Grand Hotel. Madame Chiang officially established the hotel in the Zhongshan District of Taipei City in May 1953. As the first lady of the ROC, Madame Chiang was tasked with entertaining high-ranking guests and officials. Without the support and push of Madame Chiang, the Grand Hotel would not be the 5-star hotel it has always been known to be.



*Figure 26. The Grand Hotel*

The Grand Hotel is easily accessible by public transport, having its bus stop named after it. It is easily accessible for wheelchair users, with elevators and ramps throughout. The hotel is 14 stories tall and has 500 guest rooms throughout. It also has four restaurants within the hotel for its guests and even a FamilyMart for late-night snack runs. Located on the VF floor is a small

historical area depicting the officials and famous stars that have stayed at the Grand Hotel. This floor is also home to the meeting rooms and banquet halls for meetings and events. There are also many shops on this floor for guests to enjoy during their stay.



*Figure 27. Depictions of High-Ranking Officials and Guests at the Grand Hotel*

## 5.2 Interviews

The team initially planned to interview site experts to learn more about each site's significance. However, many sites had no staff or did not respond to emails or phone calls. After receiving few responses, the team instead interviewed two tour guides, a KMT representative, and a staff member at one of the sites. The two tour guides came from TourMeAway, a company with expertise in cultural sites and history in Taiwan. In addition to interviewing the KMT, the team also wanted to interview the DPP, although they were unresponsive to our emails, despite visiting them in person. These interviews were vital in understanding Chiang Kai-shek's bigger picture and how the general public views this figure.

### 5.2.1 Tour Guide Andy from TourMeAway

After interviewing the head tour guide, Andy, from TourMeAway, it was apparent just how controversial Chiang Kai-shek is and how he is getting increasingly less popular. Andy was born in Taipei in 1990, so only a few years after the lifting of Martial Law. He studied English and has been working as a tour guide since 2017. One of the main differences he saw while growing up compared to now was the transition of the education system. When he was first in



school, the textbooks contained much propaganda and praised Chiang Kai-shek as a hero. As he progressed, the textbooks were slowly replaced by more factual ones containing more general history about Taiwan and less propaganda for Chiang Kai-shek. This is one of the main reasons the older and younger generations are split between their beliefs on Chiang Kai-shek. The older generation believes he was a hero who protected Taiwan from invasion and being taken over by the mainland. While the younger generation is less interested in what he did for the history of Taiwan and focuses more on the atrocities and incidents that he committed or occurred during his time as president. Generally, people above 50 are more sympathetic to Chiang Kai-shek. Being a historian and tour guide, while Andy disagrees with his actions, he sees Chiang Kai-shek as a historical figure essential to the country of Taiwan we know today. Andy also mentions that there is not much about Chiang Kai-shek anymore, as people are trying to erase his image from the public. One such example is the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall; in recent years, the hall has started transitioning to a more neutral stance and removing much propaganda and depictions promoting Chiang Kai-shek. The younger generation and DPP want to remove the massive statue depicting Chiang Kai-shek, while the older generation and KMT believe it should stay. The older generation is also much more familiar with Chiang Kai-shek than the younger generation and is much more resistant to changing the memorial hall.

### 5.2.2 Tour Guide James from TourMeAway

While visiting 228 Peace Park, the team went on a free walking tour with the company TourMeAway. The tour guide, James Lau, was very informative and passionate about his work, so the team set up an in-person interview with him. James was born in Taiwan but has moved worldwide since he was young. He received three associate degrees in Wyoming history and attended UC Irvine. He is also a former reporter for the China Post and is currently at the Central New Agency State Media, performing free tours in his free time. While James does not support a political party, he shares most of his views with the New Power Party, which means he is more DPP-leaning than KMT-leaning. He was born in 1990, 3 years after the official lifting of Martial Law, but claims these changes had no effect until at least 1991. James also received the last few years of Chiang Kai-shek propaganda education, noting, “Being a kid born right before the end of martial law, we still had martial law education. I was raised worshipping Chiang Kai-shek” [Lau, 24]. Like much of the older generation, James’ parents and grandparents see Chiang

Kai-shek as a hero that defended Taiwan from Japanese rule and the CCP invasion. This is so ingrained in their minds due to the propaganda they grew up with that some even believe the Japanese bombed Taiwan in the 1940s rather than America. He immediately thought of the Memorial Hall when asked about the most relevant site related to Chiang Kai-shek. As a tour guide, he believes the Memorial Hall is a very interesting site and important to the history of Taiwan, even though it was built just to worship Chiang Kai-shek. As a younger Taiwanese local who values democracy, he is much more critical of the Memorial Hall due to its original representation before its neutralization. Much like other locals, he is very fond as he grew up spending time and playing within the walkways and arches of the Memorial Hall. As with his political views, James agrees more with the younger generation, where he believes that Chiang Kai-shek did many horrible things, but he also can see that times were different during the war. He also agrees that “[his] legacy was polarizing” among Taiwanese individuals, noting that views are drastically different from person to person [Lau, 24]. Even with his acknowledgment about it being a different time, he still believes Chiang Kai-shek’s actions were not justified. He also mentions that Chiang Kai-shek did more in mainland China than he ever did for Taiwan.

### 5.2.3 Staff Member at Ching-Kuo Chi-Hai Cultural Park

While visiting the Ching-Kuo Chi-Hai cultural park, the team met a staff member who gave a quick museum tour. Afterward, the team asked if she would answer a few questions during an impromptu interview, and she agreed. As the museum focused on Chiang Kai-shek’s son, Chiang Ching-Kuo, we wanted to understand the legacy the former leader left behind in his son. Chiang Ching-Kuo grew up with only his mother and did not meet his father until much later in his life. He stayed in the USSR for his education and learned about socialism, although when he returned, Chiang Kai-shek tried reforming him away from leftist ideologies. As Chiang Ching-Kuo became older, he assumed different political positions to support his father. They shared similar ideologies as part of the KMT, although he was more flexible and pragmatic in beliefs. Although both believed in reunification with China, Chiang Ching-Kuo was more open to having friendlier relations to maintain the status quo. After Chiang Kai-shek died, his son became president, and public opinion of both highlights their differences. At the end of his presidency, Chiang Ching-Kuo lifted martial law and allowed multiple parties to run for office, opening Taiwan to full democracy. As a result, propaganda about Chiang Kai-shek decreased,

and the public could freely learn and make opinions about the former leader. As a result, the younger generation is much more against Chiang Kai-shek, often seeing him as a dictator. However, both are still seen as traditional Chinese mainlanders, as they served in the earlier period of the KMT. The information gathered from this interview helps us understand the bigger picture of Chiang Kai-shek's legacy.

#### 5.2.4 Kuomintang Spokesperson Alfred Chia Hsing Lin.

In order to understand why Chiang Kai-shek was so captivating for many Taiwanese people despite his brutal legacy, we interviewed Alfred Chia Hsing Lin, the Spokesperson, Deputy Director of Culture, and Director of the KMT Party History Archive for the Kuomintang. Upon entering the Kuomintang headquarters in Taipei, we were led to Alfred's office. On the wall of his office was a map of East Asia that asserted all of the Republic of China's claims in the mainland. On top of the Chinese mainland on this map read the name "Republic of China," which reflects Chiang Kai-shek's dream of Chinese reunification under the ROC government. The first question we asked was related to the goals of the KMT. Alfred responded directly, stating that the Kuomintang's goal is "safeguarding Taiwan and democracy" along with "fighting for the future" [Lin, 32]. The Kuomintang is also pro-reunification due to what Alfred described as Chinese cultural identity. The team noticed that this sentiment was identical to the ideology of Chiang Kai-shek. Based on this perception, we followed up this question by asking Alfred what he thinks about Chiang Kai-shek's legacy in Taiwan. Alfred first acknowledged how polarizing a figure Chiang is and how there is a disconnect regarding his legacy in Taiwanese society. However, despite this rift, Alfred insists that Chiang Kai-shek was a strong leader "who achieved a lot and sacrificed a lot for his country" [Lin, 32]. Alfred summarized his perceptions of Chiang by calling him "a true patriot". His perception was that while Chiang Kai-shek was responsible for some human rights abuses, his actions were a product of the time and that it was unfair to judge them by modern standards. This perception of Chiang Kai-shek's actions was similar to how Alfred perceives the 228 incident. When asked about the 228 incident's legacy in Taiwan, Alfred again stresses the importance of the Cold War as context for the legacy of the event. Alfred does explain that it is a tragedy that innocent people were accused but believes that Taiwan must move forward together. Recently there has been a push to remove the legacy of authoritarianism and Taiwan and change the Chiang Kai-shek memorial hall into a neutral place

that celebrates democracy. This would entail removing the large statue of Chiang Kai-shek. We asked Alfred his thoughts on neutralizing the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall. Alfred was passionate about this topic, explaining that the memorial has become a significant symbol for Taiwanese people. Furthermore, Alfred casts doubt as to whether or not the neutralization would be popular among the citizens of Taiwan. He believes removing the statue would cause public outcry and that the DPP and their supporters “would not dare remove the Chiang Kai-shek memorial hall” [Lin, 32]. This interview allowed us to get a unique perspective on Chiang Kai-shek and added more nuance to his portrayal.

### 5.3 Survey Results

The team initially wrote the survey questions in English and later translated them into Chinese by the Soochow University students aiding us in the project. The survey was then posted on several Facebook groups and forums such as SCU TALK, DCARD, “I’m people of Beitou, Shilin and Datong,” and “I’m people of Tamsui.” The survey was open for a month, and we received 17 responses. Almost all the responses were in Chinese and had to be translated into English using Google Translate. The survey results cannot be used to summarize everyone’s view of Chiang Kai-shek since there is significant selection bias. 15 out of the 17 responses are from people between 18 and 24 and are most likely students from Soochow University. The survey results also cannot determine the views of all political parties since a majority of the survey respondents align themselves with Pan-Green political parties such as the DPP. In contrast, there is only one respondent who aligned themselves with a Pan-Blue political party. When the respondents were asked to write down a few historical locations that they feel showcase Chiang Kai-shek's impact in Taiwan, the only sites that were mentioned are the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall, Shilin Residence, and the 228 Memorial Park, which are all included within our tourist route and were determined as sites of interest prior to the analysis of the survey. Most respondents answered a 3 or 4 on a scale from 1-5 of how familiar they were with Chiang Kai-shek’s history. However, all but five respondents are from Taiwan and had most likely learned about his history through school. After receiving these survey responses, we realized that most of the information collected did not help develop our website and tourist route. As stated, most of the information we hoped to gain had already been found before the survey. Survey questions related to respondents’ personal opinions on Chiang Kai-shek, such as “How

would you describe Chiang Kai-shek's legacy in Taiwan?" were also of limited usefulness. Many responses to these survey questions ranged from hyperbolic, nonsensical, or unhelpful. One respondent stated that "Chiang Kai-shek killed Taiwanese in the same way as Hitler killed Jews" in response to a question about Chiang's legacy in Taiwan. Another respondent simply responded "hard" to the same question. More thoughtful responses were typically homogenous and expressed that he is controversial. We believed it to be a surface-level analysis of Chiang Kai-shek that would not be particularly useful to include on our website. Our interviews gave a more nuanced explanation of Chiang's legacy than the survey responses. However, the responses give us an insight into the general public's knowledge of Chiang Kai-shek. However, once again, the responses cannot represent Taiwan's overall opinion of him as there are not enough responses to give us a true conclusion.

## 5.4 Website

The website development was completed using the information presented in the previous sections. The website gives an introduction to Chiang Kai-shek and the purpose of the tourist route. The visited sites are presented to the user along with all pertinent information. Furthermore, the Google Maps API was utilized in the website's development, allowing for an interactive map of all tourist route sites. The site is hosted at the following hyperlink: <https://samkarkache.github.io/TamsuiWebsite/index.html>. This page will also be accessible through Soochow University's School of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences website.

## 6.0 Conclusion

The lessons learned from Chiang Kai-shek's depiction create questions for nations worldwide who want to confront their past. Consider the Washington Monument in the United States. This monument was built to honor America's first president and founding father. Washington's depiction based on this monument is exceptionally straightforward and unapologetically positive. However, people in America point to the fact that Washington owned almost 124 enslaved people during his lifetime, which is unconscionable by modern standards. Imagine an exhibit inside or near the Washington Monument that condemns Washington's role in the institution of slavery in the United States. This hypothetical exhibit does not exist, but it mirrors the discourse of Chiang Kai-shek's legacy in Taiwan. Tourists stand in awe at the massive statue at Chiang Kai-shek memorial hall and understand how important Chiang Kai-shek was to the Taiwanese people. However, only a few floors below this statue, exhibits educate about Chiang Kai-shek's role in Taiwanese authoritarianism. The heroism portrayed by Chiang's regime at the National Revolutionary Martyrs' Shrine contrasts the solemn nature of the former prison-turned-museum that honors the victims of the White Terror. Chiang Kai-shek's opulent residence connects to him on a personal level and contrasts with the somber 228 memorial, reflecting a dark time in Taiwan's history. This dichotomy makes Chiang Kai-shek's status in Taiwan particularly unique and valuable to learn about for tourists worldwide.

Most national portrayals of pivotal figures are not nuanced; a figure is either good or bad. Understanding historical nuance is a valuable skill that can be learned by examining Chiang's legacy in Taiwan. Rarely is history black and white. By creating the Chiang Kai-shek tourist route, we can educate tourists about Chiang's legacy in Taiwan and express the importance of nuance and objectivity when assessing the legacy of historical figures. Once the tourist can make their conclusions about Chiang's legacy, their perspective on historical figures worldwide will be forever changed. The lessons learned about Chiang Kai-shek applies to historical figures in tourist's home countries. For instance, American tourists, after using this tour route, may be able to have more nuanced discussions about former Presidents, many of whom are very nuanced historical figures. Next time an American tourist looks at the Washington Monument and contemplates what Washington means in America, they will have the tools to have a nuanced discussion about his legacy thanks to the example of Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan.

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# Appendices

## Appendix A: Project Schedule

Table 1. Project Schedule

Tasks	Week						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Create Website Template							
Interview Outreach							
Send out Surveys							
Interview Preparation							
Conduct Interviews							
Visit Historical Sites							
Update Website							
Finalize Research							
Write Final Report							
Submission							

## Appendix B: Online Survey Questions for Locals and Tourists

Hello and thank you for choosing to participate in our survey. We are a group of students from Worcester Polytechnic Institute in the United States who are researching the impact of Chiang Kai-shek on the Tamsui River watershed in Taiwan. We are working on a tourism website that contains a path focusing on Chiang Kai-shek. It would be helpful if you could answer our survey questions thoroughly as it would help us create an impactful and informational tourist route.

This research will be published to the general public and all personal information will be anonymous. This survey should take no longer than 10 minutes if you choose to complete it. This survey is 100% voluntary and you are not required to answer any questions you do not want to.

- Please check here if you consent to the use of your survey response in our published work as stated above.

What is your country of residence?

Please select your age range.

- 18 years or younger
- 18-24 years old
- 25-34 years old
- 35-44 years old
- 45-54 years old
- 55-64 years old
- 65 years old or older
- Prefer not to say

What is your gender?

- Female
- Male
- Prefer not to say

What political party do you align yourself most with?

- KMT
- DPP
- Prefer not to say
- Other...

Please list a few historical locations that you feel showcase Chiang Kai-shek's impact. Why do you think that these locations are culturally significant?

How familiar are you with Chiang Kai-shek? (Not Familiar 1-5 Very Familiar)

What do you know about Chiang Kai-shek and his impact on Taiwan?

What are your thoughts on Chiang Kai-shek?

How would you describe Chiang Kai-shek's legacy in Taiwan?

If you have visited historical sites related to Chiang Kai-shek, which was the most impactful one, and how did you learn about it?

Are you a tourist or are you a Taiwanese local?

Tourist

Local

*If tourist is selected*

- What information about traveling was helpful to you when planning your trip to Taiwan?
- What information would you have liked to receive about traveling before coming to Taiwan? (ex. transportation)
- What information do you wish you knew about Chiang Kai-shek before coming to Taiwan?
- Is there other information you would like to include on this topic?

*If local is selected*

- What would you like foreigners to know about Chiang Kai-shek?
- What is your opinion about foreign tourism in Taipei?
- How would you like our website to portray Chiang Kai-shek?
- Is there anything you would like foreigners/tourists to know before coming to Taiwan? (ex. social rules, transportation)
- Is there other information you would like to include on this topic?

## Appendix C: 1-on-1 In-Person Interview Questions

Hello and thank you for choosing to participate in our interview. We are a group of students from Worcester Polytechnic Institute researching the history and culture of Taiwan in the Tamsui River watershed. This research will be published to the general public, but is completely anonymous unless you choose to provide your personal information. This interview should take

no longer than 30 minutes if you choose to complete it. This interview is 100% voluntary and you are not required to answer any questions you do not want to.

- Please check here if you consent to the use of your personal information in the interview as stated above.

Listed below were the questions that were supposed to be asked for each of the locations. These questions were a general guide, although different questions could have been asked depending on the context.

- Could you please introduce yourself to us and your role here at the [site name]? What is your educational background, and what is your area of expertise?
- What is [site name], and how is it relevant to Taiwan?
- What is the historical background of the [site name]?
- Are there any organizations that fund or maintain this location?
- Is [site name] popular among tourists? Is it popular within a certain demographic of people?
- Do tourists know about the [site name]'s history?
- Is there anything you would like tourists to know about the [site name] before visiting?
- How has the [site name] adapted over the years regarding his controversy?
- Do you foresee tourists being interested in learning about Chiang Kai-shek and learning about him through the Memorial Hall?
- How would you describe Chiang Kai-shek's legacy?

Listed below were the questions asked for tour guide Andy from TourMeAway.

- Could you please introduce yourself to us? What is your educational background, and what is your area of expertise?
- Do you foresee tourists being interested in learning about Chiang Kai-shek? How much do you think most tourists know about CKS?
- I heard that TourMeAway used to have a tour about Chiang Kai-shek. What sites were visited during the tour?

- In your opinion, relating to Chiang Kai-shek, what were your favorite sites to visit? What were your favorite sites to explain and tour?
- What do you believe are core components on a tourism website that could be added on our website?
- The CKS memorial hall is undergoing some changes regarding his controversy. Are other tourist sites changing as well, and do you agree with any changes? (Ex. The statues)

Listed below were the questions asked for tour guide James from TourMeAway.

- What is your educational and professional background?
- What political party do you most closely align to?
- How would you describe CKS and his impact on Taiwan?
- What do you think is the most relevant site/sites on Chiang Kai-shek?
- What are your thoughts on the neutralization of the CKS Memorial Hall?
- What are the most common questions from tourists? (CKS, traveling in Taiwan)
- What is a good way to advertise our website to tourists?

Listed below were the questions asked for the KMT.

- What is your role in the KMT?
- What are the KMT's goals?
- How would you describe Chiang Kai-shek's legacy and impact on Taiwan?
- Given the changes in Taiwan and the younger generation, is the KMT's view of Chiang Kai-shek changing?
- While looking through your website, we noticed that there is no mention of Chiang Kai-shek directly, however you note the events that are linked to him. Is there a reason why?
- On your website, you mention the 2/28 Incident in this sentence, "The 2/28 Incident takes place in Taipei, leading to province-wide civil disorder in Taiwan."
- We have heard that people correlate the 2/28 Incident with Chiang Kai-shek, what are your opinions on this?

- Could you briefly describe the events of the White Terror and how it has affected Taiwan?
- What are your thoughts on the neutralization of the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall?