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Taiwan's Gastrodiploacy: Strategies of Culinary Nation-Branding and Outreach

台灣美食外交—國家道地美味與推
廣策略

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Abstract

This research was done to understand the mechanism of Soft Power and focused on its cultural aspect. It gives an in-depth analysis of a recent field of public diplomacy, gastrodiploamacy, the positive attraction of the foreign audience by fulfilling their stomachs with good food. This field is pretty new in the academic sphere and does not have yet a complete case study as I intended to give by using the case study of a middle power: Taiwan. The choice of Taiwan is not thoughtless. The Republic of China has increasingly been diplomatically isolated and therefore the use of public diplomacy may be one of its only options to keep a positive place in the 21st century.

With this study I try to show the potential benefit that gastrodiploamacy can have on people perception on how it can help to identify a country culture through its culinary culture. Through comparative study, perception analysis and policy analysis, I try to show that not only does gastrodiploamacy is an effective strategy for increasing awareness and attracting the foreign audiences, it could be also used to enhance relationship between two countries.

這個研究的重點，是軟實力的機制與它的文化層面。我首先深入了解軟實力的機制，再來聚焦於公共外交及美食公共外交，還有它對群眾產生的正面影響力。目前，這個主題還算新穎，學術領域還沒有很多學者做比較深入的研究，也還沒有全面的案例分析，或比較分析。所以我打算採台灣的案例分析，實現這個方面的不足。選台灣這個國家也不是沒道理的。第一，因為台灣在國際關係方面，算是一個中等權力體，也因為最近中華民國的外交日俱孤立。因而公共外交，可能是台灣持續為自己在 21 世紀爭取國際地位的唯一辦法。因為一個國家的道地美食，也會反映這個國家的文化與歷史，所以也展現了每個國家的特色。我的研究，分析了國家美食對國家形象的影響，也評估了潛在益處。我採取比較分析，感知分析及政策分析，並打算呈現美食公共外交，不僅對國際能見度的提升，也對促進國家雙邊關係，都是一個非常有效的策略。

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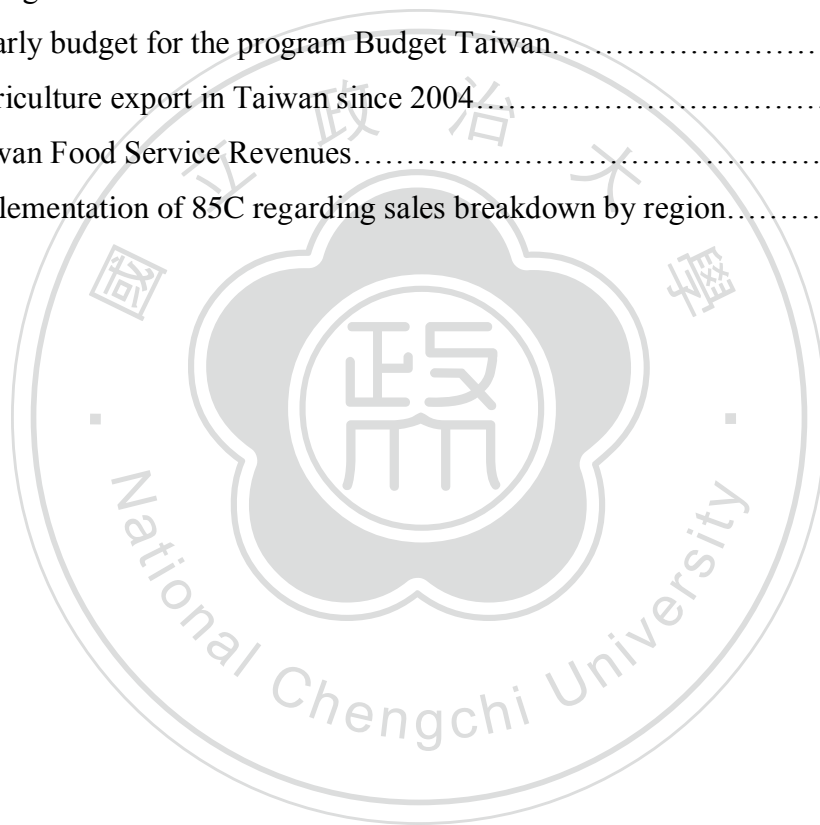
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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research Motivation and Purpose

Nowadays, it has never been easier to communicate, not only in terms of transportation that has surged with the increase of trans-states trade but also with regard to the information traveling from one country to another which became almost free and available for the masses. Moreover, the quantity of information available has also increased. From an American TV-show, pictures of Macaron in Paris or a Bollywood movie, the variety of information have never been so easily accessible and so vast. Consequently, it has never been so easy to reach another regional culture or have knowledge about what is happening at the opposite side of the world. Along with this new trend also came the growing importance of non-state actors that now actively participate in the international order hence the growing concern of states to shape the opinion of the foreign audience. The ability of states to shape the foreign audience preference allows them to use their power not using violent or coercive means but instead to create acceptance and sometimes cooperation with foreign states. This is what Joseph Nye defined as soft power. To achieve this goal, States have used their resources to broadcast their voice abroad, to initiate mutual understanding and more generally to explain to the foreign audience who they are. Indeed, main states have been trying to use the way their messages are sent abroad. Various tools can be used in order to reach people abroad. The United States Information Agency is the tool the US used to export their culture during the Cold War. The same as Frances' Alliance Française or the U.K British Council. If propaganda was the way states tried to control the foreign audience opinion before, nowadays, they use a subtler way called public diplomacy which uses soft power resources in order to shape the foreign audience preferences and help to create a positive opinion abroad. The main purpose of this

research is to understand how states use public diplomacy abroad and its efficiency. I chose to focus on gastrodiplomacy, a sub-field of cultural diplomacy, in order to understand how food culture can be exported abroad and affect the foreign audience.

Gastrodiplomacy and food culture have been growing topics as possible public diplomacy resources. As people become more aware of other states' culture such as art, music, literature, cuisine can also be used as an effective tool. Food is part of basic human needs and every person on the planet, coming from any country, needs to eat. This assumption makes the impact of gastrodiplomacy potentially increased. Not a lot of works have been done in the field of Gastrodiplomacy and its potential influence. Only recently, Paul Rockower started to identify gastrodiplomacy as a useful tool for public diplomacy and a possible source of soft power.

Firstly, I choose to give a close review of public diplomacy and the use of soft power strategy. In order to enter the sub-field of gastrodiplomacy, I will review the literature regarding gastrodiplomacy and its modern practicality and challenges and differentiate culinary diplomacy and gastrodiplomacy. Working with public diplomacy strategy raises the problem of measurement. Measuring the impact of public diplomacy on a foreign public had been a growing concern. I should, therefore, identify possible measurement tools in order to measure a country's soft power impact and the accountability of public diplomacy. I then argue what method I should use to calculate the impact of gastrodiplomacy on the foreign audience perception.

The main research goal of this study is to understand if gastrodiplomacy matters in the public diplomacy area and how does this impact nation branding. More generally, I analyze different gastrodiplomacy strategies worldwide as a tool of public diplomacy and I hypothesize that it could be used as an effective strategy to attract people from other countries. Thereafter, I observe the case study of Taiwan in order to measure the impact of such strategy.

1.2 Literature Review

1.2.1 Soft Power

In 2016, the Obama doctrine was published by *the Atlantic Magazine*. While analyzing the hard work of leaders in their foreign policy, the interview with Barack Obama allows us to observe the role of power in international relation. “Real power means you can get what you want without having to exert violence” quoted Barack Obama, giving an endorsement of the definition of soft power (Goldberg, 2016). The Obama doctrine was far from being only focusing on soft power but it definitely plays a role.

In order for us to understand why the concept of soft power in the field of power matters, it is important to understand the value of soft power. Firstly quoted by Joseph Nye in 2003 and officially published in 2004, soft power differentiates itself from hard power by the type of capability used. While hard power is the capability of acting or influencing other state behavior by using a coercive or commanding way, soft power tries to attract and move opinion to create positive outcomes. Lacking soft power or ignoring the importance of soft power may have negative impacts on one’s society. Accordingly, the increase of Islamist terrorism worldwide but especially in the Western world may be linked with the failure of the Western society to create a positive image in the Middle East. As a matter of fact, the American government abusing its hard power during the Iraq War, created a strongly negative perception of the United States in the Muslim community and have been seen as unilateral moves by the international community (Leonard, 2002). Some may argue that soft power doesn’t solve every problem and states should rely instead on hard power (Gilpin, 1983; Lukes, 2005). Military resources have a lot more influence in order to fight wars against another country and even Nye recognizes the importance of hard power. Hard

power resources should not be forgotten in the board of power. However, the cost of using military power has increased. The United States foreign policy is a perfect example of how hard power cannot solve everything. Their influence has taken a hit with their unilateral uses of military resources in Iraq, leading eventually to the rise of terrorism in the Middle East. Smart power gathers soft and hard power and can be used as a strategy to attract people as well as coerce them (Nye, 2011).

With the global information age, soft power tends to become even more important. People-to-people connection has become easier and the world is now transformed, shrunk as the quantity of information and communication channels increased (Simon, 1998). Legitimacy and credibility of state actors need to be considered on both the national and the international stage. Policies, therefore, need to be crafted in a direction that would attract rather than threaten.

Concerning foreign policy, the national interest is still the main focus of states. However, the use of the attraction behavior in order to achieve political goals has, according to the soft power argument, a better chance of success in terms of mobilizing cooperation than the coercive behavior. Ideas, cultural values, policies and institution can be used as currencies to attract (Nye, 2004).

The twenty-first century has indeed seen the emergence of low-cost communication means, which should make policymakers increasingly concern with soft power. Non-state actors have also gained in importance. National goals are difficult to achieve by a state on its own (Nye, 2011). The rise of influence of non-state actors means that states now need to cooperate in order to achieve the desired outcome. Foreign states but also non-states actor must act to support foreign policies. In this sense, soft power helps to create positive understanding and increase the possibility of having a positive outcome or at least support from other actors (Ross, 2003). Joseph Nye (2008) defined Public diplomacy as “an instrument that government uses to mobilize these resources to

communicate with and attract the people of their country rather than merely their government.”. Public diplomacy is one of the strategies that allow governments to use soft power (Nye, 2011). In order to better understand the use of public diplomacy nowadays, it is necessary to first review the different definitions given and then give a quick historical background of public diplomacy improvement since the cold war to understand its practices nowadays.

1.2.2 Public diplomacy

The term public diplomacy was first defined in 1966 by Edmund Guillion, the dean of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University and the creator of the Edward R. Murrow Center for Public Diplomacy. At the time, the Murrow Center brochure stated that:

“Public diplomacy deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy . . . [including] the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with those of another . . . (and) the transnational flow of information and ideas.”

According to the United States Department of states dictionary of international relation, public diplomacy is defined as:

“Governmental sponsored programs intended to inform or influence public opinion in other countries. The chief instruments of public diplomacy are publications, motion pictures, cultural exchanges, and radio and television” (1987) In order to give a full definition of what public diplomacy is, we should define the borders of public diplomacy. Public diplomacy differentiates itself from traditional or official diplomacy that targets government officials. Instead, public diplomacy focuses on foreign audiences. Public diplomacy is transmitted from one government to another country public. It focuses on the attitudes and the behavior of these foreign publics toward

the transmitter government (Wolf Jr & Rosen, 2004). The way information is carried to the foreign audience is also a matter of great importance. The border between propaganda and public diplomacy is really thin (Leonard, 2002). Public diplomacy and propaganda have a similar goal: to help to improve the image of the advocate or transmitter country in the targeted country. The difference between public diplomacy and propaganda lays on the way to achieve this goal. The main distinction is the method that public diplomacy wield to reach and communicate with the foreign audiences is less aggressive and more comprehensive compared with propaganda (McClellan, 2004). However, as said earlier, the term public diplomacy is pretty recent, the term propaganda was used instead until it gained a too negative connotation during the Cold War (Cull, 2008). A quick history check reveals that communication with the foreign public was carried out for a long time. During the Cold War, for example, the USIA (United States Information Agency) broadcasted major events at a global scale through newspaper, books, magazine and movies, which could have served to forge the opinion of the foreign audience (Cull, 2008b). The USIA is an example of a public diplomacy strategy. Through times, different strategies have been used by advocate countries in order to reach the foreign audience. The elections of Barack Obama in 2008 brought back the topic of soft power and public diplomacy and the role of traditional diplomats has evolved to become more adapted in order to spread information to the foreign audience (Copeland, 2009).

Culture is one of the potential resources that can be used to create positive outcome for the foreign audience. If public diplomacy focuses on other resources such as their foreign intervention or their political values, the term: cultural diplomacy, focuses on transmitting the culture abroad. Alliances française, the British Council or Italian Dante Alighieri are examples of cultural diplomacy office. Those governmental organizations are established abroad in order to be the cultural representative

of their country and enhance the understanding of their culture abroad. Hollywood blockbuster or BBC also play their role in order to shape the cultural landscape around the world (Paschalidis, 2009).

The next section focuses on the different strategies of soft power, instead of hard power, to respond to the modern demand, and improve the way public diplomacy can be implemented and reach foreign audiences.

1.2.3 Public Diplomacy Strategy

When it comes to organizing a public diplomacy strategy, it is important to understand how soft power works. Firstly, the government should identify its resources. Nye firstly identified three sources of soft power based on three major resources:

- Culture (set of practice creating meaning for the society such as high culture or mass entertainment);
- Political values (laws and institutions that impact the perception abroad); and
- Foreign policy (the rightfulness of commitment abroad).

In order to have an efficient public diplomacy strategy, McClory (2015), in *Soft Power 30 Global Ranking*, asserts that it is essential to picture soft power resources efficiently. However, soft power resources are not easily computed for practitioners of public diplomacy. Each state will have different and multiple resources and in order to have an efficient strategy, the public diplomacy first mission is to define its resources and then to think about possible implementation for those resources to attract or create a positive outreach on the foreign audience. Secondly, in order to create a positive image out of the soft power outcome, the government should have a coherent public diplomacy strategy with a clear message (Wimbush, 2009). Thirdly, the government should focus on targeting the right target in order to create a positive response.

Strategic communication can help public diplomacy to choose “the right target with the right message” (ibid, p.4). In the matters of strategic communication, McClellan (2004) gives a major contribution to explain the audience targeting.

Table 1.1 Pyramid of Communication



Source: McClellan, Public Diplomacy in the context of public diplomacy

Public diplomacy has to deal with the present image of the country by the targeted audience. The communication pyramid represents the possible public certain strategy can target by dividing them into different categories. Public diplomacy will use different strategic communication to target this difference in the public. At the bottom, a large amount of public can be reached but as we go upward into action strategies, the amount of member in each category is becoming smaller as we move to the top and the cost of communication will increase as the amount of public member

decreases. The most basic communication happens in the awareness level. This communication is using mass or traditional media to reach the biggest public as possible. After becoming aware, a part of foreign public will show some interest toward the advocate country and is expected to look for more information about it. This audience will start to look for language classes, cultural events and centers, in order to gain more knowledge about this country. Eventually, some of the interested audience will look for more knowledge about the history, culture, economics and deeper knowledge on the advocate country. A part of this foreign audience will then look to actively support the advocate country in think-thank or publishing articles related to the advocate country. The higher level of communication is action. The member of this category will be a diplomat or government members. The action level of communication is closer to what traditional diplomacy is while the lower level is more related to public diplomacy. Awareness, Interest and Knowledge may therefore be created through a public diplomacy short-term strategy. Identifying the need of each group in terms of resources must be understood in order to create an efficient strategy.

In sum, using the right resources to create an efficient policies and targeting the public to create a positive outcome is the hard mission that public diplomacy carries. It is thereafter essential for the government that conducted public diplomacy strategies to analyze the potential outcome which is described in the methodology.

1.2.4 Communication Strategy

In order to understand the impact of such strategy, much focus must be taken on what story a state want to tell, on what narratives must this states focus. Therefore, public diplomacy cannot be conducted without focusing on communication strategy. McClelland's pyramid of communication helps to understand which group to target. However, it does not indicates efficient narratives. Strategic narratives, the means for political actors to construct a shared story that domestic and

international actors can understand, must be taken into consideration when creating a public diplomacy strategy. The construction of a strategic narrative involves the focus on both the domestic story and the state relation to international actors. It is an identity claim of the past and the present both at the domestic and international level. Three steps are describing strategic narratives: the formation, the projection, and the reception. The formation of the narratives includes concern on the current situation of the actor in term of political goals, domestic politics, constraints of history and relation to the world current events. The projection of the narratives includes the analysis of access to the audience in term of communication resources and strategies, new technology resources and dissemination network. Finally, the reception of the strategic narratives focuses on the credibility of the message to the audience, the types of reception and the factors that may have affected the reception (Miskimmon, O'Loughlin, & Roselle, 2017). With borrowing the strategic narrative of the communication field, states may be able to shape a sustainable image to the foreign audience.

According to Melissen, nation-branding and public diplomacy are complementary. They both try to influence the foreign audience and have an important domestic dimension. Nation-branding and public diplomacy have a similar long-term approach on how to be successful rather than traditional diplomacy that is more based on current events and relations. The difference between public diplomacy and nation-branding is the goal of those strategies. If nation-branding deals with the promotion of the country comparative advantages, public diplomacy aims at maintaining good relation with other states (2005). In term of communication, however, same communication strategy may be used by both public diplomacy and nation-branding. However, it would be wrong to compare nation-branding and public diplomacy as marketing strategies. As Anholt, the father of nation-branding, quoted, it is states intention that changes people perception

and rarely advertisements. Nation-branding and public diplomacy may therefore take some insight on branding such as: the importance of a clear and coordinated communication with the foreign audiences, the notion of reputation as an external phenomenon that isn't under the control of the actors (brand image), the notion of measurement of this reputation (brand equity), the notion of internal management of brand (brand purpose) and finally the importance of innovation for this brand (Anholt, 2008). States must, therefore, focus on their policy and the possible distribution of those policies abroad in order to reach the foreign audience. Moreover, an important similitude between brand and nation-branding is the importance of brand competition. With the multitude of international actors, states now have to compete to make their image a global influence (De Chernatony, 2008).

1.2.5 Middlepoweriship

In the perspective of middle power states, soft power strategy is even more coherent than for stronger states. Nowadays, only one country, the USA, is considered as a true superpower, and therefore middle powers must be adaptive in order to find their place in this multipolar world. Middle powers, in this anarchic international system are more likely to be good neighbors (Neack, 2000) and, therefore, they will be more tempted to use a soft power strategy.

A middle power is defined as “neither a great power nor a small power.” Instead, middle powers should be considered somewhere in the middle. The definition of a middle power can therefore be criticized as being too vague. When considering middle power, we take into account the great relativity and possible hierarchy of state powers. Some may consider the structural approach and compare the middle powers in terms of GDP, military might, population; others may consider middle powers in respect of their behavior: being good neighbors that are involved into human rights, environment or educational improvement (Heine, 2009). To be a middle power in a

behavioral way, which is the closest to the soft power definition, a state must exercise international leadership but only on certain issues, work through international agencies or organization and participate in the promotion of peacekeeping (Gilboa, 2009). According to this definition, we can analyze that middle powers may not have the necessary hard power resources but instead use its soft resources to become a relevant actor in the international system. Moreover, as they are less resourceful than other great power, they “have to distinguish themselves in some attractive area” (Gilboa, 2009). Middle powers still use the same resources (political values, foreign policies, culture) as great powers, but they need to be adaptive and compete not only in the shadow of those great powers and other emerging non-states actors (Potter, 2009). According to *the Public Diplomacy Magazine* of 2009, “middle powers” such as Brazil, South Africa, Canada or Mexico are more tempted to use public diplomacy in order to break out and differentiate themselves from the other countries.

1.2.6 Gastrodiplomacy

If gastrodiplomacy is a new term in the field of public diplomacy, food, however, has been influencing our life forever (Pollan, 2014). Food anthropology has been studied as an important subject for human life not only because food is a living necessity but also because it bounds with the nation identity. Back to the Greek literature, Aristotle discussed the importance of sharing a meal to create bound even with your enemies (Constantinou, 1996).

In 1825, a famous food philosopher, Brillat-Savarin, was saying, “The destiny of nations depends on how they nourish themselves.” (Brillat-Savarin, 1825).

Food being such an important part of our life, in her book, *You Eat What You Are: A Study of Ethnic Food Traditions*, Thelma Barer-Stein (1979) stated:

“Without food we cannot survive. But food is much more than a tool of survival. Food is a source of pleasure, comfort, security. Food is also a symbol of hospitality, social status, and has ritual significance. What we select to eat, how we prepare it, serve it, and even how we eat it, are all factors deeply touched by our individual cultural inheritance.”

Accordingly, food can potentially be used as a vehicle for Soft Power. However, it is often badly conceptualized on how to achieve that. Indeed, food itself, as a sterile, necessary product, may not be appealing to the general public. Instead, it is the cultural-symbolism behind food that allows it to transport norms and ideas as food travels. Food represents more than just of its necessity for living but also a different lifestyle, values or norms.

Therefore, It is normal to consider its role in international relations (Reynolds, 2012).

In *the Public Diplomacy magazine* of Winter 2014 about Gastrodiplomacy, the editor Shannon Haugh (2014) defines Gastrodiplomacy as a new tool of public diplomacy that brings an opportunity to reach the target audience through food. It's an edible nation branding.

The term Gastrodiplomacy is relatively recent in the field of public diplomacy. Therefore, there is sometimes confusion on how it should be called: food diplomacy, culinary diplomacy or diplomatic cuisines are every so often used without differentiation. For the purpose of this research, we shall define clearly what we call gastrodiplomacy, and what gastrodiplomacy is not.

Gastrodiplomacy is not the use of food donation from a country to a devastated or poorer area in order to improve the image of this country for the local population that receives food. This instead will fall in the term of food diplomacy. Food aid can be a part of a public diplomacy strategy but it doesn't fall into the category of cultural diplomacy or nation- branding strategy like gastrodiplomacy does. Instead, food diplomacy is the uses of foreign engagement as a resource of soft power.

Gastrodiplomacy is not a government-to-government approach where food is used as a tool during conventional and formal diplomatic dinner in order to create a positive emotion during negotiation. Although this approach is relevant in traditional diplomacy, it doesn't fall under the definition of gastrodiplomacy but will rather fall in the definition of culinary diplomacy (Chapple-Sokol, 2013).

Instead, Rockower (2012) defined Gastrodiplomacy as a public diplomacy strategy, and more specifically a cultural diplomacy attempt to communicate culinary culture to foreign publics. It is a people-to-people engagement that uses food as a tool for creating a positive emotional connection with the audiences (Rockower, 2014). Gastrodiplomacy can also be seen as a culinary public diplomacy (Chapple-Sokol, 2013). The strategy behind gastrodiplomacy differs from public diplomacy in terms of how information is communicated. Instead of using tangible information, gastrodiplomacy is linked with the emotional connection, intangible information in order to create a positive perception (Constantinou, 1996). Instead of winning minds and hearts with ideas like traditional public diplomacy, you win in with stomachs. In this sense, gastrodiplomacy is particularly innovative. Another variation of gastrodiplomacy compared with culture diplomacy is the strategic communication and the possible audience that it can target. Creating awareness through food may be a common strategy (McClellan, 2004), but cuisine may also incorporate a high cuisine implication (Carême, 1842) and can be closely linked with culture, geography, history and national identity (Osipova, 2014). Therefore, not only can gastrodiplomacy be used to create awareness, but it can also continue to be efficient in both the interest and knowledge stages of communication. In the case of gastrodiplomacy, chefs become -public-diplomats as they can bridge the difference and foster the understanding of the history and culture of their country.

Cuisine from another country can be used as a particular brand in order to attract and create positive emotions on the audience. Through this particular emotional connection, it helps to create awareness or increase the interest of the foreign audiences. Programs such as the Diplomatic Culinary Partnership from the US, Global Kitchen or “Malaysian Kitchen to the world”, “All in good tastes: savor the flavors of Taiwan” are only a few examples of gastrodiplomacy campaigns that were launched recently. Most of those culinary nation-branding strategy are commonly launched by East and Southeast Asia countries (Rockower, 2012).

Two trends of Gastrodiplomacy may be observed along with traditional state-based diplomacy:

- Gastrodiplomacy “polylatéralism” which is the interaction between states and non-state actors in the realm of public diplomacy (Wiseman, 1999).
- Gastrodiplomacy “paradiplomacy” which is sub-state actors engaging their own international diplomatic engagement (Wolff, 2007).

Gastrodiplomacy has gained importance in the literature and some authors use gastrodiplomacy and the Contact Hypothesis as a possible conflict resolution tool (Mendelson-Forman & Chapple-Sokol, 2014; Osipova, 2014). For the purpose of my thesis, I consider gastrodiplomacy as a possible subtle tool for middle powers, like Taiwan, to gain recognition and differentiate themselves from other great powers.

1.3 Methods and Cases

Measuring the efficiency of public diplomacy has been a growing concern as public diplomacy strategy acquired importance (Pahlavi, 2007). The positive impact of public diplomacy is however difficult and more subtle to calculate (Gyan, 2009). Unlike hard power, which can be measured through calculation of military forces, population, economic power; soft power is more

subjective to measure. The attractiveness of political institution, foreign policy or culture, less often lies on computable quantitative variables. *Soft Power 30* published yearly brings a big contribution in measuring countries soft power resources. In the review, McClory (2015) built a framework to help to measure the efficiency of countries soft power strategy by ranking them according to both objective and subjective data. Objective data are measured through indices: governmental efficiency, individual freedom, cultural penetration abroad, attractiveness of education in term of foreign students, universal values etc.... Subjective data are evaluated with the use of international pooling that surveyed the favorability toward a country through the perception of the foreign country, its cuisine, its luxury goods, its foreign policy, its technological product, its contribution to global affairs and the desire to visit this foreign country (McClory, 2016).

With regard to gastrodiplomacy, subjective data collected through surveys is one of the way used in order to compute the impact of this strategy, as shown by Ruddy's quantitative analysis of gastrodiplomacy (Ruddy, 2014). Policy analysis regarding budget expenditure and campaign prospect can also be used to measure the objective data and observe the impact of some of those strategies.

In this section, I explain my own framework on gastrodiplomacy measurement regarding subjective data and objective data. The purpose of this research is to find the relevance of gastrodiplomacy in the field of public diplomacy. Through the literature review, we have seen a growing interest for the subject in this field. However, I choose to go further and to see if food as a tool of public diplomacy has been used by countries in the recent years. Therefore, I will go over some major international events and statements that could relate the growing importance of food as a cultural ambassador and nation-branding.

I would like to first confirm that gastrodiploamacy or food as a tool for reaching foreign audience matters and can be used as a strategy. I will review how food has become a tool for public diplomacy. Examples of the growing importance of food include: the acceptance of some traditional cuisine in the UNESCO lists of cultural heritage and food being the center topic of some major, global reaching, events such as the Milan Expo of 2015. In addition, with a list of the major change of focus toward gastrodiploamacy, the literature review will also support my view on the importance of food heritage and culture and its possible use as a cultural ambassador.

Therefore, my first hypothesis is:

H1: Gastrodiploamacy can be used as a useful tool to reach a foreign audience.

And the counter hypothesis is:

H0: Gastrodiploamacy is not relevant in the field of public diplomacy.

For the purpose of this thesis, I am also looking forward to analyzing the impact of gastrodiploamacy as part of the soft power resources of one middle-power. However, some problems with research design come with this research question. I choose to focus on one middle power because they tend to be less resourceful than other great powers and therefore need to be more innovative in their public diplomacy strategy. The choice of a middlepower's soft power policy regarding gastrodiploamacy is made for practicability of the research but also because it was used as an example in Rockwell's paper. Therefore, I choose Taiwan in order to enhance the understanding of Taiwan public diplomacy and also go further on what Rockwell has done in the field of Taiwan gastrodiploamacy. Moreover, the case of Taiwan is particularly interesting for it has many middle power competitors in the region. The examples of Korea and Japan as Taiwan gastrodiploamacy competitors are often cited.

For the purpose of this research, I would like to analyze the public diplomacy strategy and the culinary nation branding of Taiwan. To relate it to gastrodiploamacy, I would focus on nation branding campaign related to the Taiwanese food culture and analyze their impact through survey. Due to the relative novelty of gastrodiploamacy in the field of public diplomacy, it is troublesome to find an extensive literature or many studies on the subject and even harder to find a case study about one specific country. Moreover, as said earlier, the tools to measure the impact of public diplomacy are limited. In order to analyze Taiwan public diplomacy, I would focus on the impact of Taiwan campaign related to food in Taiwan and evaluate its efficiency through survey foreigner in Taiwan and evaluate their perception on Taiwanese food.

Two possible actors can be clearly identified for gastrodiploamacy:

- The Taiwanese government that will create cultural forum related to food to enhance its culture abroad.
- Taiwanese food or beverage companies that exported Taiwanese “traditional” food.

In order to evaluate the outcomes, I first observe if the strategy is still used after a couple of years. My expected result is that if the strategy wasn't working, the funding for the campaign would have stopped. Moreover, in the case of exported brands related to food, such as 85C or Coco, if those companies would not break even or made a profit in the foreign county, it is expected that they leave the country where they imported their brands meaning an ineffective outreach of the foreign audience. The main Taiwanese “food” companies that I would like to use include, for example, Din Tai Fun, Chef Hung Taiwanese Beef Noodle, CoCo and some others.

My second hypothesis is that:

H2: If the gastrodiploamacy strategy is working, we can observe a continuation of this strategy by the government or the companies for several years.

The counter hypothesis is:

H0: If the gastrodiploamacy strategy is not working, we can observe that the government or the companies that exported its cuisine stopped after several years.

To give the complete landscape of Taiwanese gastrodiploamacy strategy, I would also like to analyze the Taiwanese policy on Taiwan gastrodiploamacy with an in depth review and comments on its achievements and drawback. Moreover I complete the analyses with interview or feedback through email of some Taiwanese elites and Taiwanese chef on Taiwan gastrodiploamacy strategy.

The first outcome expected is that gastrodiploamacy, however not widely used internationally, has been used as an intangible public diplomacy tool. The national cuisine has been exported abroad in order to create a people-to-people bound. Interestingly, we noted that not only great gastronomic countries have used this technique such as France, Italy or Japan but also less developed “gastronomic countries” such as middle powers and this especially in Asia. The second outcome expected, through analyzes of Taiwan gastrodiploamacy is the assessment results and the possible outreach of gastrodiploamacy.

1.4 Outline of the Thesis

The thesis will be divided into five chapters.

The first chapter gives an introduction to the topic. It outlines the research background, the purpose of research and gives the research questions. The second part of the first chapter is the literature review. It defines more precisely the terms used and go through the existing literature regarding the topic. The literature review is divided into several parts. Firstly, I shortly define soft power focusing on the founding father of Soft power: Joseph Nye and his definition of soft power. Secondly, I examine the literature concerning public diplomacy strategy and its link with cultural

diplomacy. I then narrow down my topic by explaining the role of middle power and why it matters in public diplomacy strategy. Finally, I review the literature on Gastrodiplomacy. Gastrodiplomacy is a new research field, I complete the literature on food anthropology and try to underline the importance of food in a nation's culture. Lastly, I introduce my research method and analyze the possible methods that have been used regarding public diplomacy measurement.

The second chapter focuses on the use of gastrodiplomacy around the world. This chapter firstly gives a comparison of different gastrodiplomacy events that were organized across the world in the recent years. Relevant gastrodiplomacy strategies include the Milan 2015 Expo or initiative such as the Mobile Turkish Coffee, the UNESCO Intangible heritage in 2010, but also the Korean Cuisine to the world, the Global Thai program and eventually the All in Good Taste: Savor the flavor of Taiwan campaign. A second part will focus essentially on Taiwan cuisine resources and how they were used as tools to create positive attitudes in the foreign audience.

The third chapter analyzes and evaluates the results of the interviews and measure the effectiveness of Taiwan's gastrodiplomacy with objective and subjective variables to calculate the efficient and capture people's perception on Taiwan gastrodiplomacy.

The fourth chapter researches the outreach of Taiwan gastrodiplomacy strategy. It analyzes in depth the policy regarding Taiwan gastrodiplomacy strategy and looks upon the achievement of this policy and the different activities that have been used to reach the foreign audience. It also analyzes the drawbacks of this policy and through interview and policy analyzes identify the main problem regarding Taiwan gastrodiplomacy strategy.

The fifth chapter summarizes the research finding and proposes recommendations for further research and for improving further public diplomacy strategy.

Chapter 2: Comparative Perspective of Gastrodiplomacy

In this chapter, I sum up and compare some of the main events and strategy that focused on food, as the main tool, to create awareness. I first choose to focus on different events that were organized to create a positive perception and involved cuisine as one of the main tools. Those events were mainly organized in order to increase the understanding of not only one nation but of several. Those events do not try to raise awareness of one particular country but instead include different countries or focus on an issue. This part will enable us to understand how gastrodiplomacy can create an impact.

Secondly, I compare different campaigns on nation-branding that countries have used on gastrodiplomacy. Most of the initiative I am focusing on in this part are initiated by the public sectors, however, it is noteworthy that many private actors may have initiated their own strategy incorporating local food culture as a tool of soft power campaign. I believe that both attempts either through occasional events or greater nation-branding campaign may have affected the foreign audience perception. In order to have an effective impact, agents, either private or public ones, must pay attention to a number of issues on strategic communication. I will use a nation-branding marketing design to compare the different countries initiatives.

The third part focus on Taiwan. It analyzes Taiwan Soft power strategy and regards the difficulty of Taiwan diplomatic situation and bureaucratic situation. I then go through Taiwan public diplomacy and nation branding strategy to understand how The Office of Tourism and MOFA created an adaptive strategy to showcase Taiwan. Lastly, I focus on Taiwan

gastrodiplomacy strategy by using the Nation-branding marketing design and analyze Taiwan cuisine potential.

2.1 Gastrodiplomacy as a way to increase understanding between nations?

In 2010 UNESCO designated Gastronomic meal of the French and Traditional Mexican cuisine as part of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Human, assessing on the same way the cultural importance of cuisine and food sharing around the world. Recently, more countries culture on cuisine have been elevated as an Intangible Cultural Heritage of Human within 2013:

- The Japanese traditional meal (Washoku)
- The Mediterranean diet for Cyprus, Croatia, Spain, Greece, Italy, Morocco and Portugal
- The traditional making and sharing of fermented vegetable in The Republic of Korea (Kimjang)

In 2015, the Tradition of kimchi-making was inscribed but this time for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In 2016 UNESCO inscribed beer culture in Belgium as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Human. The most recent addition was Nsima, culinary tradition of Malawi in 2017. By focusing and inscribe food culture as an important part of human history, UNESCO shows that there are a growing interest and concern for the food culture and how it represents a country history.

Starting in early 2010, growing concern on the academic field focused on gastrodiplomacy and its potential impact. Soon after, events and meeting were organized to understand the place of food in our society and academic scholars, think tanks and government offices of foreign affairs started to take a step to increase the knowledge of worldwide cuisine and understand food diversity.

Academically speaking, we cannot omit the creation of The International Institute of Gastronomy, Culture, Arts, and Tourism (IGCAT). Established in 2012, this non-governmental organization empowers local communities, support and promote local cuisines. Alongside, the IGCAT supports and publishes experts aiming at the identification of the best practices of gastronomy and analyze them to make food culture a larger trend. Although not entirely focuses on gastrodiploamacy, The IGCAT allowed more research to be done in term of food and culture sharing and nation-branding.

If the academic field around gastrodiploamacy is still underdeveloped, some auctions were taken to emphasize the importance that cuisine could have to create more understanding of culture. Some of those events even went as far as trying to prone peace (Mendelson-Forman & Chapple-Sokol, 2014). Indeed, according to the contact hypothesis theory, food could create a great opportunity and help to decrease violence. Food, as a basic human needs, can create the right condition to foster understanding between nation the lack the necessary knowledge about each other (Osipova, 2014). The case of the Conflict Kitchen course, aiming at teaching a country culture while teaching its local cuisine to the participants, is an example of how food can foster understanding and may, to some extent, foster peace. Moreover, the influence of Global Kitchen does focus only on the increase of understanding about other nation but in particular case, food was used to promote a brighter future for the world.

The biggest and often cited event that promoted global food at the largest scale is the Expo Milan of 2015. From May 1st to October 31, more than 140 participants showcase developed ideas on local food and food sustainability. Along with the theme of food, the theme of pro-environmental food was a major debate of the Expo Milan. To this extent, gastrodiploamacy can

promote countries culture but also promoted a brighter global idea: healthy food and food sustainability (Garibaldi, 2015).

2.2 Gastrodiplomacy comparative analysis

2.2.1 Gastrodiplomacy strategic communication

Gastrodiplomacy is a subfield of cultural diplomacy and therefore uses the same tools to narrates its story: strategic communication. The strategy can be summarized in three different step in order to create an effective strategy. Firstly, the diplomats must understand their current output in the field of gastrodiplomacy. They must analyze the events and strategy that have already used those output and try to measure the impacted it created. Secondly, diplomats must target a goal in term of outreach and outcome. Finally, they must design a policy to successfully reach these goals.

To this extent, the gastrodiplomacy strategy is similar to nation branding strategy. Just like any promotional campaign, public diplomats need to summarize the strength, weakness, opportunity, and threat to efficiently translate their national cuisine into successful actions and reach its goal: creating awareness, interest and knowledge. The audience reception also has a particular importance as it can impact the effectiveness of one policy. Much attention must, therefore, be taken by practitioners to translate national cuisine as an efficient campaign of gastrodiplomacy.

In its analysis of comparative gastrodiplomacy strategy, Zhuang takes a communication point of view on gastrodiplomacy and uses a marketing analyzes. He observes that states actors use different marketing strategy to promote national cuisine (2015):

- product marketing strategy: to promote one's cuisine through establishing restaurant chains, developing food chains and trade with food business.

- food events strategy: the participation or organization of food festivals to reach directly the target audiences.
- coalition building strategy: The partnership with an organization to reach the public through an extended network.
- use of opinion leaders strategy: Using strategically or locally important celebrities and organization to raise awareness of the audience.
- media relation strategy: The use of traditional or social media to broadcast a message to the targeted audience.
- education strategy: Increase the awareness of the public through educative and participatory programs

I analyze different countries strategies through Zhuang strategic communication framework to compare the different gastrodiplomacy strategy design.

2.2.2 Asia: the Pioneers of Gastrodiplomacy

Gastrodiplomacy emerged in Asia as an attempt by Asian country to differentiate their unique flavor that is often mistaken for the neighboring country (de Melo, 2015; Strugar, 2015). Both privates and public actors can play a role in gastrodiplomacy and create a positive perception abroad through the specific cuisine and taste, therefore when comparing gastrodiplomacy campaigns from different states, some events or strategies may not be reported, I, however, try to compare as many strategies as I could using both private and public reports (Strugar, 2015).

In 2002, Thailand launched the pioneer of gastrodiplomacy strategy with two programs: “Global Thai” or “Thailand kitchen of the world”. Those two joint strategies aimed at opening Thai restaurants around the world ("Thailand's Gastro Diplomacy," 2002). Following this initiative, the number of tourists visiting Thailand has risen significantly.

Table 2.1 Comparative strategy of Thailand Gastrodiplomacy

Strategy	Achievement
product marketing strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promotion of Thai restaurant around the world. • Increasing the export of Thai food product. • Thai select, to certify that so-called Thai restaurant have at least 60% of their menu being real Thai dishes
food events strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organization of food festival in Thailand such as Thaifex world of Asia festivals.
Coalition strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thai food cooking competition held each year in Australian Drysdale campus in partnership with Thai Airways International that offered the winner a round trip to Thailand.
use of opinion leader strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The inaugural in 2018 of the Michelin guide in Bangkok rewarded 17 restaurants.
media relation strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Street food App launched for Bangkok, Chiang Mai and Phuket. • CNN short video clips: The “40 Thai foods we can’t live without” • "Thai food to the world” websites • YouTube videos on Thai street food and Thai food • TV series “somebody feed Phil” in Bangkok
education strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cooking class given in the “Guilford Young College” in Australia over summer. • Oriental Hotel Apprenticeship Program offered Oriental Professional Thai Chef Program and the Oriental Thai Cooking School to train those who want to work as chefs in overseas restaurants. • Professional cooking program in Thailand

This gastrodiplomacy initiative was followed by many other in Asian countries at different degrees and with different communication strategies.

In South Korea, the “kimchi diplomacy” started in 2009 and embodied an attempt to make the Korean cuisine one of the top five in the world (Moskin, 2009). In 2009, the Ministry of agriculture, food, and rural affairs created the Korea Food Promotion Institute to strengthen the competitiveness of Korean food and food industry internationally. Moreover, with the Winter

Olympic game being held in PyeongChang in 2018, South Korea was in the spotlight and took advantage of this great occasion to showcase its cuisine (Sojung, 2018).

Table 2.2 Comparative strategy of South Korea Gastrodiplomacy

Strategy	Achievement
product marketing strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment a Global Korean Food Network. • Establishment of Korean Food culture.
food events strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bimbipap backpacker food truck travels the world to sell tradition Korean mixed bowl. • K-food plaza during the Olympic Game of PyeongChang opened for the tourists. • World Korean Food Festival starting in 2016 • Join Madrid Fusion festival • Special events in Paris and London for promotion of Korean food.
coalition building strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sponsored TV shows on Korean and international channels on Korean food. • Link with K-pop stars to promote Korean food. • Coalition with the French cooking school “Le cordon Bleu” to create a Korean cooking book.
use of opinion leader strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unesco Intangible Cultural heritage for the art of doing and sharing Kimchi (Kimjang) • Korean Restaurants listed in the Michelin Guide for fine dining.
media relation strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Website korea.net translate in several languages including information on Korean traditional food making and famous Korean dishes. • Sponsored KBS World’s TV show ‘Delicious Korea’
education strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of the K-food academy that teaches Korean cuisine in Los Angeles and does missions in other gastronomy school. • K-lecture series organized each year in Los Angeles.

The strategy used in India, the” Samosa diplomacy”, was less pushed by the government, however, there were some attempts to create an understanding of culture through food. In each of those case, the cultural narratives are used as cohesive tools and create pride among the population.

Table 2.3 Comparative strategy of India gastrodiplomacy

Strategy	Achievement
product marketing strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • P.J exports Indian food over the world • Indian food restaurant opened abroad by Indian immigrant
food events strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indian food events in Los Angeles • Students organizing ‘Vindaloo Against Violence’ to promote Indian culture and decrease violence.
use of opinion leader strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • United Nations banquet of Indian independence celebration. • Indian delicacy served at the White House.
media relation strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • YouTube videos

In Malaysia, the Malaysian External Trade Development Corporation launched in 2010 the campaign “Malaysia kitchen to the world” to promote Malaysian restaurant and cuisine around the world starting with New York and then going further to London, Australia and China (Rockower, 2011b). However, the program officially ended in 2015 (MATRADE, 2016).

Table 2.4 Comparative strategy of Malaysia gastrodiplomacy

Strategy	Achievement
product marketing strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provided expertise for franchises to developed outside Malaysia.
food events strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • London Malaysian night market • Good Food & Wine Show in Australia with Alvin Quah winner of MasterChef. • Malaysia Makan Fest in Japan • Malaysia food festival in New York.
coalition building strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Partnership with “MasterChef” Australia
media relation strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The Malaysian Kitchen” TV show • Facebook page “Malaysia Kitchen Global” • CNN travel highlighted “top 40 Malaysian food.”
education strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cooking class in Kuala Lumpur, in the UK, In Australia and the US.

In Japan, fostering a rich food and culture is part of their nation-branding strategy. The program to promote Japanese food started in 2007 by the Ministry of Agriculture and Fishery and was supposed to continue until 2013 but is still active even today with the creation for example of

the Japan Food Product Overseas Promotion Center aiming at “building a strong brand identity for Japanese food and culture” which was established in 2017. Moreover, according to the director of this center Japanese food has been considered as an enjoyable cuisine for a long time (Kobayashi, 2017). The Ministry of Agriculture and Fishery established the Japanese Promotion Organization to promote Japanese food and through food Japanese culture abroad.

Table 2.5 Comparative strategy of Japan Gastrodiplomacy

Strategy	Achievement
product marketing strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of the Japan Food product overseas promotion center that analyzes Japanese restaurant abroad. • Numerous Japanese restaurant around the world.
food events strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foodex Japanese Festival in Japan. • Japanese culture festival around the world that features food, manga or art. • Rakuten Global Market.
coalition building strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research by the Japan Food Research Laboratories.
use of opinion leader strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Addition of traditional Japanese cuisine to the list of Intangible Cultural heritage list by UNESCO. • Eight best restaurant in Asia are in Tokyo according to the 2017 list of the world best restaurant.
media relation strategy and education strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Online Japanese Magazine on Food. • Various YouTube video and Facebook recipe pages. • Netflix series about Japan foods.

2.2.3 Other gastrodiplomacy strategy

Following the success of Thailand and other Asian countries, gastrodiplomacy strategy, other countries have organized events in order to increase awareness of their country through food.

Peru was the first non-Asian country that started to design public diplomacy strategy based on their traditional cuisine to create positive awareness about their country and its culture. Just like Asian country, the government created a strategy to raise the public awareness of Peruvian cuisine.

Several organizations such as the Peruvian Society of Gastronomy (APEGA) or the Ministries of Culture and of Foreign Relations, were created to research strategy on gastrodiplomacy. In term of using opinion leader, the strategy “Cocina para el Mundo” used stars and various celebrities, from supermodel Eva Mendez to US vice president Al Gore, to testify the quality of Peruvian cuisine. Moreover, one of the main goals the Peruvian government is trying to achieve is the designation of Peruvian cuisine in the UNESCO “Intangible cultural heritage of humanity.” (Wilson, 2011) Moreover, APEGA also put an important emphasis on events strategy with the Mistura yearly event in Lima. Mistura is the most important food fair in Latin America’s that gather food professionals, restaurants and welcome over 400,000 visitors in 2017 that came to discover Peruvian cuisine and culture.

France was a latecomer in the field of gastrodiplomacy although French cuisine was considered by UNESCO as “Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity” in 2010. In 2014, the Ministry of foreign affairs started to launch a gastrodiplomacy campaign allocating €300’000 to promote French food through the use of opinion leader strategy, such as appointing famous French chef as Culinary Ambassadors or the use of product marketing with for example the approval stamp of “True French restaurant” (Litzler, 2014). Moreover, in term of education, French have a few step ahead of other nation with French cooking schools created at the end of the 19th century. The school “Cordon Bleu” for example, is located in 5 continents and promote cooking proficiency globally. Last but not least, France also promoted regional food as part of its strategy, a technique to increase the variety of food promoted abroad. The Brittany region of France, for example positions itself with a hint of hyperbole as ‘an Olympus for the gods of food and drink’ (Dinnie, 2015).

Similarly to France, the United States is also a latecomer in term of gastrodiplomacy strategy. Hilary Clinton stated the importance that food have in international relations in culinary diplomacy term and increased the showcase of American fine food in the White House. In 2011 they started their culinary diplomacy by sending “culinary ambassadors” around the world and have partnership with Global Alliance for Clean Cookstoves (Chapple-Sokol, 2013). However, in term of gastrodiplomacy, the US, like many other countries, fell behind considering the Asian strategy on gastrodiplomacy.

2.3 The Case Study of Taiwan/ Taiwan cuisine and gastrodiplomacy

Taiwan diplomatic situation has been shifting since the 1950. From the 1950 to 1971, called the Golden Era. Under the Eisenhower period administration, the United States of American was helping Taiwan in order to restrain Chinese influence in the region. However, between the 1971 and the 1988, diplomatic isolation force Taiwan to yield its seat of International Monetary Fund and World Bank and other major administration to the People Republic of China, Only since president Lee in 1988 did Taiwan started a more pragmatic view of diplomacy and slowly trying to return to the world major institutions, thus strengthen Taiwan’s international status, through good neighborliness and establishing relations with numerous countries that also have diplomatic ties with China (Hickey, 2006). Nevertheless, the diplomatic situation of the ROC is not at is best, with a very limited amount of twenty diplomatic allies and no support from great power.

Table 2.6 Taiwan diplomatic allies in May 2018

East Asia and pacific	Africa	Latin America	Europe
Kiribati	Kingdom of Swaziland	Belize	Holy See (Vatican)
Nauru		El Salvador	
Solomon Islands		Haiti	
Republic of the Marshall Island		Nicaragua	
Republic of Palau		St Kitts and Nevis	
Tuvalu		St Vincent and the Grenadines	
		The Republic of Guatemala	
		The Republic of Honduras	
		The Republic of Paraguay	
		Saint Lucia	

Source: ROC Ministry of Foreign Affairs <https://www.mofa.gov.tw> in May 2018

Nevertheless, Taiwan still maintains formal diplomatic relations through 96 official and unofficial representative or branch office around the world in 58. Moreover the involvement with Non-states actors such as Non-governmental Organization also plays an important role in shaping Taiwan foreign policy with important commitment in post-disaster relief, disease prevention and response to climate change mitigation efforts (Executive Yuan, 2016).

2.3.1 Taiwan soft power

Being so diplomatically isolated, Taiwan relies mostly on its soft power resources to communicate and represent its values in the international community. The goal of Taiwan foreign policy is to reach and attract the great power that it cannot attract using formal diplomacy by

gaining more recognition around the world. Many institutions have been credited with the mission of increasing Taiwan attractiveness such as: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA), the Ministry of Culture, the Mainland Affairs Commission (MAC) and even the Tourism Bureau. Taiwan lacks of formal diplomatic relation forces it to use a more soft power oriented policies when it comes to foreign policy. MOFA declared on its official webpage that their guideline is to:

“ actively promoting a diplomacy for peace, creating sustainable partnerships with diplomatic allies, deepening and broadening substantive ties in various fields with countries that have similar values, and maintaining regional peace and stability. It continues to seek expanded international participation, while making concrete contributions to the global community, and enhancing its international profile through economic and humanitarian aid policies”

This declaration shows that Taiwan main source of foreign affairs is therefore oriented on its soft power and especially its Good neighborliness that is typical of middle power (Gilboa, 2009b).

Taiwan therefore use its soft power resources to design its foreign policy strategy. Taiwan foreign policy is oriented toward peace, abidance to international law as well as humanitarian aid commitment. Moreover, in term of institution, Taiwan is also attractive as a liberal democracy, with regular free and fair election. It also shares common values with great powers such as the rule of law, freedom and anti-corruption. Economically speaking, Taiwan assets can also be attractive. The government reported that Taiwan economic growth rate was 1.6% in 2016, a positive growth rate considering the 2009 economic crisis, and have a nominal GDP comparable to Sweden or Argentina ("Economy," 2017). Culturally, Taiwan has a great capital. Historically Taiwan possess a multi-cultural assets from aboriginal culture, Dutch settlement, and a mix between Chinese and Japanese culture. Taiwan has preserved some of its ancient building and art form such as calligraphy, tea ceremony, wood-crafting and ceramic pottery. Taiwan soft power is therefore

potentially very attractive considering its foreign policy, its ideology and its cultural assets (G. D. Rawnsley, 2014).

If it is widely accepted that Taiwan must exercise Soft power to project themselves abroad, Taiwan public diplomacy strategy has had some issues with finding an efficient way to use soft power resources. Under Ma's governments, Soft Power was used as a complement to its defense capabilities. In 2011, Ma declared that "Taiwan's democratic values, rule of law, and an advanced civil society, could make Taiwan an indispensable reference for socio-economic development in the Chinese mainland." However, the "third line of defense" (aligning the defense strategy with the diplomacy strategy) struggles to reach an efficient collaboration between the Ministry of National Defense (MND) which mission is according to the article 137 to "safeguard national security and preservation of the world peace" ("Constitution of the Republic of China," 1946) and Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) which also has the mission to "advance international justice and ensure world peace" according to the article 141 of the constitution. A confusion can therefore easily be made on whom is it to carry some diplomatic mission. Huang said, the strategic communication carried on by MND and the public diplomacy carried on by MOFA are not coordinated and "appears weaker" (2013). In term of the implementation of public diplomacy , there is a misunderstanding on which agency and how those agencies must implement the strategy. Not only the cooperation between MOFA and MND is not well coordinated but there is also a bureaucratic confusion on the role of the Ministry of Culture, MOFA or the Tourism Bureau and their missions since the bureaucratic reshuffle in 2012, the disappearance of the Government Information Office (GIO) and the upgrade from the Council of Cultural Affairs to the Ministry of Culture. Therefore, Taiwan public diplomacy may sometime appears uncoordinated (G. D. Rawnsley, 2014).

Moreover politically, Taiwan is still divided institutionally between two political parties which have different visions on their position regarding the People's Republic of China, which in turn affect Taiwan foreign policy development (G. D. Rawnsley, 2014). The tensions over the Taiwan Strait complicates the structural development of public diplomacy. Taiwan ideological position interfere with the communication strategy chosen by either the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) or the Kuomintang (KMT). Taiwan strategic narratives therefore oscillate between a pro-status quo "blue" narratives or a pro-independence and more provocative "green" agenda and sometime the ruling party emphasis a calculation of the national interest and adjust the narratives to satisfy the electoral supporters in spite of the international strategy (G. Rawnsley, 2012).

Moreover, those tensions with the PRC creates what Nye called a "disabling" environment: Not only do actors try to influence each other directly and indirectly through soft power; they also compete to deprive each other of attractiveness and legitimacy, thus creating a disabling environment either in public opinion and/or in the eyes of relevant third parties. (Nye, 2011).

This environment with the PRC raises issues of Taiwan credibility and legitimacy when it comes to spreading its idea of liberal democracy and governmental legitimacy. Therefore, in terms of public diplomacy, Taiwan not only has to compete in order to gain recognition internationally but it must also deal with cultural and legitimacy competition with the PRC (DeLisle, 2010).

2.3.2 Taiwan national branding and public diplomacy strategy

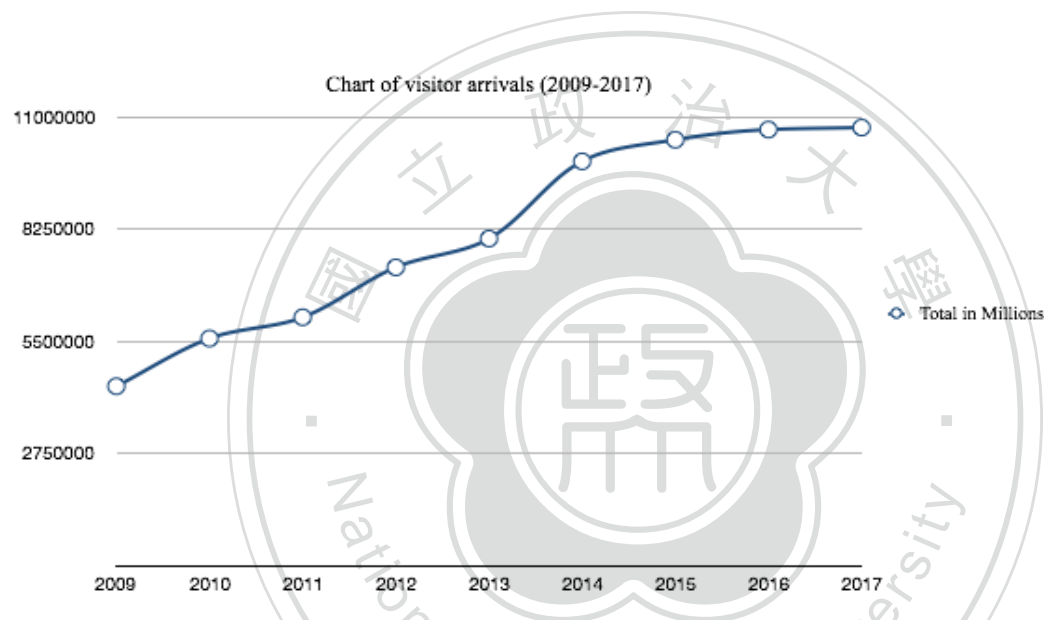
The nation branding used by Taiwan has shifted in the last thirty years. In the 1990's the nation branding of Taiwan had a deeply commercial interest as the slogans "It's very well made

in Taiwan”, “Excellence, made in Taiwan” and “Taiwan your source for Innovalues” were promoted by the government to improve the reputation of Taiwan. Those slogans show a willingness by the government to increase the value of Taiwanese product and shift from the negative image of “made in Taiwan” as a country-of-origin (COO) (Amine & Chao, 2005).

However, at the beginning of the 21th century, Taiwan also tried to improve its reputation as an Asian destination for international tourists. In 2001, the logo “Taiwan, enjoy your heart” was created and was later promoted in 2006 to improve Taiwan national image and no longer focus on national product (Freire, 2008). From a commercial national branding, Taiwan government shifted its sponsored-campaign to emphasize the attractiveness of Taiwan. Videos and promotional posters were created by the Tourism Bureau throughout the year to show the friendly travel environment. The slogan “Taiwan, enjoy your heart” was changed by “Taiwan, the heart of Asia” in 2011 to bring a more focused image on Taiwan as a different Asian country and a destination that should not be missed. In 2012, “Taiwan the heart of Asia” started to be accompanied by the slogan “Time for Taiwan” which is now the core slogan of Taiwan Tourism Bureau.

The Project Vanguard for Excellence in Tourism was launched to improve the number of tourist coming to Taiwan each year through various local improvement and marketing campaign (2009). The project was carried on until 2015 and followed by the “Taiwan’s 2015-2018 Tourism Action Plan”. Those plans and various slogans since 2009 mainly tried to differentiate its market and its country from other Asian countries. The travel packages proposed by the Tourism Bureau propose various facets of Taiwan such as its environmental friendly areas, its great destination for hiking and biking, Taiwanese hospitality, technological advancement but also its various dishes (2015). Indeed, starting from 2009 Vanguard Project for Excellence tourism, The Tourism bureau started to emphasize food as a mean for attraction as a “Specialty of Taiwan”.

According to the Tourism Bureau, most of the tourists that visited Taiwan are Overseas Chinese (40% in 2017), followed by Japanese and Koreans (respectively 17% and 10% in 2017) and South East Asian (20% in 2017). Americans and Europeans and the rest of the world altogether only accounted for 11% of the tourists that visited Taiwan in 2017 (T. B. MOTC, 2017). Moreover, according to the Tourism Bureau statistical database, Taiwan has been steadily more attractive, since the implementation of the Vanguard project.



Source: Taiwan Tourism Bureau Statistics Database

Figure 2.1 Chart of visitors arrivals in Taiwan from (2009 to 2017)

2.3.3 Taiwanese cuisine

In term of cuisine, Taiwan has the ability to compete with the other Asian middle power. On to Taiwan today, Paul Rockover stated that: “Dishes like “Long Xu Cai,” or “chayote shoots,” fried in chili and garlic, the sumptuous sautéed “Kong Xin Cai,” or “hollow-heart vegetable,” and sesame-paste noodles with carrot and cucumber shreds, could help promote Taiwanese cuisine” (2010b).

Geographically speaking, Taiwan enjoys a tropical weather but also very high mountains which allows it to produce a great variety of food from tropical fruit such as mango to tea and fishing product (Jack, 2014).

Taiwanese food is quite rich and takes its influence from its historical and ethnical background. Taiwan is multiethnic and multicultural. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, Chinese migrant, *benshengren*, became the majority group on the island until nowadays. By the end of the 19th century and until the end of the Second World War, Taiwan was occupied by Japanese forces which left a high legacy even after they left when the island was “liberated” by Tchang Kai-Tshek and the Kuomintang in 1945. The end of the civil war in China created a large exodus of the population that fled to Taiwan. Moreover, among the population, we can also account for 2% of aboriginal, *yuanzhuming*. Added to that, a constant stream of immigrants from South East Asia also come to Taiwan as foreigner workers or spouses (Kim, 2015).

The construction of Taiwanese cuisine identity started under the Japanese colonial period, from 1895 to 1945. Although Taiwanese cuisine has a long history, the term Taiwanese cuisine, “Taiwan liao-li”, was only first coined in 1898 by local newspapers. However, differences between the quality and variety of dishes was also influenced by the difference between social classes. The arrival of the Kuomintang in Taiwan downgraded “Taiwanese cuisine” and promoted instead “Chinese food in Taiwan”. The term Taiwanese dishes became low, unsophisticated mostly received to snacks and home food while “jiangze cuisine” became the food served in rich banquet and restaurants. The recognition of Taiwanese food only reestablished in the 1990’s and brought a level of local Taiwan food, differentiating food from different regions, counties or cities (Chen, 2008).

Because of Taiwan historical background, Taiwanese cuisine is a mix of Aboriginal cuisine, mixed Japanese cuisine, and Chinese cuisine. This historical, geographic, ethnical and cultural diversity gives great opportunity to promote Taiwan many faces.

The Tourism Bureau published a list of various “must try” dishes to potentially attract tourist hungry for different food. Moreover, they also emphasized that Taiwan food is part of Taiwanese culture by emphasizing the night market culture in Taiwan. The same way states focus on some of their iconic cuisine such as Japanese Sushi or Korean kimchi, the campaign “Tastes of Taiwan” or “Gourmet Taiwan” choose to promote only some of Taiwanese traditional cuisine. The Taiwanese Tourism Bureau, therefore, gives us a non-exhaustive list of main Taiwanese dishes directed at tourist (“Tastes of Taiwan,” 2016).

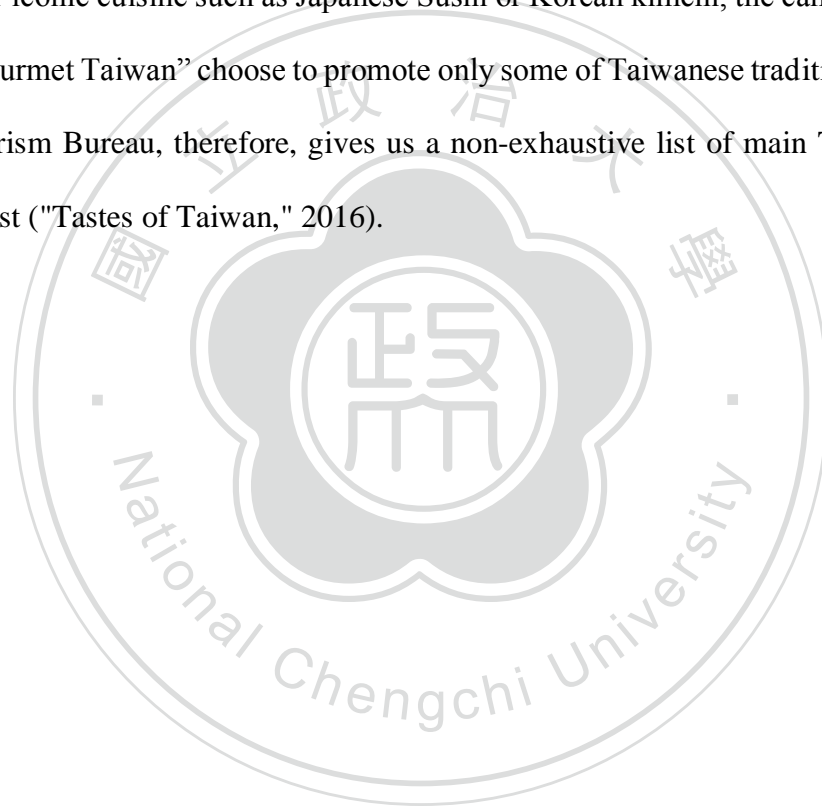


Table 2.7 List of Taiwan food categorized for Tourist

Taiwan gourmet cuisine	Taiwan snacks	Snack and beverage	Local specialty
Dongpo pork, Meat rice dumplings.	Danzai noodles, Shrimp pork soup, coffin board, Taiwanese meatballs, steamed sandwich, stinky tofu oyster omelet	Pearl milk tea, Crushed ice desert	Taiwanese Tea, Pineapple cake, Shaoxing and gaoliang wine, Rice noodles, Mochi, Meat balls, Lei-cha, Sun cakes, squares biscuit, Taiwanese coffee, Kumquat Preserves, Mullet Roe, Pig's Knuckle, Brown sugar cake, Jinguan bread, ox tongue biscuit

2.3.2 Taiwan gastrodiplomacy

Taiwan started to be concerned with gastrodiplomacy strategy in 2010 as it launched its first campaign to promote Taiwanese food abroad. According to *the Guardian*, the former president Ma Ying Jiu ordered a four-year gastrodiplomacy campaign with a budget of US\$34.2 million. This plan was initially based on the promotion of Taiwanese cuisine in the UK and around the world (Booth, 2010).

What is now called the “dim sum” diplomacy was created as an attempt to increase create a new brand for Taiwan, using gastrodiplomacy and nation-branding strategy (Rockower, 2010a). By copying some of the other nations such as the Malay night market in London, Taiwan gastrodiplomacy aimed at promoting a different vision of Taiwan food as seen abroad, especially a healthier, subtler cuisine than what is traditionally depicted (Strugar, 2015).



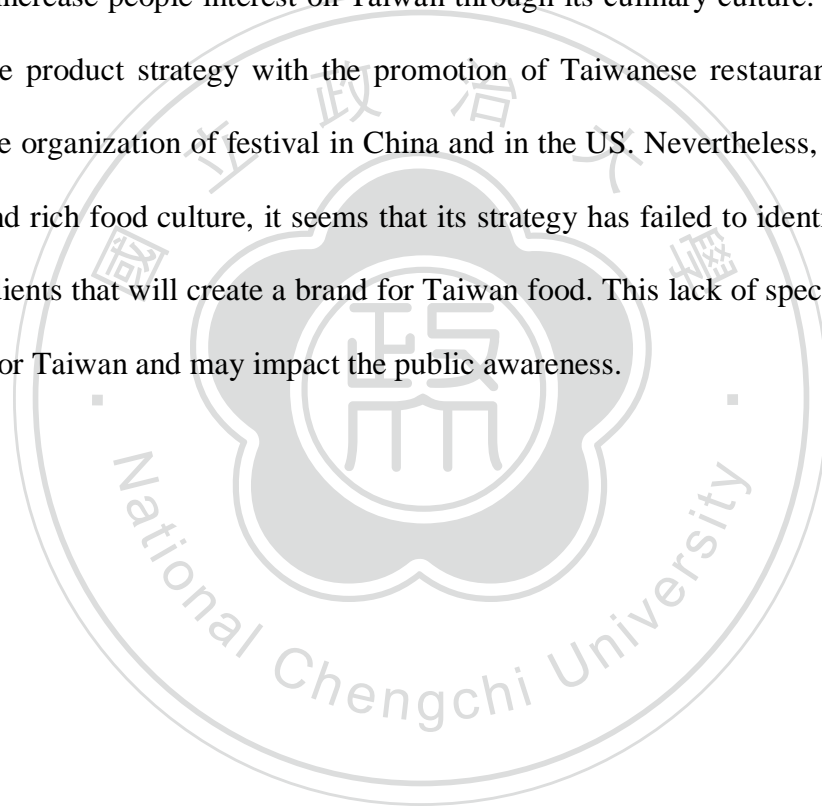
Table 2.8 Comparative strategy of Taiwan gastrodiplomacy

Strategy	Achievement
product marketing strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Din-Tai-Fung exhibitions in cooperation with Taiwan MOFA • Cooperation with 85Coffee. • Taiwan restaurant opened abroad.
food events strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Taipei Beef Noodle Festival • Authentic Taiwan Cuisine festival organized by cultural office abroad in New Zealand, in Canada and in the US such as the New-York bubble tea festival in 2017 • “Gourmet Taiwan” festival.
coalition building strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • School “le cordon bleu” partnership in Kaohsiung with the National Kaohsiung University of Hospitality and Tourism.
use of opinion leader strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expansion of Michelin stars restaurant guide in Taiwan in Spring 2018.
media relation strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Three best restaurant in Asia are in Taiwan according to the 2017 list of the world best restaurant. • Numerous YouTube video to promote Taiwanese food and Taiwanese food culture in Japanese, Chinese, Korean and English. • CNN Travel highlighted Taiwanese Food
education strategy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cooking Books published in English and in French. • Taiwanese food cooking class provided in English in Taipei. • Ainsley Harriotts Eats the Street in Taiwan, by British English chef available on Netflix and BBC Worldwide.

Nevertheless, we can see some lacks in Taiwan food narratives compare to the narratives other gastrodiplomacy strategy uses. Firstly, although Taiwan food is very diverse and rich which could be a strength but also a weakness as it is difficult to identify what is Taiwanese cuisine the same way people associate kimchi with Korea, Sushi with Japan or Curry with Thailand. The “dim sum” diplomacy, a name given to Taiwan gastrodiplomacy is itself confusing. Indeed, dim-sum is also present in Chinese and Cantonese style cuisine and doesn’t differentiate as Taiwan specialty.

Secondly, Taiwanese food is marginalized in the food world. Although a great producer of fruit, or tea, Taiwanese food culture is overwhelmed by global chain-food and is losing its “Taiwan cuisine-consciousness.” (Hsieh, 2017) The loss of Taiwan cuisine culture would be tragic for Taiwan gastrodiplomacy attraction. Not only in term of product strategy but overall in the education strategy and attraction of tourist hungry for new flavors.

To sum up, similarly to other Asian countries, Taiwan has used gastrodiplomacy to create awareness and increase people interest on Taiwan through its culinary culture. With a particular emphasis on the product strategy with the promotion of Taiwanese restaurant and the events strategy with the organization of festival in China and in the US. Nevertheless, although Taiwan has a diverse and rich food culture, it seems that its strategy has failed to identify one particular dishes or ingredients that will create a brand for Taiwan food. This lack of specific identification is damageable for Taiwan and may impact the public awareness.



Chapter 3 Measuring the Impact of Taiwan Soft Power and Gastrodiplomacy Strategy

If public diplomacy has a flaw, it is probably measurement. However, it is difficult or impossible to identify the impact of any strategy without measurements (Drucker, 2012). We must find a way to quantify the result of gastrodiplomacy. Many efforts have been made academically speaking in order to understand the mechanism of public diplomacy and the possible effect on international relations.

In this chapter, I first analyze the different attempts made to measure public diplomacy and gastrodiplomacy by comparing different work on public diplomacy and trying to variables or means of calculation that could be useful for my own study.

Secondly is the measurement part divided into two sets of variables. The objective variables are defined on the reward received by Taiwanese restaurants which can improve the overall perception a country cuisine. The subjective part focus on individuals views on Taiwan cuisine. In order to capture this variable, I conduct my own survey on foreign and overseas Chinese individuals traveling to Taiwan. Finally, I analyze both objective and subjective variable to see if the perception of Taiwan was affected by its cuisines.

3.1 Measuring Public Diplomacy

One of the main flaw when studying public diplomacy and its strategy is the calculation of the impact on the perception. Several problems occur when ones try to measure public diplomacy. Firstly, public diplomacy is a long-term strategy, therefore, it is difficult to evaluate which strategic communication is more efficient than another one in the short time.

Secondly, because public diplomacy mainly depends on the policy decision and the target that government chooses to focus on may differ in order to satisfy the constituency. Public diplomacy is highly dependent on the government choice and a public diplomacy program can be stopped as the head of the state changes interest.

Thirdly, intention and outcome are different and if the outcome in public diplomacy can be calculated through an account of how many people attended the events or through systematic surveys on the perception, calculation of the intention behind a strategic is harder to grasp. Moreover, when considering the traditional public diplomacy, the government was organizing most of the public diplomacy strategies. However, regarding the advancement of public diplomacy, Gregory (2011) argued that more than governments, non-governmental organizations (sub-states or non-states actors) also participate in public diplomacy.

Last but not least, while measuring public diplomacy one may encounter a cultural bureaucratic challenge as officials may not want to see their work scrutinize by fear of losing their founding (Brown, 2017).

In sum, many obstacles refrain public diplomacy practitioners from having an efficient measurement strategy. Lack of measurement jeopardizes the field of public diplomacy as states may be tempted to reduce the founding of public diplomacy offices if no result can be shown or in case of lack of transparency and accountability (Gyan, 2009).

Nevertheless, the Department of States in the US started to increase their measurement of their public diplomacy activity, proper evaluations are not systematic and perception is, hence, difficult to capture. Little measurement tools have been created regarding public diplomacy since the growing concern over this topic. Some academics have however tried to focus on the measurement of public diplomacy such as the Soft Power 30 that rank different countries soft power. In the first year of publication of Soft Power 30, measurement was done by adding objective calculated by various sources and subjective data which are mostly gathered through surveys (McClory, 2015). This comparative study is, accordingly, the first one that gathered quantitative with qualitative study. The surveys were designed to calculate the favorability of the public toward eight metric including foreign countries' contributions to global culture, the cuisine of foreign countries by scaling it from 0 to 10, 0 representing negative opinions, 10 representing positive opinions. The 2015 report provides a benchmark for measuring and understanding soft power. The 2016 and 2017 research methods become more precise by adding metrics to calculate different objective variables in the use of soft power (McClory, 2016, 2017).

Expect for the Soft Power 30 index, academics that try to focus on Public diplomacy measurement uses polling, focus group, in-depth interviews or anecdote from participants. Not all activities can be measured with the same tools, as participants and activities differ, evaluation of public diplomacy should adapt. The use of different tools of calculation of the same variable is also usual in order to grab a better understanding of the so-called variable (Banks, 2011).

Some part of public diplomacy can be more easily capture that other. For example, in Taiwan, the tourism rose from 4,395,004 to 10,739,601 in 2017 which show an increase of over 100 % in 9 years since the beginning of the Project Vanguard for Excellence in Tourism in 2009. This

showcase that the tourism plan has had a positive effect on the cultural attractiveness of Taiwan and brought more tourists in Taiwan.

Another example of public diplomacy that can be calculated is education programs. Indeed education attractiveness can also be evaluated by observing the rise of international or exchange students that enroll in universities. According to Taiwan Today, the partnership between the ministry of foreign affairs and education of Taiwan has attracted more than 10'000 students since the creation of the Taiwan Scholarship and Huayu Enrichment Scholarship and reached a record of 1'500 students in the last year ("Global scholarships attract record number of applications," 2017).

However, as said early, the long-term measurement poses a problem for practitioners. For example, one can measure the short-term improvement of language education such as the Confucius center or the Fulbright English Assistance but when public diplomacy practitioners are still unable to grasp the outcome when it comes to the long-term impact (Slackman, 2009).

Moreover, objective measurement for soft power may not be available and therefore some public diplomacy programs may be evaluated using objective variable that may not be as precise or use subjective variable through surveys, public polling or group focus (Brown, 2017).

Lastly, because of the improvement of digital technology, gathering information about the audience has become both easier and essential. People-to-people communication has improved and public diplomacy has to adapt to a new media sphere and the feedback tools that these new media provide to the public. Indeed, nowadays, the public can actively participate in political dialogue using online tools (Cunningham, 2010). If it makes the message harder to transmit properly to the public, it makes it evaluation easier to grasp.

3.2 Measuring Gastrodiplomacy

Just like little measurements were done on the subject of public diplomacy, even less measurements were done specifically on gastrodiplomacy. For example, the resources guide to Public diplomacy evaluation does not mention gastrodiplomacy programs evaluation although mentioning various cultural diplomacy evaluation reports (Banks, 2011).

Most of the academics on gastrodiplomacy use an Activity Tracker to showcase different activities that were organized in the field of gastrodiplomacy and often simply describe the activity and the number of participants (Garibaldi, 2015). The field of gastrodiplomacy being relatively new academics mostly tend to prove its importance in the field of Public Diplomacy instead of trying to measure its impact on a country Soft power (Perleta, 2013).

However, some measurement research on gastrodiplomacy were conducted by Ruddy and published in the public diplomacy magazine (2014). In this quantitative research on the impact of food on people perception, Ruddy surveyed 140 people living in the United States, to identify that perception can be changed through food. In this survey, most of the participants agreed on the importance of cuisine in a country culture compare to other forms of cultural soft power such as literature, music or sports. The result reveals however that less than 2/3 of the people have changed their opinion on a country after eating the country's food (only 55.71%). This show a very limited impact of gastrodiplomacy that we may expect for our further research.

The research conducted by Ruddy poses several problems in the measurement of public diplomacy. Firstly, the research is conducted on individuals that although coming from various ethnical groups, live mostly in the US. It offers, consequently, an American-centered point of view on gastrodiplomacy. Moreover, the surveys were conducted through nonrandom sampling with the use of the Internet as a method to solicit public opinion with a limited respondent of 140 individuals,

most of them being women (71% female, 29% male) which create a selection bias (Levin, Fox, & Forde, 2016).

Nevertheless, the method of survey seems like a coherent method to capture the importance that cuisine plays in changing people perception. In 2015, the 5th Annual Survey Report on Visitors Expenditure and Trends in Taiwan “food” was already designated as Taiwan competitive advantages along with “friendliness of people” and “scenery”. Moreover, “gourmet food” was also marked as creating a deep impression for visitors in Taiwan (The Tourism Bureau, 2015).

In the Soft Power 30 of 2017, the objective variable of cuisine was started to be calculated through the numbers of Michelin star restaurants in Michelin guide. This measurement makes sense because of the long-time gained reputation of Michelin guide on selecting excellent restaurants. Indeed, created in 1926, the Michelin Red Guides have listed more restaurants than any of its rivals. For a restaurateur, there is no greater reward than Michelin stars and the career of a chef can be impacted by the loss or the gain of a tittle in the Michelin Red guide. Similarly, countries that have a lot of restaurants that gain a Michelin star or are mentioned by the Michelin guide may honor the food of this country as an all (Rear, 2018).

Similarly to previous research on gastrodiplomacy and culinary favorability, I capture the objective perception through the analyze the Michelin guide review on Taiwan restaurant. In order to capture I choose to use survey in order to capture the subjective perception of Taiwanese cuisine.

3.3 Measuring Taiwan Public Diplomacy: Gastrodiplomacy

3.3.1 Objective variable

The Michelin guide of Taipei was firstly released in 2018 and inaugurate 20 restaurants in Taiwan with one, two and three Michelin stars. As said previously, being credited with Michelin

stars gives prestige to the restaurant and ultimately the cuisine that this restaurants is promoting. However, the objective measurement described earlier poses two problems. Firstly, for the case of Taiwan, Michelin guide only started to star Taiwanese restaurants since 2018 with the first twenty restaurant in Taiwan getting a Michelin star. Secondly, the Soft Power 30 report uses this metric in a comparative study and the research I am doing focus on Taiwan as a case study. I would, therefore, try to analyze the reward offered to Taiwanese cuisine, including its Michelin guide.

Although it should bring prestige to Taiwanese cuisine, the list of Michelin-star restaurants in Taiwan published in 2018 does not truly valorize Taiwanese cuisine. Indeed, on the list of 20 restaurants, only two serve so-called Taiwanese cuisine: Golden Formosa (金蓬萊遵古台菜) and Ming Fu (明福台菜海產) and two others that serve innovative Taiwanese cuisine: Tairroir and RAW. Comparatively, four Japanese restaurants in Taiwan were granted Michelin stars including RyuGin 祥雲龍吟 which was one of the two restaurants granted with two Michelin-stars (The Michelin Guide 2018 Starred establishments – The selection, 2018).

If Taiwanese fine cuisine in Taiwan was no inaugurated with a lot of stars, Taiwan food was inaugurated with other rewards from the Michelin guide. Indeed, the Bib gourmand list honor less expensive food in Taiwan. The Bib gourmand list completes the Michelin guide and includes restaurants that offer a quality meal with a maximum price determined by the local economic standard. In Taiwan, the maximum price has been set up to NTD1500. The list includes 36 restaurants and street food vendors. The list inaugurated Taiwan specialty with 8 beef noodles places, 10 street food or night market locations and the famous Taiwanese restaurant DinTaiFung that all have been granted a place in the 2018 Bib Gourmand list (The Michelin Guide Taipei 2018

Bib Gourmand Selection, 2018). It is also worth-noting that DinTaiFung establishment in Hong-Kong was granted with one Michelin star in 2010.

Moreover, Taiwanese great cuisine was also honored outside Taiwan by other valuable sources. Along with the inaugurated Taiwanese restaurant, several Taiwanese chefs were honored with other awards. In 2010, six Taiwanese won a gold medal in the Food and Hotel Asia Culinary Challenge in Singapore (Taiwan Today, 2010). In 2018, Andre Chiang was listed among the world's top 100 chefs for 2018 in a list published Nov. 26 by French magazine Le Chef (Taiwan Today, 2018).

To sum up, objectively, Taiwan cuisine not only has great culinary resources as explained in Chapter two, but has also recently been able to exploit those resources in order to evaluate its cuisine and rank it at an international level. The lack of so-called “Taiwanese restaurant” in the Michelin guide should not be viewed too negatively, we should instead look at the variety of other restaurants such as Cantonese, Chinese or Japanese as a display of Taiwan special heritage.

3.3.2 Subjective variable

Similarly to other studies on gastrodiplomacy, I use a survey method in order to capture the subjective perception on Taiwanese cuisine and its impact on participants perception of Taiwan. The survey takes its inspiration from Ruddy's survey on gastrodiplomacy however unlike Ruddy who focused on a comparison between different states, I decided to focus on one case study, and most of the question are linked with Taiwan and Taiwanese cuisine.

The foreign audience perception on Taiwan in correlation with Taiwanese national cuisine is measured through survey obtained in Taiwan. In order to collect foreigner views on Taiwanese cuisine, I distributed surveys in Taipei main touristic area: Taipei 101 Xinyi area, Sun Yat Sen memorial hall and Dongmen area to have a cluster random sampling. The questionnaires are given

in English but since I do not want to focus on only English-speaking population, a Chinese explanation is also available if the respondents prefer this option.

Moreover, in order to evaluate the impact on a larger variety of participant, surveyed were also distributed in Chinese Language Center to students that freshly arrived Taiwan and intend to stay for a longer period to calculate if a longer intention to stay may increase the interest toward national cuisine.

The survey is composed of seventeen questions related to Taiwan cuisine and perception of Taiwan. I hypothesis that local cuisine may have an impact on how Taiwan is perceived and create a positive impact on foreigners.

The first set of questions allows us to describe the participants and their relation with Taiwan in term of time spent in Taiwan to control if *time* or *nationality* have a causal relation with perception. Secondly, I ask about the particular interest of the participant in Taiwan and observe firstly if the subject has a positive or a negative experience in Taiwan and secondly if food is one of the main focus of the tourist visiting Taiwan compared with other interests.

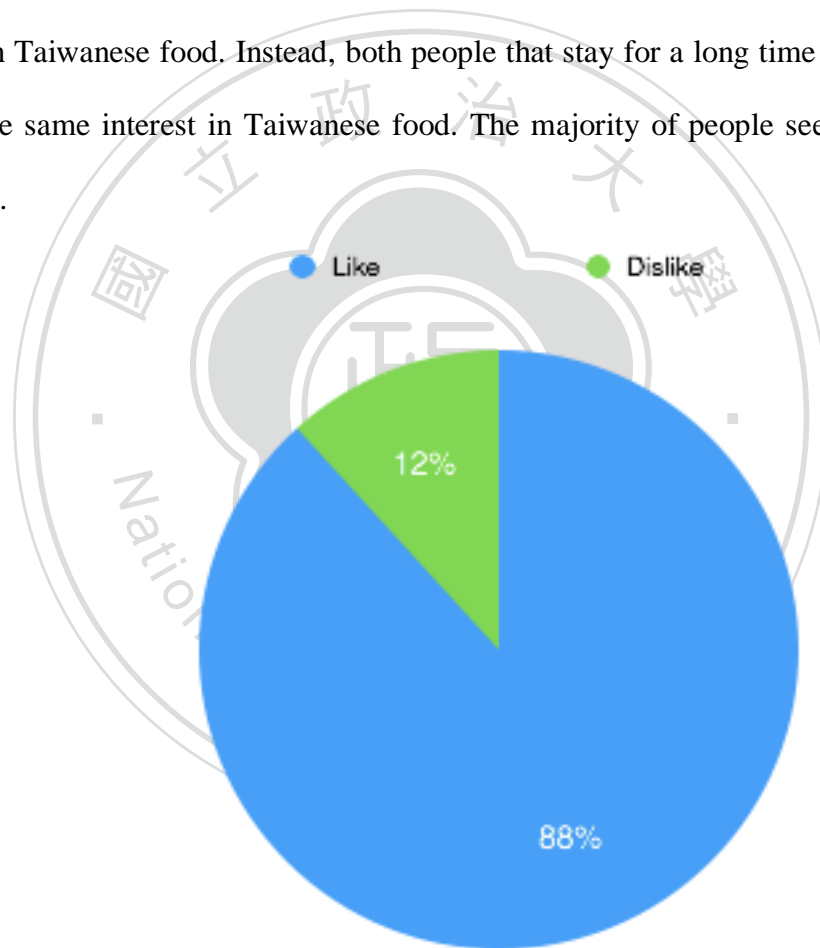
The third set of question focus on the level of interest that participants have about food. A greater level of interest about food may have a higher chance to influence their perception. The level of participants' perception is calculated in term of Awareness, Interest, and Knowledge which can explain public diplomacy action level (McClellan, 2004). Moreover, this part also tries to grasp the participant thinking about Taiwan cuisine to see if it can create a positive or a negative perception.

Finally, I ask participants to compare Taiwanese food with food from other countries and try to understand if gastrodiploamacy plays an efficient in differentiating a country from its competitor especially regarding the other countries in Asia that have a gastrodiploamacy campaign.

3.3.2.1 Result

The number of people surveyed is 50 from 18 different countries. Most of the people interviewed were from the United States or Asian countries.

The time they spend in Taiwan varied with most of the surveyed person only staying for a few days. The people that stayed longer were mostly students or former students from universities or Chinese Centers. At the first sight, it seems that “*times*” doesn’t play a major role in the increase of awareness on Taiwanese food. Instead, both people that stay for a long time and for a shorten time showed the same interest in Taiwanese food. The majority of people seems to appreciate Taiwanese food.

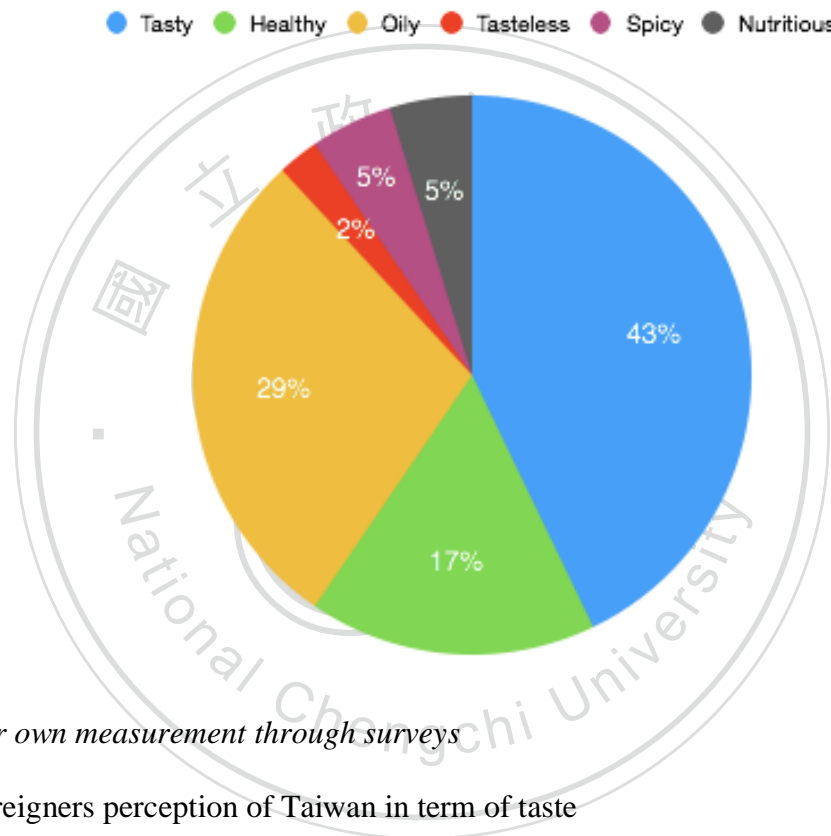


Sources: Author own measurement through surveys

Figure 3.1 Foreigners perception of Taiwanese food in term of appreciation

Among the respondents, I also ask what was their impression of Taiwanese food. 45% of the respondents described it as tasty however, 25% percent of the respondents also described it as

oily, which is contradictory with the image brand that Taiwan wants to give to its cuisine. Taiwan wants to differentiate from other Asian countries by proposing an healthy diet and promote ideas that Taiwanese cuisine is both nutritious and healthy. However, in the result we have from the subjective test, Taiwan fail to show a healthy diet. Indeed the number of people describing Taiwanese food as healthy is the less important than those who describes it as oily.



Sources: Author own measurement through surveys

Figures 3.2: Foreigners perception of Taiwan in term of taste

Nevertheless Taiwanese cuisine is mostly appreciated by foreigners and considered as a tasty cuisine. Moreover, Taiwanese food, along with Taiwanese society (in term of friendliness, security and convenience) and Taiwanese landscape is described as one of the main reason why people like Taiwan. On a similar survey, the Bureau of Tourism found out that “restaurant information” were often cited as the most desired information by tourist in information center (either hotel desk,

internet or airport arrival hall) (The Tourism Bureau, 2015a). People therefore show interest and appreciation for Taiwanese food and would recommend it to their relatives.

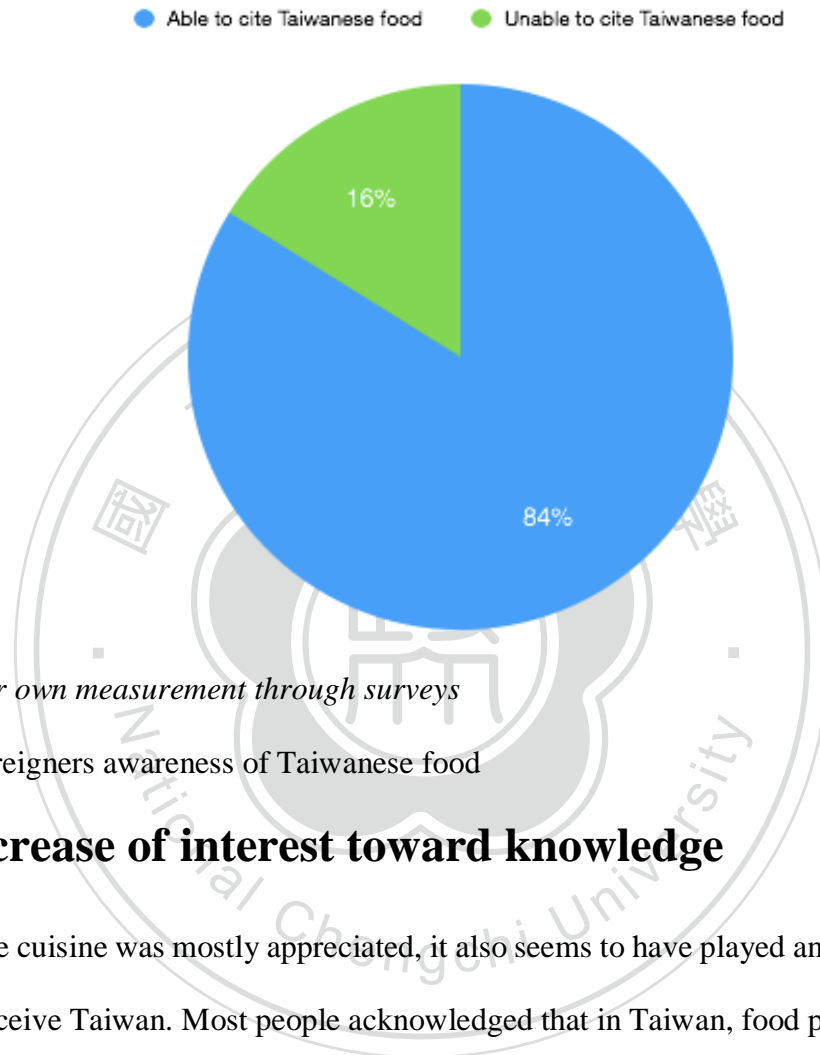
3.2.2.2 Awareness

According to McClellan pyramid of communication (2004), public communication firstly creates awareness then interest, knowledge, advocacy, and finally action. As we survey people that are already in Taiwan, I assumed that people already know Taiwan and Taiwanese food. However, only little people knew Taiwanese food previously to their coming. Among those people, Nationality plays an important role in being previously aware of Taiwanese food as most people coming from Asian neighbor countries knew and have a deeper understanding of what is Taiwanese food (notably Japanese, Overseas Chinese, and Korean.)

Among the result, few were aware of Taiwanese food and what is Taiwanese culinary culture (night market, traditional Taiwanese dinner...) The little number of people that were aware of Taiwanese food culture before coming to Taiwan are either from a neighboring country or have heard of it through social media which show that Taiwanese food is not well represented abroad.

Nevertheless, after their coming people show an increase of interest for Taiwanese food. The diversity of Taiwanese dishes seems to vary the answer as most of the surveyed people observe that it depends where and what you eat. They acknowledge that from night market to gourmet restaurants, the taste vary greatly.

In order to calculate their awareness in Taiwanese food, I asked most of the participants to cite some famous Taiwanese dishes. As illustrated in the graph, most people are able to cite Taiwanese food, which shows that Awareness increases as people come to Taiwan.



Sources: Author own measurement through surveys

Figures 3.3: Foreigners awareness of Taiwanese food

3.2.2.3 Increase of interest toward knowledge

If the Taiwanese cuisine was mostly appreciated, it also seems to have played an important role in how people perceive Taiwan. Most people acknowledged that in Taiwan, food plays an important role in the culture. Night Markets were often cited in place to visit along with Gourmet food restaurants. Most known dishes cited includes Beef Noodle Soup, Bubble Tea, dumplings and Xiaolongbao, steam bun, stinky tofu and fried chicken. Not a lot of product cited comes from the must-eat list published by the Bureau of Tourism of Taiwan.

However, when asked about Taiwan food brands or restaurants, people did not show a lot of knowledge on what famous Taiwanese brand can be found abroad. Few people interviewed in

front of “DingTaiFung” for example were incapable of citing this restaurant as a Taiwanese restaurant. Even fewer people from Western countries (excluding the US) knew if there were a Taiwanese restaurant in their own countries. Taiwanese national food brand are therefore not very well integrated in Western countries.

For Asian and American respondents, Kavalan and DingTaiFung, 85C and Mister Brown were often cited which shows a greater penetration of Taiwanese food brand in the Asian market and in the United States.

Moreover, the increase of interest may last in the future as most of the respondents would be willing to go to a Taiwanese restaurant and/or would recommend Taiwanese food to their friend in their own country. The few respondents that would not go to a Taiwanese restaurant back in their own country are also the own that either show little interest on what Taiwanese cuisine is or the one that dislike Taiwanese food.

Nevertheless, among the population surveyed, little respondents would actually be interested in cooking Taiwanese food back home which show that even though there is an increase of interest and knowledge toward Taiwanese cuisine, it hardly reaches the advocacy level in the pyramid of communication.

Moreover, as the level of knowledge among participant is high, I also asked participants to tell me if they could differentiate Taiwanese food from other Asian countries’ food as differentiation is one of the goals in the strategy of gastrodiplomacy (Rockower, 2014). The differentiation strategy is indeed useful in order to compete with other countries in the food market competition.

Nevertheless, to this extent, Taiwanese cuisine was nearly always compared with Chinese cuisine. Indeed, among all the participants 83% considered Taiwanese food as being similar or

slightly similar to Taiwanese food. Even respondents from Asian countries agreed that Taiwanese food and Chinese food are not so different.

This can be explained, however, by the cultural background of Taiwanese food. Indeed, as explained previously in the historical review of “Taiwan cuisine”, as KMT arrived in Taiwan they promoted Chinese food over Taiwanese food. This misconception is therefore understandable but however damageable for Taiwanese cuisine food image as it appears to lack its own culinary identity.

To sum up, the objective variable shows that Taiwanese food has been increasingly rewarded internationally by various actors hence this has increased the level of attraction that Taiwanese food can have. Moreover, at the subjective level, people visiting Taiwan are interested to discover Taiwanese food which most of them describe as Tasty. However, there is a limit to their interest. Although people tend to like Taiwanese food, they do not know a lot about it. Further promotion should increase the level of identification of Taiwanese brand and give the opportunity for foreigners to increase their knowledge of Taiwanese food.

Chapter 4 Analysis of Taiwan Gastrodiploamacy Strategy

We have seen previously seen the outcome of Taiwan gastrodiploamacy strategy in term of influencing the audience perception of a certain country as food is considered as an important part of a country culture.

In this chapter, I will analyze the official document released in 2010 and the presentation given in the Ministry of Economy on the project “Gourmet Taiwan” in 2009. I first analyze the motives to plan such a project implemented the project “Gourmet Taiwan” in depth. Following this part, I focus on their strategy division and how they are planning on improving Taiwanese image. I analyze the promotional strategy and the cooperation strategy that was established in order for this project to be efficient. This part adds up to the comparative overview of gastrodiploamacy strategy in chapter 2 and tries to explain the result of the perception of Taiwanese food obtained in chapter 3. Finally, I seek the policy achievement looking at various data collected from the different departments that were cooperating with this project.

More than a policy analyzes, I also conducted or review existing interviews on the efficiency of such plan with elites from academics, private and public sector in order to understand food promotion on how it can affect a country brand-image.

4.1 Gourmet Taiwan Introduction and Motives

In 2009, Tourism Bureau of Taiwan published statistics on the motivation of foreign visitors coming to Taiwan. According to those statistics, scenery and food were the main reasons people come to visit Taiwan (Tourism Bureau, MOTC, 2009). Following the success of Thailand (starting in 2000) Japan (starting in 2007) and Korea (starting in 2009) at improving their image through food Taiwan decided to enter into the market of globalizing its food. The countries that

were analyzed in depth on their different strategy to succeed and which governmental department was involved in the project.

It was observed that food can impact the image of a country and therefore food could be used to promote a country globally. Hence, the Presidential Office Financial Advisory Group of Ma-Ying Jie decided to plan “Gourmet Taiwan” officially called “Operation Plan for the Internationalization of Taiwanese Cuisine” was built in continuation with the Taiwan Economic Transformation Action Plan (啟動台灣經濟轉型行動計畫.) The Taiwanese government was relying on small and medium catering company to promote Taiwanese food (namely teas, snacks and exotic foods) for foreigners that come to Taiwan but also to at an international level. An analyzes of the catering industry, the Executive Yuan analyzes an increase of catering industry from year to year (increase of 0.03% from 2008 to 2009). Moreover, Taiwan catering industry has shown a great variety of and diverse dining modes and features.

The analyzes for the catering industry was performed between 2007 and 2009, by those observations the Department of Economic Affairs observed that previous projects that cultivated Taiwanese culinary culture were mostly efficient but lacked sufficient inter-ministerial and private enterprises cooperation. Moreover, a gap between the expected service and the actual service quality was observed.

After this analysis of the catering and drink enterprises in Taiwan, the Executive Yuan considered it to be efficient and adaptive enough to meet up with an increasing of the demand and that a boosts of interest could bring, and decided to design a four-year improvement program starting in 2010. The project is therefore highly economically based on the consumption abroad of Taiwanese food product (Wei, 2017). By doing so, Taiwan Executive Yuan hopes to bring Taiwan food marked globally, to ‘globalize’ the Taiwanese food industry which means to enter the

competition of exotic food trends. With the thousands of restaurants that Taiwan has to offer, the Executive Yuan planned firstly to target the neighboring country: Singapore, Honk-Kong, Macau, Vietnam, Malaysia, Japan, the United States of America and Mainland China.

Moreover, due to the increasing number of tourist in Taiwan each year, the Taiwanese government had motives in feeding all those tourists. Therefore “Gourmet Taiwan” has potential to bring economic improvement, enhance export of Taiwanese product and the value of the catering industry can be further developed abroad and internationally (“Government to market local food,” 2010).

The aim of the “gourmet Taiwan” is to help the creation 10’000 jobs in the catering industry, open 3’500 domestically and foreign food exhibition and raise the number of Taiwan brand promoted internationally to 50 brands instead of the 30 international current brands as well as encouraging private investments.

4.2 Strategy for Gourmet Taiwan

According to the report by the Ministry of Economic Affairs (“Promoting Key Services - Taiwan's Food Internationalization Initiative - Gourmet TAIWAN Taiwan's Food Gourmet Taiwan's World Aficionados” , 2010; “The 1st Committee of the Executive Council of the Executive Yuan's Service Industry Review of the Ministry of Economic Affairs' Action Plan for the Internationalization of Taiwan's Food”, 2010) the strategy was divided into two different parts:

- Internationalization strategy 地國際化 (Helping industries to organize domestic exhibitions and international promotion campaigns and use globalization to increase Taiwan brand image.)

- International localization strategy 國際當地化 (Focusing on neighbors larger market starting by China, ASEAN countries, Japan and Korean and going further to New Zealand, the United States and Europe.)

The internationalization strategy aims at laying the foundation to international exhibitions and fosters Taiwanese chefs to the world. The internationalization strategy aimed at upgrade chefs international reputation by increasing their participation to international cuisine contest and earn international reward and recognition. It also promotes the organization of food exhibition by well-known chef and famous restaurants and hotel to stimulate Taiwan food culture. The internationalization strategy also lay off the foundation for the establishment of food exchange between food industry locally and domestically and facilitate the dialogue and the food hygiene procedure for the catering industry. It aims at increasing the reputation of Taiwanese food abroad. The project also aims at developing talents in cuisine and organize exhibition industry. Taiwan food courts will also set up short-term food promotion and engage with overseas gastronomic restaurants to come back to Taiwan for exhibition and foster cooperation and research. Essentially, the internationalization strategy aims at improving the image of Taiwan food abroad through exhibition and promotion of Taiwanese Chef.

On the other hand, international localization level strategy supports and gives advices to international food exhibitions with the help of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission (OCAC). The OCAC provides information and databases to the catering industry that wish to export their products abroad notably and trade and investment. Moreover, this consulting organization researches the international market, improves the quality of food safety certification and helps to divide and gather Taiwanese food into different groups between brands and different products to open the market of Taiwanese food abroad. Finally, in order to implement those strategies the

“Taiwan Cuisine Internationalization Promotion Team” was created to help catering industry, food export industry and restaurant to bring Taiwanese cuisine abroad and face international competition.

The strategy, therefore, includes both public and private actors and their cooperation.

4.2.2 Promotion Cooperation

In term of logistic, both of the strategies have constructed around the cooperation between different Council and ministries as well as with the Executive Yuan itself ("Government to market local food," 2010).

To establish the grouping of Taiwanese food corner: the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission and the Transportation Department cooperated along with the food court of airports that would retail Taiwanese cuisine and create Taiwanese food corners.

In order to establish the foundation for international exhibition stores, the Executive Yuan Labor committee organized an investment program for industrial talents and the classification of cooking class into different categories. Moreover, the question on sanitary and food safety will be taken care of by a systematic HACCP (Hazard Analysis and Critical Control Points) coaching which is a control of the biological, chemical, and physical hazards control in production processes for food. Those food safety measures are put onto luxurious gastronomic restaurants but also on street food stalls such as night market stalls. Vocational cooking schools are also be given the opportunity by the ministry education subsidies to showcase their talents through culinary competition. Cooperation with the Tourism bureau offered a list of “must-eat” food and promoted the Tea production of Taiwan in cooperation with the Executive Yuan Agricultural committee through the program Taiwan picking Tea.

To promote Taiwanese chef abroad the Ministry of Labor planned a National cooking competition in order to find the most talented chef in Taiwan. Meanwhile, the Overseas Community Affairs Council engaged with chef and restaurant abroad to upgrade them.

The overseas marketing was planned in cooperation with the Overseas Community Affairs Council, the Executive Yuan information department. The marketing strategy was based on the creation of Taiwanese Food program TV show and recorded gastronomic performance and international exhibition.

Most of that cooperation are made through inter-ministry meeting and food advisory team (mostly from catering industry) with as top executive and manager of the all strategy: the Ministry of Economic Affairs.

Moreover, in term of funding and budget regarding the implementation of the Gourmet Taiwan strategy it comes both from the inter-ministry committees that cooperate with the promotion strategy but also from the Ministry of Economy. The total budget funded by the government accounted for NTD1,107 hundred million divided in four years. However, the Ministry of Economy was also counting on private catering industry to participate in its own promotion using their own investments instead of public spending.

	2010年	2011年	2012年	2013年	合計
Ministry of Economic Affairs	0.307	0.920	0.840	1.008	3.075
Other participants	2.967	2.796	1.100	1.080	7.942
Total	3.274	3.716	1.940	2.088	11.017

Source: Table from the Ministry of Economy (price in hundred million)

Figures 4.1: Yearly budget for the program Budget Taiwan

4.2.3 Strategy Advancement Forecast

As the number of tourists increases each year, the Ministry of Economic Affairs plan's [Gourmet Taiwan] was established in advance to focus on six essential part to be effective starting from the branding image of Taiwanese company to the catering industry services improvement. Moreover, the environment of the catering industry always changes and therefore it is important to plan ahead to create an effective strategy.

Firstly, to be able to compete with larger scale catering industries, a chain-operating model has been developed in order to establish internationally known brands and increase the market share of those Taiwanese brand competing with other large-scale brands mostly from the US and Japan. Standardization of the products sold in those Taiwanese brand will also help the association of Taiwan with a particulate idea.

Secondly, the Taiwanese government has encouraged catering enterprises to adapt to new management strategy and focus on customers satisfaction by continually improving its management and its main focus according to the Taiwanese government should focus on improving the services quality.

Thirdly, the government forecasted that a variety of themed restaurants should be created such as “vegetarianism”, “cultural food” etc.... not only because it can help attracting a different kind of customers but also because it can help be innovative and continuously attract new customers willing to try different kind of products. Creativity and innovation are both terms that the government use to describe the forecast of Taiwanese cuisine as well as talent cultivation. To sum up, one of the main forecasted objective for the Taiwanese catering industry must be adaptive and interact with the international market in order to share a part of this market and stay profitable.

The [Gourmet Taiwan] planned to improve cooperation with both the public sector and the private sectors. However, the government acknowledged that communication between the different sectors and between the different ministry must be difficult.

The goals the government expected to reach by 2013 were the following:

- The creation of 3500 Taiwanese shops locally
- Creation of at 10,000 jobs in the catering industry.
- Addition of international Taiwanese brand to 50 instead of 30.
- Training of 1000 Taiwanese talents.
- Publication in 500 media instead of 50 in 2009.
- Promotion of private investment to NTD20 billion

4.2.4 Problems Analysis and solution

In order to reach the set of goals, an analysis of possible problems that could affect the efficiency of the plan was given.

The first problem encountered for the [Gourmet Taiwan] program is the lack of distinctive image or dishes representing Taiwanese cuisine. Indeed, no particular dishes represents Taiwan food. In my own survey, described in the previous chapter and in the survey of the Ministry of Tourism, no consistency on a particular Taiwanese culinary identity was found. Instead, the similarity to Chinese cuisine is often cited.

Secondly, comparing with other country catering industry, the catering industry in Taiwan is based on small and medium enterprises. It raises a problem in term of ability to compete in the international market without improving the management system to an international management system more efficient for bigger enterprises.

Thirdly, a basic risk which can become a problem is the lack of knowledge concerning the international market. Indeed, although market research and marketing survey have been operated, Taiwanese government does not know how to adapt a working marketing strategy for different countries. It lacks information in term of consumers eating preferences and habits as well as operational restaurants management abroad even by the time of the implementation of [Gourmet Taiwan] in 2013.

Finally, the Ministry of Economy acknowledged the difficulty of involving private companies in this project and raise fund from private industry (planned NTD20 billion.) due to a complex financial process. The participation of private actors could hence be reduced.

However, to solve those problems, three propositions were given. Firstly, the creation of a dedicated organization to strengthen catering industry from the inside, supervising its management

and improve the long-term food safety, as well as, government supervision habits by the catering industry. This solution provides the created organization with the capacity to communicate with the catering industry and represent the government in its mission to promote Taiwan food. Secondly, Taiwan must improve its branding food image. The solution gives the example of Korean Kimchi and Japanese Ramen as a comparison and proposes to also create a symbol food for Taiwan. In order to internationalize better, Taiwan must, therefore, create its own culinary narrative. Moreover, Taiwan must increase its overseas presence throughout the increase of access point to Taiwanese food. In sum through the strategies given earlier (Internationalization and international localization) Taiwan must improve its visibility abroad. Not only does the catering industry must be more present abroad but also the chef and Taiwan cuisine must be accessible to a larger number of people. The two strategies must therefore interactively create an increasing awareness of what is Taiwanese cuisine.

4.2.5 Promotion Strategy and Practices

The first important point in the strategy of internationalization is the training of practitioners to organize local exhibitions, The training takes the form of e-class counseling and an active participation in applying the food management technology to enhance the catering industry and in enhance Taiwanese talents to participates in those exhibitions. In the localization strategic level, exchange platform in order to communicate and counsel is planned to be created. Those platforms will both enhance the chef reputation but will also help in the creation of a top-to-bottom way of recruitment for culinary talents in the catering industry. To promote Taiwanese Cuisine culture, the main target will be the overseas tourists visiting Taiwan and enhancing their appreciation of Taiwanese cuisine. Moreover, International events and activities such as

international trade fair and international media are used to reach target abroad and increase the visibility of Taiwanese products. The plan for international exhibitions enhancement is as follow:

- Prepare a Food Association
- Enhance the service quality of catering industry
- Assisting Catering Industry International Exchange
- Enhancing the international image of Taiwanese cuisines

Looking deeper into the international image of Taiwanese cuisines, the branding strategy is the creation of a logo and a brand name. The plan focusing on International visitors enhances cultural food such as Taiwan night market tradition and delicious food and Taiwan diverse Tea culture.

A second important promotion strategy is the enhancement of Taiwanese Chefs through the promotion of their reputations. This is also achieved through promotional counseling, investment for talents and organization of food competition.

At the localization level, the promotion strategy is divided into three different parts:

- International exhibition shop support counseling
- The division of Taiwanese food into different categories
- The marketing of Taiwanese product overseas

The implementation of both strategies, therefore, use a high level of counseling services offered by different agencies appointed by the Ministry of Economic Affairs. In order to establish Taiwanese brand abroad, social media such as Facebook and YouTube are used as well as documentaries on Taiwanese food broadcasted on the national channels which are also available abroad. Moreover, each dishes representing Taiwan have received their official unified translation around the world to be recognizable by foreigners. The Tourism Bureau has also been instructed

to organize Food tour for tourists visiting Taiwan. It was also planned to create a reference list of famous Taiwanese chefs and restaurants abroad in order to promote them to the foreign audiences.

In order to be efficient, this strategy needed to be implemented through the cooperation of different Ministries and Governmental offices in Taiwan.

Table 4.1 Taiwan ministry cooperation

Taiwan ministries for Gourmet Taiwan	Cooperation Strategy
The Ministry of Economic Affairs	Design of strategy, budget and organization of the overall strategy, assignment of task to other ministries, main management
Council Executive Yuan	Industrial talent investment program, Chinese cooking career, National Skills Competition and improvement of the cooking technology through international cooperation
Executive Information Bureau	Shooting Taiwanese TV programs, Gourmet movies and production of food-related international communication sheet
Ministry of Education	Subsidized Technical College Sets Up the Cooperation Technology Development Center Project
Ministry of Agriculture	Taiwan Tea Promotion Program, Vegetarian Health Promotion Program
The Tourism Bureau	Organization of food tour for tourists, selection and promotion of events featuring food
Ministry of Health	Analysis of Food Ingredients in Catering Industry and Food Safety Control System Appraisal plan, HACCP counseling
Ministry of Agriculture	Taiwan Tea Promotion Program, Vegetarian Health Promotion Program
Overseas Chinese Affairs Committee	Overseas Camp Meal enhancement program, Enhancement and promotion of Taiwanese Chef, International food events
Transportation Ministry	Airport zone food

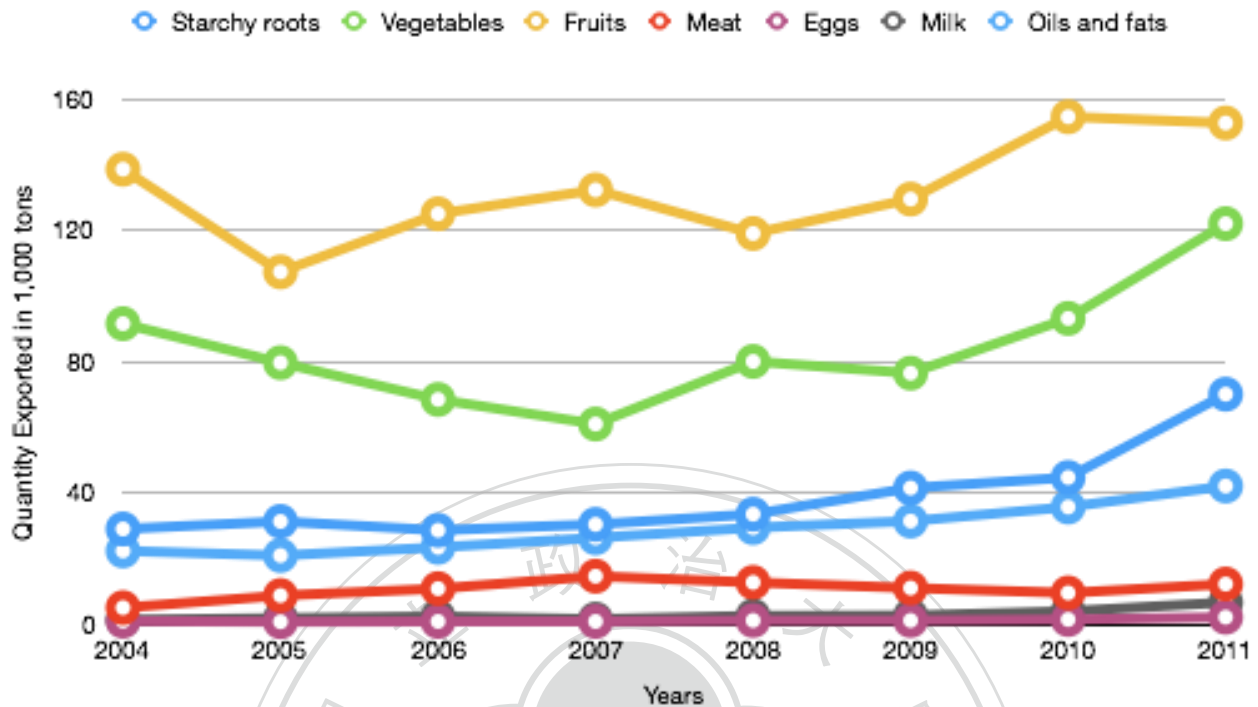
Source: *Cooperation strategy plan by the Ministry of Economic Affairs*

4.3 Achievement

The Gourmet Taiwan program was an ambitious program that accounted for the cooperation of many ministries in order to promote Taiwanese food. However, the overall goals were mainly based on economic purposes and the internationalization of Taiwanese food market.

In term of opening Taiwanese market and increase the number of export in agriculture products, the strategy shows some success. According to the statistical report of the council of agriculture (2011), the export of Taiwanese raw food slightly increased since the implantation of the 2010 program after staying steady pretty steady for the 8 previous years. It is noteworthy that the export of eggs doubled since 2002 going from 0.8 tonnes of eggs in 2002 to 2.1 tonnes of eggs in 2011.

Moreover, the statistical Book of the year 2015 shows an increase in the export of agricultural products overall from US\$749.8 million in 2010 to US\$903.9 million in 2014, the best export in Agricultural Products since 1985. Regarding the Processed Agricultural Products, an increase can also be noted from US\$2,161.7 millions in 2010 to US\$316,7 in millions in 2014. We can therefore conclude that the path of opening Taiwanese product to the international market proved itself efficient even though export of food continues to be very low in the percentage of distribution of the total export of Taiwan (1.3%) most of the export being focused heavy industrial products (Taiwan Statistical Data Book, 2015).

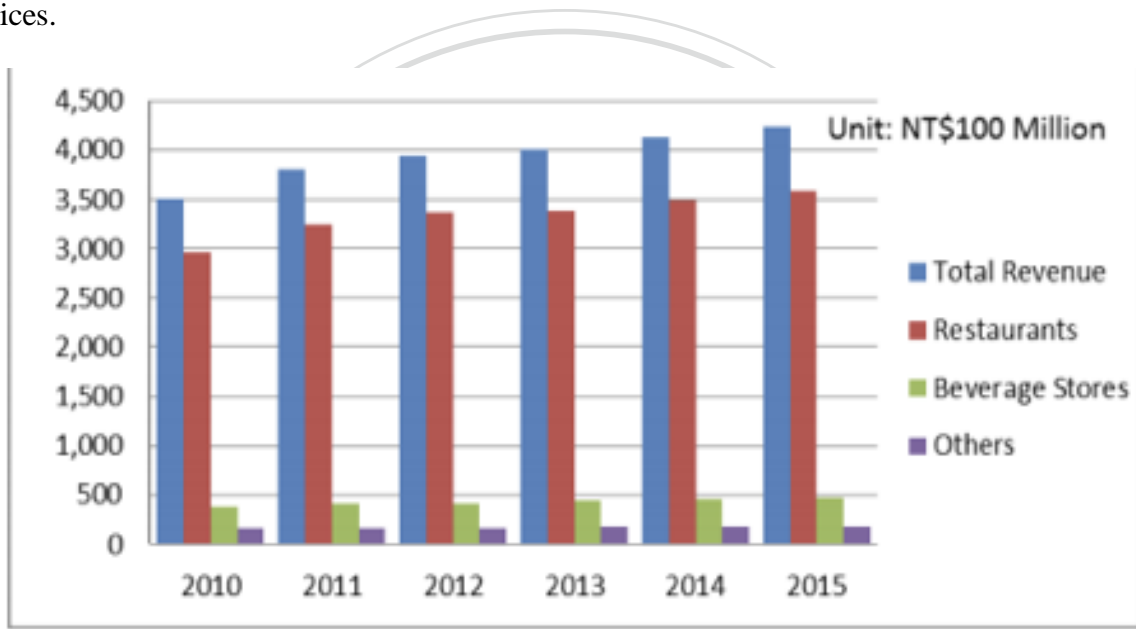


Source: *Statistical result obtained by the Ministry of agriculture export database.*

Figures 4.2. Agriculture export in Taiwan since 2004

Another of the main goals of “Gourmet Taiwan” was to improve the visibility of Taiwanese chef abroad. In this sense, not many chefs were awarded international recognition. Indeed, only Andre Chiang chef of the Taiwanese Raw in Taipei was listed as one of the top hundred chefs worldwide by Michelin guide and become very popular worldwide (“Taiwanese chef listed among world’s top 100 chefs by French magazine,” 2017) However, as said previously, Taiwan was also granted its own Michelin guide that rewards Taiwan best restaurants and its Bib gourmand list that rewards cheaper but yet must-seen restaurants which indicate that the strategy of cultivating talents have been efficient. Moreover, by sending talent chefs abroad and participating in international competitions, Taiwan culinary talents improved Taiwanese food visibility. The most recent example is the award of the Taiwanese team winning the culinary contest held during a trade fair held in Singapore (T.-c. Huang & Ko, 2018).

Moreover one of the goals of the [gourmet Taiwan] strategy was to increase the creation of Taiwanese restaurants along with the number of jobs provided in the catering industry. Although no exact statistical resources were available for the creation of jobs in Taiwan only in the catering industry, the 2016 report on Food Services-Hotel Restaurant Institutional (Fu, 2016) shows that the catering industry has grown and continue to expand in the contribution of Taiwan economy. The increase of tourism has allowed a steady growth in the annual revenue of Taiwan Food Services.



Source: Ministry of Economic Affairs

Figures 4.3 Taiwan Food Service Revenues

Moreover, according to the National Statistics dataset on Employed Persons by Industry, the number of persons working in the Accommodation and Food Service Activities has increased from 725 thousand people to 785 thousand people between May 2010 to January 2013. Although it is an important increases for the labor force population, there is no data that shows the importance of the catering industry within the Accommodation and Food Service Activities. We can therefore

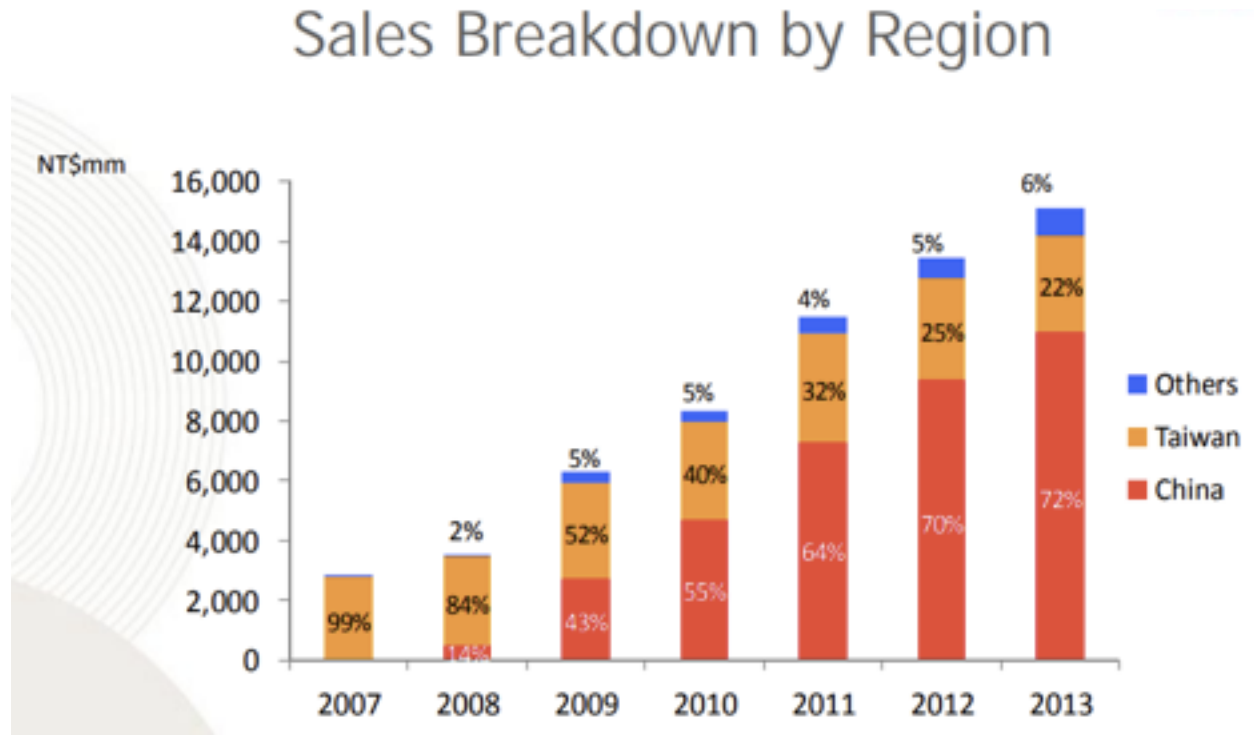
only supposes that the creation of 10,000 in the catering industry was achieved (Employed Persons by Industry, 2017).

The technological progress made in the recent years such as Food Panda or EZTABLE have also enhanced customers services. For example, over 800,000 people made restaurant reservations through EZTABLE each month. The use of e-platform to increase the number of consumers was indeed a key part of the progress of the catering industry.

An important achievement can also be appreciated by looking at the increase of catering industries registered in the Taiwan Stock Exchange (TWSE) Beginning from 2011, more food industry companies also registered in TWSE after a long period of time without any new registrations. Indeed, from 2011 to 2018, 8 different corporations registered in either Taipei Exchange, Emerging Stock or Public company list. The latest one before 2011 was in 2000 when Taiwan Fructose Limited Company registered.

Regarding the increase of apparition of Taiwanese food in the media, YouTube and travel blog increased the number of participation of Taiwan and Taiwanese food in the social media. Moreover, with famous YouTube channel such as BuzzFeed, Taiwanese food received a greater awareness. The video titled “People try Taiwanese food for the first times” from BuzzFeed has, for example, reached 1.5 Million views which shows that social media is a great way to reach people and engage their interest. Moreover, tourists have engaged in a new trend of making and publishing vacation video on the YouTube platform. Because of that new trend and the increase of tourists visiting Taiwan, the goal of improving Taiwan food media apparition have probably be reached on social media. Moreover, the participation of a Taiwanese Michelin is also a great improvement in term of social outreach.

In term of exporting the brand to different countries, the strategy also shows some success, especially regarding the penetration in the Chinese market. Some big corporations have made huge efforts to increase their share of market in the Chinese market. This is the case for example of 85C which, since 2009, has increased the number of stores it has worldwide but particularly in Mainland China.



Source: Gourmet Master Ltd. 2014 presentation on 85C company overview

Figures 4.3 Implementation of 85C regarding sales breakdown by region

Other Taiwanese food brands also show some great improvement, DingTaiFung, for example, has opened more and more locations, the latest would be in London in 2018 and would be the first Ding Tai Fung restaurant in Europe (Adam, 2017). On the same hand, the whiskey brand Kavalan also gained recognition as it has been regularly awarded the World's Best Whisky since 2015 (Stout, 2015). Finally, CoCo beverage shop continues to open new location around the

world and is now established in North America, Europe, Africa, Oceania and Asian continent according to their official website.

Exhibitions that showcases Taiwanese food are still happening on a regular bases, the most upcoming one being held in Taiwan in June 2018. Moreover, Gourmet Taiwan official website also showcases regular events to promote the catering industry in Taiwan.

Overall, the strategy has shown some interesting achievement, however in coordination with the surveys done previously, main issues, such as the Taiwanese food identity, still unsolved

4.4 Strategy Main drawbacks

Although the strategy has proved itself working in many domain such as the expansion of Taiwanese food market abroad and the increase of revenue for restaurants locally, little improvement has been done in order to determine the cultural identity of Taiwanese food. Indeed, the policy analyzes in depth the catering industry to determine the profit-making sectors and customers habits. However, one of the main problem described by the Ministry of Economic Affairs, knowingly the branding of a special Taiwanese cuisine and culinary culture, have been given little attention.

The [Gourmet Taiwan] strategy was brought upon by the Ministry of Economic Affairs and therefore has many similitudes with a business plan with management tactics and SWOT analyzes. However, although promotion was of Taiwanese food was the main goal of this strategy, the marketing part is missing from the policy overview. Indeed, according to an interview with prof. Huang, in 2018, the plan gourmet Taiwan as a public diplomacy strategy should not have been entirely relying upon and designed by the Ministry of Economic Affairs which made it too profit-making based but should have instead be dealt with a different office such as the Overseas for Community Affairs Council or the Ministry of Culture. If this plan was designed by a more

cultural based Office would have focused more on the raising the awareness of Taiwanese culture and Taiwanese cuisine as a culinary art and the cooperation with the business side of the plan could have been more efficient in as a public diplomacy strategy.

Indeed, a simple marketing strategy analyzes such as the 4P's that would have determined the **People** to target, the **Price** range attributed for each program, the **Product** that the strategy must focus on and finally the **Promotion** to adapt for each part of the strategy. The promotion part is extensively described in the policy but little place is given to describe the rest of what is a very basic marketing management strategy.

Moreover, as described in the problem section. Taiwan does not precisely have a product that could determine its identity the same way "Ramen does for Japan or Kimchi represents Korea." In the promotion of Gourmet food presented by the Tourism Bureau, a list of products is nonetheless given for the tourists and easily identify that Taiwanese food is multicultural, diverse and plays an important part in Taiwanese lifestyle. But a marketing analyzes would have helped identify a culinary identity to promote internationally and locally.

One of the main concern on Taiwanese culinary culture is its similarity with Chinese culinary culture. Although Taiwan has some different snacks and food with China, it does not embrace nor differentiate itself from Chinese food. Profoundly, Taiwanese food does not have its own identity. However, because Taiwanese historical background is unique, it could use this uniqueness as a way to create its own identity. For example, working together with Chinese Cultural office in order to showcase the variety of Taiwanese and Chinese food altogether.

Another main drawback in this strategy is the clarification of which ministries or bureau have to cooperate in which part of the strategy (either internationalization or international localization.)

Therefore if cooperation and mission are hard to discern, it is also hard to implant the strategies. In the case of [Gourmet Taiwan] too many offices and ministries had to communicate to organize activities such as the organization of exhibitions can often overlap with which others. Overlapping activities reduce the effectiveness of those activities which firstly make the budget used wrongly but also may reduce the positive impact that gastrodiploamcy could have.



Chapter 5 Conclusion

5.1 Final review

During the research, I focused on the use of Soft power nowadays and especially on one particular strategy: Gastrodiplomacy, and its potential outreach that it can produce. Gastrodiplomacy is a recent focus on the field of public diplomacy. It is the use food as the main cultural element to attract and raise awareness among the foreign audiences. It considers that since food is a basic human need, each region or country has its own food based on its own particular background historically or geographic position.

Starting from 2004, with Thailand, a public diplomacy strategy based on food started to attract academics attention. Rockover in 2009 started to write on the subject of gastrodiplomacy and soon after some other scholars started to value the importance of food in international relation. However, as few scholars attempted to show the impact that food can have on people perception., little quantitative works were done about the concerning gastrodiplomacy strategy. Even fewer case study and comparative works focused on states strategy and analyzes of its outreach effects. Indeed, most of the research done on gastrodiplomacy since 2014 were either too broad or focused on particular activities without any quantitative study on the outreach of gastrodiplomacy campaign. My research intends to fulfill this academic gap.

The first chapter reviews the existing literature and gives the main definition of soft power, public diplomacy and gastrodiplomacy. Moreover, it also defines strategic communication and nation branding as this helps defines the strategic baseline for further analysis. In the first chapter, I also present an overview of the methodology used in the thesis.

The second chapter starts by giving the contemporary landscape of gastrodiplomacy. It offers a comparative study of the successful gastrodiplomacy strategies using a marketing-based point of view on product marketing strategy, events strategy, use of opinion leader, coalition building strategy and education strategy. With these marketing strategies, I believe a complete picture of each country gastrodiplomacy strategy is given and lacks in some countries strategy can be easily identified. The second part of this chapter focus on the case study of Taiwan. It describes Taiwan complicated diplomatic situation and then outlines Taiwan soft power strategy and delineates its main drawbacks. Finally, it details Taiwan food history and gastrodiplomacy strategy following the same marketing design than the other compared country.

The third chapter gives the result of the outreach of Taiwan gastrodiplomacy. Firstly explaining how to measure public diplomacy and then measuring Taiwan gastrodiplomacy outreach. It gives us result in objective variables of perception of Taiwanese food and subjective analyzes captured through surveys done in the recent past months in Taipei city. The result shows that Taiwanese food is often seen as very diverse but also reveal that it is often considered as close to Chinese cuisine.

The fourth chapter offers the policy analyzes of the Gourmet Taiwan plan by the Ministry of Economic Affairs started in 2010. It gives its main motives but also tries to understand its promotion management mechanisms. Although complete in the business strategy, it reveals itself as having many drawbacks and relies on inter-ministerial cooperation as a main component of the strategy. Moreover, it failed to give a 4P's analyzes that could have identified easily on which product to focus on.

After the research on Taiwan soft power and public diplomacy strategy. We observe that Taiwan has an **organizational problem** regarding public diplomacy and how to create an effective

strategy to raise awareness. Taiwan public diplomacy is organized by many different actors both governmental and non-governmental that try to increase people's awareness of Taiwan abroad. The ministry of culture, the Overseas Community Affairs Council, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Tourism Bureau have tried to cooperate to create effective strategies in public diplomacy. However, as in every country, inter-ministerial missions can be tedious and the same way the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs have **trouble to cooperate**, the ministries that should focus on public diplomacy may struggle to create an efficient public diplomacy strategy, let alone a gastrodiploamacy strategy that also has to cooperate with catering enterprises and the food industry.

Comparing with other countries that also designed gastrodiploamacy campaigns, the marketing campaign is similar in term of strategies: product marketing strategy, events strategy, use of opinion leader, coalition building strategy and education strategy. However, a main difference for the Taiwan gastrodiploamacy project is the ministry that designed the project and the conception itself. Indeed, Gourmet Taiwan was designed by the Ministry of Economy and therefore is mainly business-based and do not focus on the cultural aspect of cuisine. Therefore, Taiwan gastrodiploamacy strategy **lacked to create its own identity**.

Because of Taiwanese background, Taiwanese cuisine is deeply rooted to Chinese cuisine, therefore differentiate Taiwanese unique flavor is a strenuous work. Nevertheless, Taiwan has successfully engaged in gastrodiploamacy strategy and penetrated the Chinese making export in the agricultural product but also having implanted brand in Mainland China. Therefore, one of the propositions that could improve Taiwan gastrodiploamacy strategy is to cooperate with Chinese cultural offices in Mainland China. Cooperation can help to create more awareness about Taiwan

uniqueness in Mainland China, using soft power strategy may improve the cross-strait issues status quo by improving mainland Chinese and Taiwanese people opinion on each other.

In a survey done in 2013 on the Taiwanese attitudes toward Mainland China (「台灣民心動態調查、兩岸關係定位」民調新聞稿, 2013), a majority of Taiwanese agreed that China and Taiwan have the same historical background (65.4%), language (68.6%) cultural religion (60.3%) and blood relation (71.0%) although having disparate social values and ideological system. Looking into the perception of Taiwanese cuisine for foreigner but also Taiwanese and Mainland Chinese can help political rapprochement if it was politically desirable. However, with the DPP in the government, cooperation in the gastrodiploacy field with Mainland China may not be the focus for the next years.

Another main argument of my work focuses on the difficulty yet the necessity to measure public diplomacy. Measurement of public diplomacy is hard, mostly based on official reports of the events, itself strongly based on the diplomatic representative personal perception. Therefore, another advice for Taiwan's public diplomacy is to start using measurement strategy more efficiently. As said before, to measure public diplomacy, measurement must be systematic and capture a complete sense of the situation. Although not entirely reliable, feedback and poll opinions are an important part of measurement management strategy. The Tourism Bureau has started this good habits with the Survey Report on Visitors Expenditure and Trends in Taiwan. With their ability to reach tourists and the touristic service industry more easily, The Tourism Bureau should initiate systematic feedback and opinion poll to understand the Tourist market and focusing on their needs.

This year, 2018, Taiwan has lost another of its diplomatic allies, as the Dominican Republic started to recognize the People's republic of China as the legitimate representation of China instead of The Republic of China (Austin, 2018). This happens after 67 years of diplomatic alliance. In 2017, it was Panama that cut ties with the ROC and the year before Gambia and São Tomé and Príncipe also stopped recognizing Taiwan as the One China (Austin, 2016; Mike, 2016). Taiwan is more and more diplomatically isolated and has little choice but the use of public diplomacy to efficiently reach other countries and the foreign audiences. Therefore, when designing a public diplomacy strategy, such as gastrodiploamacy, it is important to not only choose the right actors to pursue the mission but also to continually measure the efficiency of such choice.

Although Soft power cannot be efficient in all case as explained by Nye, in the case of Taiwan which is a middle power using the good-neighborliness strategy (Gilboa, 2009b), the use of Soft Power helps to counter and improve relation with other countries and most importantly increase importance and the awareness of the foreign public in the realm of international relation.

When looking at work on soft power, it is important to first understand the country in term not only of political issues but also in term of internal ministry design. In the case of Taiwan, the complexity of the cooperation design made and the wrong agencies chosen to establish a public diplomacy program may have limited the impact of this strategy. Moreover, if soft power is mostly treated in the academic field. It becomes urgent for states to increase the mean to measure its efficiency through systematic measurement of each strategy not only depending on the political needs but also because public perception (foreign or domestic) have a growing importance in nowadays society.

As far as gastrodiploamacy is concerned, continually trying to rebrand yourself is also an important part of the efficiency of the strategy. Korea, for example, has understood that when using the Olympic Game not only to rebrand its image as technology advanced country but also continually make improvement in its cuisine strategic branding (Rockower, 2011). In the case of Taiwan, little efforts were done to continue the use of food as a symbol for Taiwanese culture since the end of the program in 2014.



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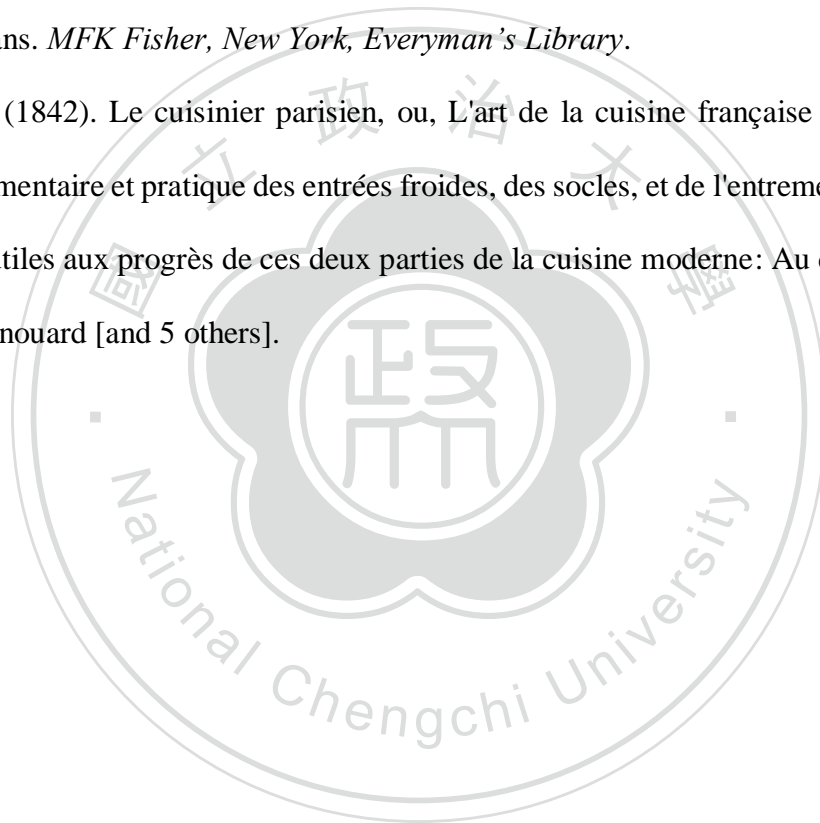
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Appendix 1

Survey questions

Name: _____

Age: _____

Nationality: _____

1. Why did you decide to come to Taiwan?

Friends recommendation

Internet and Social media

Media News report

Personal interest

Other:

2. How long have you been in Taiwan?

More than 2 years

More than 1 year

More than 6 months

Less than 6 months

Less than 1 month

Less than 1 week

A few days

3. How long are you planning to stay?

More than 2 years

More than 1 year

More than 6 months

Less than 6 months

Less than 1 month

Less than 1 week

A few days

4. What do you like the most about Taiwan?

Society (safety, convenience, clean environment)

People

Culture and history

Aboriginal

Food

Landscape and nature

Other:

5. Some say it is impossible to be hungry in Taiwan because food and beverage is so convenient to buy you can eat at anytime you want, do you agree with that statement?

YES

NO

6. Did you know what was Taiwanese food before coming here?

YES

NO

7. (if yes) How did you know Taiwanese food?

I have seen it in my country I have seen it on the Internet

I have heard about it through someone famous I have seen an emission on TV

It is popular/common in my country I went to a Taiwanese restaurant in my country

I went to a restaurant that served Taiwanese food (Asian restaurant)

I took a cooking class for Taiwanese cuisine Other:

8. Do you like Taiwanese food?

YES

NO

9. How would you describe Taiwanese food?

Oily Healthy

Nutritious

Light

Heavy

Tasty

Tasteless

Other:

10. Do you think Taiwanese food plays an important part in how you perceive Taiwan?

YES

NO

11. Can you tell 5 Taiwanese typical dishes?

12. Can you tell me 3 Taiwanese food brand?

13. Would you cook Taiwanese food back home?

YES

NO

14. Would you go to a Taiwanese restaurant in your own country?

YES

NO

15. In your opinion Taiwanese food compare to other Asian country is:

Different

Slightly different

Not very different

Similar

Completely the same

16. What would you consider to be the closest to Taiwanese cuisine

Japanese cuisine

Thai cuisine

Korean cuisine

Chinese cuisine

None of the above

Other:



Appendix 2

List of survey respondents

Name	Age	Nationality	Reason to visit Taiwan
Filip	27	Polish	Student
Dolph	25	USA	Work
Aranza	25	Mexican	Student/work
Clara	23	French	Student
Minty	23	Thai	Student
Kris	29	British	Student/work
Jan	25	Slovak	Student
Yehuda	70	Israel	Tourism
Huiya	40	British	Tourism
?	35	Mainland China	Tourism
?	36	Mainland China	Tourism
?	31	Japan	Tourism
Chris	31	USA	Tourism
Katriin	27	Estonia	Student
Laura	63	USA	Work/Tourism
Rotem	32	Israel	Tourism
?	27	Israel	Tourism
Chris	31	Australia	Relatives
Jason	41	USA	Tourism
?	45	USA	Tourism
Makenzie	23	USA	Tourism
Simon	33	Swiss	Business
Sunil	31	Indian	Relatives
Manuel	25	Mexican	Student

Marko	23	Slovakia	Student
?	26	Swaziland	Student
?	?	Polish	Conference
?	?	Polish	Conference
Jeong	21	Korea	Student
Evan	52	USA	Business
?	?	USA	Business
Justin	31	USA	Business
Andrew	?	Thai	Work
Hudea	22	French	Student
?	23	Mexican	Student
?	27	Mexican	Work
?	?	Mainland China	Business
?	35	Mainland China	Business
Angela	27	Korean	Student/work
Mariia	23	Russian	Student
Erick	36	Mexican	Tourism
James	26	USA	Tourism
Wata	31	Japan	Student
Julia	25	Mainland China	Student
?	27	Thai	Tourism
Miriam	27	Italian	Student
Clara	27	Italian	Tourism
Edern	23	French	Student/tourism
Sasha	31	USA	Tourism