

TAIWANESE ACCOUNTS OF THE MEANING OF THEIR NATIONAL
IDENTITY: A QUALITATIVE STUDY

Zhao Liu

Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts
in the Department of Sociology,
Indiana University

July 2013

Accepted by the faculty of Indiana University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Carrie E. Foote, Ph.D., Chair

Master's Thesis
Committee

Robert Aponte, Ph.D.

Ain Haas, Ph.D.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my family in Shandong and Indiana.

Acknowledgement

Rather than saying it is “I” who wrote this thesis, I would rather say this thesis is the product of collective efforts of many people. The completion of this thesis would have been impossible without the heavy assistance provided by many of my professors, friends and acquaintances.

A substantial amount of acknowledgement is due to Dr. Carrie Foote, my advisor and thesis committee chair. She helped me with the thesis from long before I actually started writing it, until even longer after it was finished. I benefited from both her academic guidance and her administrative assistance. I could always get relaxed after talking with her when I was under stress, regardless of whether the stress was caused by my study or by my personal issues. She even took great pains to scrutinize every single word of all my writing along the way for grammatical discrepancies. I could never possibly tell how much I have gained from her in terms of my English writing ability and qualitative research skills, as well as handling pressure during the research process.

I would like to offer my thanks to Dr. Robert Aponte, my thesis committee member and my RA and TA supervisor. I took advantage of his friendliness by discussing political issues with him of the United States, outlining my own viewpoints, which helped me define the stance I take in my thesis. Assisting him in his study about Latin America was also helpful for my thesis as it provides a comparative angle to my topic. Besides helping me with the idea of my thesis, he also taught me the slangs and idioms in the English language, and checked my thesis for grammatical glitches. It was a pleasure to have Dr.

Aponte as a member of my thesis committee, as well as to work for him as his teaching and research assistant.

I extend my gratitude to Dr. Ain Haas, who is also my thesis committee member. I learned a lot from his research in ethnic minorities and ethnic people's identity, which is one component of the theoretical background of my study. Acting as his research assistant for his study on Australian aborigines gave me an opportunity to make friends with him and know about his personal history, which inspires me of the meaning of a multi-faceted identity featured in my Taiwanese research. He was also careful enough to scrutinize every detail of my initial writing. It was truly enjoyable to talk to, work with, and learn from Dr. Haas, both because of his non-judgmental attitude towards personal viewpoints, and for his straightforward personality that is not reluctant to give academic criticism.

In addition to professors in my thesis committee, I am also obliged to Dr. Stephan Kory. Sitting in his class provided me a backdrop to reflect on the typical mentality of people living in Taiwan and China. I benefited (and took advantage of) his advice on the use of the Chinese Romanization system (*pinyin* or Wade-Giles). He also proofread my manuscript and gave both grammatical advice and substantive ideas. I appreciate all the assistance he provided.

I feel grateful for Dr. Bao Wan-Ning, for she introduced me to life in this university and life in America. She provided me with meticulous care when I first came here, and ensured me a very smooth transition to the new environment with highly considerate mentoring. I will never forget the support she gave me as she helped me adapt to life in this country.

Conversations with my friend Lin I-Hsuan through email (and occasionally face-to-face) about Taiwanese history and the Taiwanese national character were very helpful and informative. Her insight about her own country Taiwan is an essential part of how I understand Taiwan. I am beholden to her for her scholarly information and personal friendship. Her husband, Lin Pei-Shi, taught me how Taiwanese spelt their names, helping me give pseudonyms to my interviewees, which I sincerely appreciate. Lin Ping-Cheng, also a good friend of mine, did not hesitate to discuss with me Taiwanese people's national character when he was asked about it. Additionally, he proof-read the Chinese quotes at the end of my thesis. I am impassioned by his open-minded attitude and his generous support. Xie Yunping, my friend and fellow classmate in the graduate program in sociology, frequently talked with me about his political ideology, which helped me understand what a typical Chinese patriot thought about Taiwan. I am very thankful that he was willing to share with me his idea.

I am indebted to the administrative assistance that I received from numerous members of Indiana University staff at Indianapolis. Louise Watkins in the Department of Sociology helped me a lot with the filing of my thesis grant, which made my research possible. In addition, it is her efficient and organized management that made my life easier during my study in Indianapolis. I am thankful and respectful for her carefulness with my paperwork. Willie Miller of the University Library taught me how to use the software EndNote. Sandra Lemons of the Office of International Affairs distributed my recruitment flyers to all Taiwanese students enrolled in this university. I would like to thank Debra Barker in the Graduate School. She assisted me with the final formatting

tasks of my thesis by taking a lengthy hour scrutinizing each detail on every page. I am grateful for the assistance provided by them.

I declare my cordial gratitude to each one of the 18 Taiwanese interviewees who participated in my study, regardless of whether their interviews were included in analysis. It is markedly acknowledged that the first four interviewees took part in my study without the motivation of getting compensated. Their generosity was especially appreciated.

The whole idea of studying Taiwanese national identity was attributed to my friend Matthew Portner, who is my classmate in the Department of Sociology. It was in a conversation with him that I was inspired directly by his idea to study Taiwanese national identity. His political view-point and spirit of patriotism gave me a perspective to inspect the United States as a new member of it, and helped me make a comparison between those Taiwanese who are ethnically Chinese, and the Americans who are ethnically Chinese.

Finally, my graduate study in Indiana University at Indianapolis (IUPUI) was made possible by an Indiana University Fellowship, and a full tuition remission scholarship and teaching assistant position provided by the Department of Sociology. My thesis study was supported by the Thesis Grant of the Department of Sociology. I express my thankfulness to the Department of Sociology and Indiana University.

The fact that I was helped by many people by no means holds any of them accountable for the mistakes that may exist in this thesis. I am fully responsible for those imperfections.

Abstract

Zhao Liu

TAIWANESE ACCOUNTS OF THE MEANING OF THEIR NATIONAL IDENTITY: A QUALITATIVE STUDY

The national identity of Taiwanese people has been a topic under public debate and academic inspection since Taiwan's democratization in the 1980s and the 1990s. In this study, I interviewed fifteen Taiwanese students studying in the United States and talked with them about their national identity. Interviews with the fifteen students reveal that an independent Taiwanese identity has taken shape, while a Chinese cultural identity still remains part of the Taiwanese identity. It was also discovered that although a Taiwanese national identity has formed, a Taiwanese ethnicity has not yet taken a complete form. Discussions with the Taiwanese students also indicate that studying in the multi-cultural United States renders them more aware of their Taiwanese national identity, as well as their Chinese cultural identity.

Carrie E. Foote, Ph.D., Chair

Table of Contents

Chapter 1. Introduction	1
Chapter 2. Literature Review	4
Chapter 3. Methodology	21
Chapter 4. Findings	31
Part 1. The Meaning of Taiwanese Identity	31
Part 2. Independence Versus Unification	51
Part 3. Living in America	68
Chapter 5. Discussion	72
Chapter 6. Conclusion	87
Glossary	93
Quotes in Chinese	94
Interviewees Information	101
Appendix 1. Recruitment Script	104
Appendix 2. Flyers	105
Appendix 3. Interview Guide	106
Appendix 4. Study Information Sheet	108
References	109
Curriculum Vitae	

Chapter 1. Introduction

Taiwan is one of the places in the world that has frequently undergone sovereignty transitions during the last hundred years. Having been under the control of the Chinese Qing dynasty since 1684, Taiwan was ceded by China to Japan in 1895, after China was defeated by Japan in the Sino-Japanese war (Lamley 2007). Taiwan was under Japanese rule from 1895 to 1945. In 1945, the Japanese lost the Pacific War to the Allied Forces, consisting of China, the United States, and Great Britain. As part of China's victory package, Japan handed Taiwan back to China in 1945 (Phillips 2007).

When Japan bestowed Taiwan to Chinese control, the regime that governed China was the Republic of China (ROC). The government of the ROC was then largely controlled by the Chinese Nationalist Party, or Kuomintang. Shortly after the retrocession of Taiwan, the ROC entered a civil war with the Chinese communist armed forces. In 1949, the Chinese Communist Party won the civil war, and created the government of the People's Republic of China (PRC), which has been governing China ever since. At the same time, the ROC was driven away by the communists and relocated to Taiwan (Pepper 1986). The ROC still governs Taiwan today.

Having experienced the rule of three different regimes, the identity of the Taiwanese people changed along with the rotation of their governments. Diversity of places of origin of current Taiwanese residents makes their identity more complicated. Among contemporary Taiwanese residents, some are called Taiwanese Aboriginal Peoples, whose ancestors have been living in Taiwan for fifteen thousand years (Stainton 2007). Later when shipwright technology allowed it, continental Chinese people sailed overseas and occasionally stopped by this island not too far away from the Chinese coast. Some

Chinese even moved from the continent to Taiwan. A noticeable wave of immigration from the Asian continent to Taiwan started in the Ming dynasty in the 1500s, and moving never ceased after that.

The war between the ROC and the Chinese Communist Party resulted in 40 years of separation between China and Taiwan. Both governments denied the legitimacy of each other, and claimed the sovereignty of the land controlled by the opposite party. China-Taiwan communication stopped for four decades until 1987, when travel restrictions were lifted. Since then, economic and cultural exchange has been revived between the two countries.

Although Taiwan is now a de facto independent country with its own government, Taiwanese people's identity is not yet entirely Taiwanese. The generation who were educated under Japanese rule still have memories of their life under Japanese control (Ching 2001). Those who came to Taiwan from China with the Kuomintang in the late 1940s still remember their Chinese hometowns and see themselves as Chinese (Hughes 1997). Young people who were born after the 1980s interpret their country in a way different from both their parents and grandparents. There are plenty of scholarly papers and books on the identity of Taiwanese people as a whole. However, not so many studies focus on young Taiwanese people. At the same time, most of the studies on Taiwanese identity were conducted in Taiwan. My thesis aims to explore how young people from Taiwan see themselves in terms of national identity, and how living in another country affects their self-perception on their country of origin.

In this thesis, as geographical and political terms, I will use Taiwan to refer to the country that is represented by the government of the Republic of China, and China as the

name of the country represented by the government of the People's Republic of China. The acronym of the Republic of China is ROC, and the acronym of the People's Republic of China is PRC. In the historical period relevant to my study, the ROC had been controlled by the Chinese Nationalist Party, or the Kuomintang. The PRC has always been controlled by the Chinese Communist Party, abbreviated as CCP. At the same time, interviewees might use different names to refer to Taiwan and China in the interviews. For example, some of them use "mainland China" to refer to the PRC-controlled area. In this case, the original wording is kept, whatever they use to indicate the two countries.

Geographically, the ROC rules the Penghu Islands, the Kinmen Islands, and the Matsu Islands. But because none of my participants was from those areas, the three island groups were excluded from this study. Likewise, Hong Kong and Macau are nominally (and also practically, to some extent) under the PRC's control. However, because societies, histories and cultures in Hong Kong and Macau substantially differ from those of other parts of China, they are also excluded from the scope of analysis.

The thesis employs many names that were originally in the Chinese language. A glossary can be found at the end of the thesis to explain how those Chinese names were transliterated.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

In this part, I will outline separately the history of Taiwan as a geographical entity, and the history of the ROC as a political entity. Because the PRC claims Taiwan's sovereignty since its establishment in 1949, I will document how the PRC asserts its claim. After historical review, I will paraphrase Anthony Smith's theory on national identity and ethnicity as the theoretical reference of my thesis. At the end of the literature review, I talk about several existing studies on Taiwanese identity.

1. History of Taiwan



(Photo 1)

Taiwan is located to the southeast of continental China, to the north of the Philippines, and to the southwest of Japan. Scholars have substantial disagreement on the origin of aboriginal Taiwanese people living on this island. Some generally accepted points are the following: There are today at least 500,000 people in Taiwan, out of a total population of 23 million (2%) who are now officially called “Taiwan Aboriginal

Peoples” (*yuan zhu min*). They speak Austronesian languages. Their cultures and physical attributes identify them as Austronesian peoples. They have been living in Taiwan for at least fifteen thousand years (Stainton 2007). There are three major schools that attempt to explain the origin of aboriginal Taiwanese. One theory contends that aboriginal Taiwanese, who spoke the Austronesian language, traveled northward from Southeast Asia through the Indonesian and Philippine archipelagos, ultimately reaching Taiwan. Scholars who embrace this theory include the Dutch Indologist Hendrik Kern, who is the first proposer of the southern origin theory, and the Canadian missionary, George Leslie Mackay, who independently came to the same conclusion as Kern. Japanese anthropologists continued the tradition of southern origin, and based on their research about Taiwan Aboriginal People on the idea that they came from the south. The southern origin theory is promoted in situations where an ethnic and political border is drawn between Taiwan and China, specifically between Taiwan Aboriginal Peoples as non-Chinese and the Chinese in Taiwan (Stainton 2007).

Another theory contends that Taiwan Aboriginal Peoples came from the north, or to be exact, from continental Asia. The first Chinese anthropologist who studied Taiwan, Lin Huixiang, initially accepted the southern origin theory in his report about his first visit to Taiwan in 1929. However, he noticed the similarity between Taiwan and Shaanxi adzes, and tentatively hypothesized “some relationship” between Taiwan Aboriginal Peoples and the Han people on the continent. It is notable that Lin Huixiang was mainly a scholar, and at the time of his research (1929), Japan and China were not at war. He was working from his data and not from a “Chinese” nationalist program. The possibility raised by Lin was afterwards seriously pursued by linguist Robert Blust and later, more Chinese scholars

focused their research on the northern origin theory. This theory serves the needs of the Chinese nationalist “histories,” that of the PRC and that of the ROC (Stainton 2007).

The third theory was proposed in 1963 by Isidore Dyen, maintaining that Taiwan had more than twenty languages of Austronesian origin, thus Taiwan was highly likely to be the place of origin of the Austronesian language family. Essentially, this theory is a refinement of the northern origin theory, positing an early Neolithic immigration from southeastern continental Asia, and then independent development in Taiwan. As an antithesis to the Republic of China’s Chinese claim on Taiwan, this theory gained rapid circulation among Taiwan Aboriginal Peoples in the Lee Teng-hui era of democracy and political transformation, and was utilized by the Taiwan Aboriginal Peoples to strive for rights that they claimed were restricted by the Republic of China. Besides, it is not solely an aboriginal discourse but also a Taiwanese nationalist discourse. Appearing in the 1990s, it became a Taiwanese nationalist ideology, as opposed to the claim made by both the PRC and the ROC that Taiwan was essentially Chinese (Stainton 2007).

Documented Taiwan-China relations started in the late Ming dynasty (1500s), when shipwright technology advanced and overseas business flourished. It is mainly the adventurous Fujian people who traveled across the ocean to conduct business with Japanese, and they occasionally landed on Taiwan for supplies. Over time, more and more people of Fujian ancestry settled in Taiwan and established families (Vermeer 2007).

The Dutch made their first appearance in the Penghu Islands as early as 1604. In the 1630s, they built Casteel Zeelandia in today’s Anping District of Tainan, and Fort Provintia on the west coast of the now Tainan city. They used Taiwan as a springboard in

their business venture into the continent. They treated Taiwan as a layover place where they could negotiate with imperial Ming China for trade and business opportunities. The same is true for the Spanish, who arrived in Keelung and Tam-sui in the 1620s. But in the first half of the 1600s, the Ming dynasty was wrestling with a series of internal problems and took little interest in foreign trade. Thus a Fujian native, Cheng Chih-lung, was appointed to act as the Chinese representative and negotiated with the European visitors (Wills Jr 2007).

In the 1660s, the Ming dynasty was about to collapse and give way to the Qing dynasty. Loyal to the Ming dynasty, Koxinga, or Cheng Ch'eng-kung, son of aforementioned Cheng Chih-lung, decided to flee his business base in Fujian, and he sailed over to Taiwan with his powerful fleet. He drove away the Dutch and the Spanish, and set up the Cheng regime in Taiwan in 1661 (Wills Jr 2007).

On the Chinese mainland, the Qing dynasty defeated the Ming and took control of the whole country in the 1660s. The Qing dynasty must have felt nervous knowing that a regime maintaining loyalty to the preceding Ming dynasty still existed in Taiwan, thus it wanted to dispose of the Cheng regime. In 1683, after a series of threats and negotiations, Shi Lang, a Chinese official, entered Taiwan and accepted the submission of the Cheng regime, on behalf of the Qing dynasty (Wills Jr 2007).

The Qing dynasty had few ideas about what to do with Taiwan. The empire's attitude towards Taiwan was quite negative and minimalist. It was merely interested in keeping it out of the hands of the "trouble-making" foreigners and dissident Chinese (Wills Jr 2007). Initially the imperial court planned to evacuate all Chinese from Taiwan in order to avoid Taiwan being a refuge of chaos and revolutions. It ordered all Chinese without

families or land in Taiwan to return to the continent. Those with wives and property, and desiring to remain, were required to register with local officials. As a result, half of the Chinese population departed the island by the ninth month of 1684, according to Shi Lang's estimates. Thanks to Shi Lang's vigorous argument in favor of incorporating the island into the empire, evacuation was dropped. Taiwan was made a prefecture of the Fujian province in 1684. However, immigration from the mainland to Taiwan was regulated, preventing the migration of families. Export of rice from the mainland to Taiwan was prohibited (Shepherd 2007).

The Qing rule on Taiwan was quite fragile. The court's restriction on migration of families aimed to prevent Taiwan from becoming a refuge for dissidents. Ironically, it is just because only single males came to Taiwan that the society in Taiwan was volatile. Several rebellions, including the Zhu Yigui Chinese rebellion in 1721 and the Wu Fusheng aboriginal revolts of 1731-32, may have stimulated the Qing court to reconsider its Taiwan policy (Shepherd 2007). The appearance of European traders, Christian missionaries, and diplomatic missions may also have inspired the court to consider Taiwan's important economic and strategic position. In 1885, the Qing court declared Taiwan a province of the empire (Gardella 2007).

However, the Qing dynasty did not have too much time to build Taiwan, because it had to cede Taiwan to Japan at the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 (Lamley 2007). Over all, the Japanese treated Taiwan with an assimilationist policy, by teaching the Japanese language and prescribing Japanese social norms. Japanese rule was a double-edged sword to Taiwan. On one hand, Taiwan underwent modernization under the Japanese regime, mainly in sanitation and education. The Japanese unified measurements

and currency, created postal, banking and telegraph systems, built infrastructure including harbors, railroads, and power plants, and developed industry in areas such as sugar, aluminum, cement, iron, chemicals, textiles and lumber. On the other hand, the Taiwanese suffered in terms of political rights and government participation (Phillips 2007).

Taiwan was “restored” by Japan to the Republic of China in 1945 at the end of World War II. The China Nationalist Party (the Kuomintang, or the KMT) sent officials to Taiwan to execute sovereignty takeover. The people who came to Taiwan from mainland China during and after this period are called Mainlanders (*waisheng ren*). Those who had already been living in Taiwan prior to 1945 are called Islanders (*bensheng ren*). The arrival of mainlander officials aroused mixed feelings among the islanders. In 1947, the February 28 incident broke out, bringing an estimated casualty figure of 10,000. After the incident, the Kuomintang government assumed control over every aspect of Taiwanese society, culminating with the imposition of martial law in 1949 (Phillips 2007). In the same year, the Nationalist Party realized that they would lose the Chinese civil war to the Chinese Communist Party and retreated to Taiwan from mainland China. The ROC and the Taiwan province have overlapped ever since (Wang 2007). (Besides Taiwan, the Republic of China also ruled the Penghu Islands, the Kinmen Islands and the Matsu Islands.)

2. History of the Republic of China

The Republic of China was inaugurated in 1911 in Nanjing, with Dr. Sun Yat-sen as the provisional president. Shortly after its foundation, the political center of the ROC was moved to Beijing (Young 1983). The establishment of the ROC did not bring national

unity. Different parts of China were controlled separately by local warlords, and they did not always comply with the central government (Sheridan 1983). In order to unify China, the Nationalist Revolution was planned in 1923, under the leadership of the Nationalist Party, or the Kuomintang. It took the Kuomintang and its allies five years to put the whole of China under the nominal control of a single central government. As the commander-in-chief of the Nationalist Revolution Army, Chiang Kai-shek played the most important role both in the military advancement of the frontline and in the diplomatic negotiation with local warlords. In 1927, Chiang Kai-shek and his Kuomintang allies declared Nanjing as the capital of the ROC. One year after that, the whole of China was unified (Wilbur 1983).

During the Nanjing decade, from 1928 to 1938, there was noticeable social and economic development. Ordinary people were generally optimistic about the future of the new China. In adverse situations, the Republic of China maintained territorial integrity, boosted their national economy and increased tax revenues. The Nanjing government also set up diplomatic relations with major countries in the world, the most important being the United States (Eastman 1986a). The golden decade of the Nanjing government terminated with the breakout of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937. The attack of the Japanese was so menacing that the government of the Republic of China had to relocate to the hinterland starting from 1938, along with ordinary people, factory workers, universities, among others. The Republic of China suffered tremendous economic loss in the war with Japan. In 1945, Japan surrendered to the Allies. The capital of the Republic of China returned to Nanjing (Eastman 1986b).

Peace did not last long after the Sino-Japanese war, for the Chinese communists still controlled a great portion of China. Intending to continue their separatist occupation, the communists were not willing to cooperate with the Nanjing government. Chinese communists came into existence during the Nationalist Revolution in the 1920s. Supported by the Soviet Union, they were integrated into the Kuomintang, and were supposed to make contributions to the unity of China at that time. In fact, they were more interested in territorial control in their own zone than in the immediate unity of the whole country. In 1927, when the communists estimated that their power was equal to the government force, they made their rebellion public in Nanchang (Wilbur 1983). Attracting the attention of the Republic of China, their rebellion was suppressed. Thus the communist movement went underground.

The tension between China and Japan might have provided the communists with another opportunity to gain publicity. After several years of illegal status, the Communist Party made a statement that they wanted to form a “united front” with the Kuomintang (Slyke 1986). Chiang Kai-shek, having been kidnapped by his pro-communist general, had to agree to the communists’ involvement in the combat against the Japanese (Eastman 1986b). While the Kuomintang force was seriously involved in the defense of China against the Japanese, the communists took advantage of the chaos. They benefited greatly from the war by occupying land, embezzling ammunition, and even directly confronting the Kuomintang army. At the end of the war, the ROC was exhausted, and the Communist Party had greatly developed itself (Slyke 1986). The consequence was fatal for the Kuomintang. They lost the civil war to the Communist Party. After negotiations

between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party failed, the Kuomintang and its government of the ROC retreated to Taiwan in 1949 (Pepper 1986).

With Taiwan being the only landmass over which the Kuomintang took actual control, Chiang Kai-shek imposed severe restrictions on civil society to ensure his foothold. He began the “White Terror” or the Martial Law period lasting from 1949 to 1987. During this period, the Kuomintang government controlled almost all social spheres. The Taiwanese nationalist movement was prohibited, for the Kuomintang promoted a Chinese nationalist ideology in Taiwan and claimed Taiwan was Chinese (Phillips 2007). But the Chinese nationalist ideology was undermined in 1971, when the United Nations (United Nations 1971) recognized the People’s Republic of China as the legitimate representative of China. After that, the Taiwanese independence movement and aboriginal movement started to flourish, despite the Kuomintang’s suppression of the notion of an independent Taiwan, and its continued Chinese claim on Taiwan (Rubinstein 2007).

The Mei-li-tao incident in 1979 was the climax of confrontations between the Kuomintang and the Taiwanese nationalistic movements. In the subsequent 1980s, economic development, the rise of the middle class and the increasing awareness of democracy in Taiwanese society pushed the Nationalist Party to reconsider its Martial Law policy. In 1986, victims and sympathizers of the Mei-li-tao incident declared the establishment of the Democratic Progressive Party, in defiance of the Martial Law restriction on political parties. In the same year, President Chiang Ching-kuo repealed the Martial Law. In 1996, the Republic of China in Taiwan held the first direct presidential

election. This was seen by many as a watershed event, marking the considerable success of the island's democratization during the post-war era (Clark 2007).

3. The PRC's Claim to Taiwan

The Civil War between the government of the ROC and the Chinese Communist Party started in 1946 (Pepper 1986) and did not end until 1950 (Clough 1991). While the war was still on-going, Mao Zedong announced the establishment of the PRC in October 1949 (Teiwes 1987). Since the PRC government was solely dominated by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), it continued the antagonism featured in the relation between the CCP and the ROC. Belligerence between the PRC and the ROC did not end with the Kuomintang's retreat to Taiwan. Besides, the PRC claims Taiwan as one of its provinces. The communists' claim on Taiwan is based on two assumptions. First, the PRC considers that Taiwan has "been China's territory from ancient times" (in the words of Zhou Enlai, then Premier of the PRC). Second, the PRC holds itself as the only legitimate government of China. As a result, Despite the fact that "neither Taiwan nor the islands of Kinmen and Matsu have ever been under the authority of the Chinese Communists" (in the words of then Secretary of State John Foster Dulles) (Chai 1999), the People's Republic of China maintained that Taiwan belonged to it, indicating a complete disavowal of the government of the Republic of China. Likewise, the ROC did not abandon their mainland ambition, either. Chiang Kai-shek's main aim in retreating to Taiwan was to buy time to organize a counter-offensive against the Communists. Mainland China's recovery was his major goal, and it provided the foundation for many of his policies in Taiwan. For example, in 1960 he addressed the National Assembly in Taipei, saying that "the recovery of the mainland and the deliverance of our compatriots there from the Communist

tyranny are the sacred missions from which we are morally bound never to fall back” (Chai 1999). It is notable that both the PRC and the ROC agreed on the so-called one-China policy, both maintaining mainland China and Taiwan should be under one Chinese government, with the PRC and the ROC seeing the one government as itself, respectively.

The breakout of the Korean War in 1950 alerted the United States to the importance of Taiwan as a foothold to prevent communist expansion. Thus from that time, the United States resolved to assist Chiang Kai-shek’s Republic of China to forestall communist occupation of the island. In the 1950s, two crises occurred. The first crisis happened in the mid 1950s, when the Yijiangshan Islands and the Dachen Islands off the Zhejiang coast were captured by the PRC. The second crisis was in 1958, when the PRC launched a massive bombardment on the ROC-controlled offshore island of Kinmen. The crisis did not escalate, despite the lack of any formal treaties between the ROC, the PRC, and the US. Later, the attack took the form of a token bombardment on odd days of the month only, to showcase Mao’s military capacity and determination over the island and the ROC government (Clough 1991). After that, military action gradually decreased, finally ceasing in 1979.

In 1971, the PRC replaced the ROC in the United Nations, becoming the only legitimate representative of China recognized by the international community (United Nations 1971). With the death of Mao in 1976, the PRC’s political fanaticism started to fade somewhat. Post-Mao leaders were more practical in their handling of Taiwan. In 1991, the Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits (ARSTS) was founded. It is

a PRC-organized non-government organization, and it acts as the point of correspondence with authorities in Taiwan.

Almost at the same time, with the lifting of Taiwan's Martial Law, President Chiang Ching-kuo started to allow Taiwanese visits to mainland China in the 1980s. In 1990, the Straits Exchange Foundation (SEF) was established by the ROC government. Like its counterpart in China, this foundation is under the control of the Mainland Affairs Council of the Executive Yuan of the ROC. The establishment of the two quasi-governmental organizations paved the way for cross-strait talks. In 1992, the heads of the ARSTS and the SEF met in Hong Kong and reached an agreement, which is called the 1992 Consensus. Under the 1992 Consensus, both the ROC and the PRC agreed that there is only one China, and mainland China and Taiwan should be under one government of China, leaving the question of what this China is up to the two governments' separate (and contradictory) interpretations (Xu 2001).

But the PRC never gave up on Taiwan. During the last two decades of the twentieth century, the PRC government came up with a model which is known as "one country, two systems." If Taiwan was merged with the PRC, Taiwan would be considered as a local government under Beijing's command, like Hong Kong and Macau, but it would enjoy a high degree of autonomy, according to the PRC's explanation of this policy. To force Taipei into a PRC-dominated deal, Beijing has isolated Taiwan internationally, backing up its claim with the threat of military force. In 1995, President Lee Teng-hui of the ROC visited Cornell University, his alma mater, and gave a speech. Beijing interpreted Lee's visit as an attempt to create "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan." The PRC conducted military exercises and missile tests in the waters close to Taiwan (Wang and

Liu 2004). In 2000, President Chen Shui-bian came to office. As the first president of the oldest opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party, Chen tried to alleviate the tension between China and Taiwan. However, his friendly signals were met with disdain or even antagonism by Beijing, which considered Chen's support of the "one-China principle" to be insincere and ambiguous (Hickey and Li 2002). Later in 2008, Chen pushed for a national referendum on whether Taiwan should apply for membership in the United Nations. The referendum failed due to an insufficient turnout rate. But the referendum was successful in promoting Taiwan's national awareness and its agenda to acquire de jure independence (Chu 2008).

President Ma Ying-jeou was elected in 2008. With his second term starting in 2012, he is expected to remain in office until 2016. His policy with regard to mainland China is "no unification, no independence, and no use of force." He improved ROC-PRC relations after he took power, mainly in the aspects of the economy, direct transportation, and postal service. He also invited Beijing officials to visit Taiwan, which invoked criticisms that he was downplaying Taiwan's status as an independent country. Beijing was pleased by Ma's attitude to maintain the status quo, and the absence of his provocative action against the PRC (Gold 2009). He was still president when this thesis was being written.

Likewise, while the PRC claims sovereignty over Taiwan, the ROC also claims sovereignty over mainland China. The ROC's mainland policy ran from President Chiang Kai-shek's time, when he swore to fight against the mainland regime and to purge the Communists. The ROC's claim on mainland China has not substantially changed over the last several decades. As late as 2012, the ROC still claims that mainland China is under

its sovereignty, while recognizing that it has difficulty exerting actual administrative control over it (Mainland Affairs Council 2012). The PRC's and the ROC's mutual claims on each other's territory, and their mutual refusals to formally recognize each other's legitimacy are major factors blurring the national identity of people who live in Taiwan.

4. National Identity

Different scholars have different ideas about the definition of a "nation". In this study, the definition offered by Anthony Smith is adopted. According to Smith, a nation is a named human population sharing five characteristics. Analytically, a nation consists of [1] a historic territory, or homeland, [2] common myths and historical memories, [3] a common, mass public culture, [4] common legal rights and duties for all members, [5] a common economy with territorial mobility for members. Respectively, national identity is made up of five components: [1] land, [2] history, which refers to a common past which people identify as the story of their ancestors, or one ethnic group, [3] culture, which refers to the contemporary culture which members of a nation experience, [4] a unique political power, and [5] a shared economy (Smith 1991).

Another concept which is closely related to nation is ethnicity. Also according to Smith, ethnicity is a multi-faceted concept that includes a collective proper name, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more differentiating elements of common culture, an association with a specific "homeland," and a sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population. By definition, an ethnicity appears quite similar to a nation. But a closer examination between the two terms reveals that an important difference between a nation and an ethnicity is political power. Clearly, an ethnicity does not denote the power, rights, and duties shared by its members. Conversely, a nation

includes power relations among its members as a defining trait. Sometimes, political power is actually the core concept of a nation, for the political leaders of a population mobilize the people to form a new nation-state out of a colonial power, or utilize the concept of a nation to maintain the political power they have already attained.

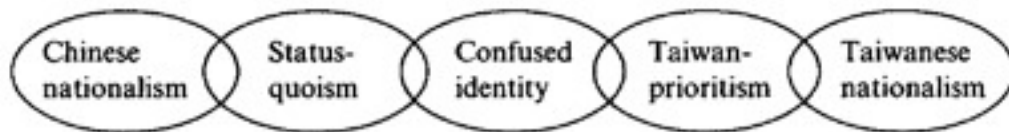
Although many ethnic groups have a long history, it should be clarified that an ethnicity is not always primordial. With the transformation of geo-political situation, a new ethnicity might well possibly emerge. An existing ethnicity can also be merged with another ethnicity, or simply become extinguished in extreme conditions such as genocide. As for the relationship between ethnicity and nation, it is recognized that many nations are formed on the basis of ethnic cores, and there indeed is considerable historical and conceptual overlap between ethnicities and nations. Notwithstanding, as I have said before, the difference between an ethnicity and a nation is a well-defined power relation. Not all ethnicities possess or evolve common legal codes, thus not all ethnicities become nations. Conversely, a nation can be formed out of several different ethnic groups, or out of a separated part of an ethnic group, thus not all nations are products of one independent ethnicity. That is to say, an ethnicity is neither a necessary condition nor a sufficient premise for the formation of a nation.

5. National Identity of Taiwanese

Currently, there are mainly two national identities in Taiwan: Taiwanese identity and Chinese identity. Some scholars have pointed out that these two national identities are mutually compatible, but sometimes work in opposite directions among Taiwanese, especially in their sense of political identity. They used the idea of “double identity” to tackle the problem, identifying many Taiwanese as both Taiwanese and Chinese (Huang,

Liu, and Chang 2004). However, from the title of their article (*The Double Identity of Taiwanese Chinese: A Dilemma of Politics and Culture Rooted in History*), their point of view may be prejudiced in the way that they prematurely assume that in general the Taiwanese are Chinese, which is an idea not held by some Taiwanese (Xue, Dai, and Chow 2005).

Wong and Sun (1998) have identified five political positions about Taiwanese's national identity on a continuum. The continuum of national identity held by Taiwanese is shown in the following schema:



(Chart 2)

Of the continuum's poles, one represents a strong Chinese identity, and the other represents a strong Taiwanese identity. There are three middle positions between the two polar viewpoints, making up five categorized identities. They are: [1] Chinese nationalism, which ascertains that Taiwanese are Chinese and Taiwan is part of China; [2] Status-quoism, which prefers to keep the status quo of Taiwan; [3] Confused identity, which does not have a clear identity in mind; [4] Taiwan-prioritism, which shows a slight preference to Taiwanese identity but does not deny the Chinese nature of Taiwanese; [5] Taiwanese nationalism, which advocates that Taiwan has nothing to do with China, and Taiwan should actively seek acceptance of the global community. Wong and Sun (1998) found that Taiwanese were distributed on the five points of the continuum, instead of just either identifying with China or identifying with Taiwan. They also found out that the

positions which Taiwanese applied to themselves were intertwined, reflecting different aspects of their national identity.

The study by Wong and Sun (1998) provides a helpful insight about how to conceptualize the topic. The framework of identity they established in their research will be considered in this study. At the same time, it is noticed that their research is a political position analysis based on a survey that drew many responses, but from close-ended questionnaires. Hence, a key limitation of their study is that they did not conduct interviews in a way that allowed the Taiwanese to explain, in their own words, what it means to be Taiwanese. As such, the critical perspectives of the participants' own meanings about national identity have yet to be fully explored.

Another limitation of such studies, that my thesis attempts to overcome, is that such studies mainly tackle the problem of national identity of Taiwanese on a macro level. Quantitative methods have been applied to produce a demographic image of Taiwanese national identity. However, a macro-level study is limited in that it does not take into account the meaning that the Taiwanese people themselves attribute to their national identity in a variety of contexts. This latter understanding requires using a method that allows the individuals involved to share their thoughts on national identity, which can then produce more detailed and vivid first-person accounts.

Chapter 3. Methodology

1. Overview

This research used a phenomenological qualitative research design (Esterberg 2002; Merriam 2002; Smith and Osborne 2003). The main goal of phenomenological research is to uncover the meaning of a phenomenon, such as an emerging national identity, from the perspective of those who are experiencing the phenomenon. In doing so, the researcher makes an extra effort to “bracket and set aside” his or her own understanding of the phenomenon (Merriam 2002; Smith and Osborn 2003). The existing literature shows that national identity is a concept that has multiple aspects, thus is difficult to define (Smith 1991). This is especially true for newly emergent and understudied national identities as in the Taiwanese case. Given this, a qualitative approach that seeks to identify the meaning of the phenomena of an emerging national Taiwanese identity is appropriate for this study. The research does not attempt to generate a general image of Taiwanese’s national identity, nor to produce a complete taxonomy of all possible kinds of national identity held by Taiwanese, but rather seeks to provide a rich description of the meaning of national identity from the perspective of Taiwanese themselves.

This research, accordingly, used in-depth interviews to explore the topic of the meaning of a Taiwanese national identity. In-depth interviews were ideal for the present study because they allowed the participants to share the meaning of a phenomenon in their own words (Kvale 2007). National identity is not just an objective category but also an internalized value; that is, the people themselves who are directly affected by the meanings of this identity (Taiwanese citizens, in this case) may have an understanding of the meaning of such identity that differs from the objective definition. In fact this

subjective meaning is rarely explored. People may demonstrate their national identity externally, such as in an award ceremony of an international game, or when waiting in line in front of a passport control point, but clarifying the internal property (i.e., what identity means to the individual themselves) of national identity can be done through direct conversations with the individuals concerned in open-ended in-depth interviews.

The research method of the thesis study, i.e. interview, is approved by the IRB of Indiana University on September 10, 2012, with the approval number 1209009461.

2. Researcher Role

In qualitative methods, the researcher closely interacts with the research participants. Data collected are subject to investigators' inspection, interpretation and selection, thus are vulnerable to the person's prejudice or bias. For this reason, it is necessary for qualitative study conductors to reflect on their own thinking, and address appropriately the possible effect that a researcher's view point may exert on the collection of data, the presentation of findings and the conclusion (Smith and Osborne 2003).

I was born and grew up in China. The government that ruled China when I was in high school was the PRC. The PRC publicized in its education system the notion that Taiwan was one of its provinces. Seeing the inconsistency between what I was taught at school and what I heard from my Taiwanese friends, I became curious about how people from Taiwan perceived their identity. However, both my Taiwanese friends and I avoided talking about their identity, thus we never discussed the issue in-depth. Writing my master thesis provided an opportunity to satisfy my curiosity about the issue of interest, thus I decided to explore Taiwanese identity as the topic of the thesis. Another factor that encouraged me to study this topic is language convenience. My native language is

Chinese, a language widely spoken in Taiwan. Using the same language as the interviewees had grown up with provided a platform for easy communication with my interviewees, especially about complicated topics such as identity issues.

A challenge that occurred due to my background of growing up in China was the concern that my Taiwanese interviewees might not have felt entirely comfortable talking with me about their identity, given the political history between the two countries. Fortunately, my anxiety proved to be unfounded when I realized that all the Taiwanese interviewees were quite open about different political viewpoints, if they were discussed on a mutually respectful basis.

In the analysis below, different points of view are presented proportionately to the number of quotes that reflect the respective viewpoints. I tried to ensure that the discussion and conclusion are based on the findings from the interviews, and sought to avoid any impact from my personal background and viewpoints.

3. Sample and Recruitment

I interviewed a total of 18 Taiwanese citizens. Among the 18 interviewees, one was born and grew up in Japan, and she was not a student. Another two interviewees were born and largely grew up in the United States, and they held dual citizenship of the United States and the ROC. It was found that the three interviewees' national identities were substantially different from those of the remaining 15 interviewees, who were born and raised in Taiwan. Most importantly, the topic of a "Taiwanese identity" did not appear salient to them. For example, a girl with US and Taiwan dual citizenship answered my question:

Interviewer: So, compared to your Taiwanese friends, you do not care so much about the Taiwan-China relation?

Interviewee: I guess so. I only feel a little uncomfortable toward China, but I don't know why I feel so. ¹

The other two interviewees expressed similar feelings. Thus only interviewees who were born and raised in Taiwan were included in my analysis.

My sample consists of the remaining 15 Taiwanese students who attended college at Indiana University - Purdue University at Indianapolis (IUPUI), on a commuter campus in a large city in the Midwestern United States. I interviewed students because they are regularly on campus, thus I have easier access to them. Another reason to interview students is that they had been in the United States for a relatively short period of time, and they were intellectually active. As a result, they were knowledgeable about the issue of Taiwanese national identity. Other Taiwanese populations, such as long-term residents in the US, surely have their own understanding of national identity, too. But since they had been living here for a long time, their identity may not be so Taiwanese as that of students.

Initially I planned to interview 12 to 18 Taiwanese students. The determination of the planned size of the sample was a comprehensive consideration of data richness, compensation payment ability and the size of the Taiwanese student population on campus. Obviously, it would be difficult to find any pattern if there were not enough interviewees. Thus it would be ideal to find as many participants as possible. However, although each additional interviewee could bring his/her unique angle to my study, the number of interviewees was subject to my ability to pay them compensation, and the time constraints to finishing my thesis. The third factor is the number of Taiwanese students on campus. I learned from the school's Office of International Affairs that there were less

than fifty Taiwanese students enrolled at the time of this study. Thus 12 to 18 is a reasonable number that I could possibly achieve.

Interviewees had to be at least eighteen years old and born, raised, and educated -- at least until some years in high school -- in Taiwan. For recruitment of interviewees, first I used snowball sampling. Snowball sampling consists of identifying respondents who are then used to refer researchers on to other respondents (Atkinson and Flint 2001). The first four interviews were completed as a pilot study for a course, with interviewees selected through my personal network. The very first interview was with one of my Taiwanese friends who attended a class with me. Then I asked her to recommend another participant. I gave her several copies of the flyer of my study, and asked her to forward the flyer along with my email address to acquaintances she thought might have interest in an interview. By that method, I received emails from my prospective participants and established communication with the three additional interviewees. The first four interviews were conducted before I received a Department Thesis Grant to compensate interviewees, thus these four interviewees chose to participate without the motivation of compensation.

Second, I used my flyer to recruit interviewees after the personal networks of interviewees had been exhausted. Flyers were posted throughout the campus. (See Appendix 4). Additionally, I turned to the Office of International Affairs of my university for help. One of the staff members distributed my flyer to all Taiwanese students enrolled on the campus.

4. Interview Process

All interviews were held on campus, and completed in 2012. Interviews were recorded with my phone and then transcribed verbatim. Among the fifteen analyzed

interviews, the longest lasted 1 hour and 31 minutes, the shortest 29 minutes, with an average length of 43 minutes. As said, the first four interviewees were conducted before the approval of my thesis grant. All other interviewees received twenty dollars in cash as compensation for their time, sponsored by the Department Thesis Grant of the Department of Sociology, IUPUI. Additionally, some of the interviewees received a small gift, either a keychain or a car sticker, presented after the interview had finished.

I used an interview guide to conduct my interviews. That is to say, all interviewees were for the most part asked the same questions. The interview started with some general demographic questions, and proceeded to more open-ended questions about self-identity. These main questions were followed by probes to elicit detail-rich descriptions. These questions covered topics such as family background of the interviewee, his/her viewpoint of Taiwan's status, his/her perception of China as the biggest neighbor, and most important, his/her national identity. For the interview guide, see Appendix 1.

Since both the Taiwanese students and I had native fluency in the Chinese language, it seemed expedient to conduct the interviews in that tongue. But I used the English language in the first few interviews, because I knew my thesis would be written in English. However, as the interviews proceeded, I found out that my Taiwanese interviewees preferred speaking Chinese, so the rest of interviews were conducted in Chinese. It turned out that the interviews in the Chinese language were more enjoyable, and produced more nuances than the English interviews. In the data-reporting section, in the case of quotes used from Chinese language interviews, I translated them into English. The original quotes in the Chinese language are provided in the Quotes in Chinese section located at the end of the thesis.

5. Data Analysis

A total of 15 audio-recorded interviews were transcribed, and the fifteen transcripts are the raw data of the study.

Data analysis consisted of three steps using methods from grounded theory (Charmaz 2003) and phenomenological analysis (Smith 2003). First I performed line-by-line coding for the first few interviews. Each line of transcripts was interpreted independently, and from each line of the conversation, a code is identified. Such a code is put beside each line, as the product of the first step of analysis. Then I performed secondary coding, also known as focused coding, or thematic coding. With the help of the codes identified in the first-step analysis, each paragraph, or sometimes more than one paragraph, was then summarized and designated with a more general theme. The last step of coding involved taking a wider look at all themes produced in the secondary coding, and identifying those themes which appeared more frequently than others. With these common themes, a memo about one certain theme was written. Memos described the themes in detail and included quotes. Finally, memos were integrated into this thesis as the data-reporting section.

Throughout the coding process, important themes emerged. Topics that drew my attention included: [1] whether Taiwanese people think they are Taiwanese, and if so, why; [2] whether Taiwanese people think they are Chinese, and if so, why; [3] relationship between the two identities of Taiwanese and Chinese; [4] viewpoint towards the government of the ROC, and whether they want to remove “China” from the name of the state or not; [5] viewpoint towards the government of the PRC, whether they want to reach a merger agreement with it or not; [6] how their US living experience affected their national identity.

It is difficult to identify such themes, because first, national identity is a comprehensive understanding of one's background of multiple aspects, including hometown, language, political rights and economic status. Second, these themes are not mutually independent, but are intertwined with each other. Third, these themes are not the smallest units of analysis, since each of them can break down into several topics. For example, political viewpoint is influenced by one's party preference and how it is formed, among other things. In the analysis, I focused on the themes listed as the stem of inspection, and treated details as branches that were logically subordinate to these main themes.

6. Participants and Study Limitations

Relevant personal details about the fifteen interviewees are given in the Interviewees Information section located at the end of the thesis. Among the fifteen students, 8 are male and 7 are female. Ages of interviewees range from 19 to 36, with two interviewees' ages unknown but estimated in the late 20s.

All fifteen Taiwanese students claimed to be Taiwanese in the interviews. Some of them also identify themselves as Chinese. (The relationship between the two identities will be fully explained in the finding section of the thesis.) The column titled "self thinking Chinese" reflects interviewees' views on whether they hold a Chinese identity. About political preferences, there are two main themes that emerged in this study. These are [1] preference to remove "Republic of China" from the country's name, and [2] which Taiwanese political party they support. Two columns in the table show whether interviewees want "Republic of China" removed, and which Taiwanese political party they support. As for Taiwan-China relations, two themes denote interviewees' ideas

towards mainland China. First, what do they *hope* for Taiwan in the future, and second, what do they *think* will happen to Taiwan in the future. At last, interviewees' grandparents' place of origin were recorded in the table. Noticing that interviewees were in their 20s or 30s, a notable difference in their grandparents' generation is whether they came to Taiwan around 1949, or they had been in Taiwan since long before 1949.

With regard to representativeness, the major limitation of my research is that I did not interview Taiwanese Aborigines (*yuan zhu min*). All of my interviewees could track their ancestry to China, and none of them identified themselves as Taiwanese aborigines. The absence of aboriginal Taiwanese student in my study may reflect the minority status of the Taiwanese Aboriginal People, as well as their economic disadvantage among all Taiwanese residents.

7. Findings Overview

Findings are reported in three sections. The first part of the findings is about a Taiwanese identity. Quotes that indicate the existence of a Taiwanese identity are presented. This part also presents the evidence that a Chinese component remains as part of the Taiwanese identity. An analysis of this Chinese component is presented, and the relationship between the Taiwanese identity and the Chinese factor is examined. The second part of findings is about Taiwanese students' viewpoints about their country's independence. It is found that a politically independent Taiwan is desired by most of the interviewees. Reasons for such a high degree of identification with independence, and for an aversion to possible unification with China are provided in this part. The third part of findings inspects how living in the United States affects Taiwanese students' identities. Taiwanese students studying in the United States have more opportunities than their

domestic compatriots to interact with people from other parts of the world, as well as with people from mainland China. In this part, I present findings that show how interaction with different groups of people influence the participants' national awareness and cultural identity, both Taiwanese and Chinese.

In the Findings section, I take a few measures to ensure the confidentiality of my interviewees. First, each interviewee is given a pseudonym. Each of them is randomly assigned a family name and a given name. Family names and given names are selected from a pool of customary names of Taiwanese people to make the description look vivid. Second, if a participant referred to a specific name of a person, such as a family member, I also used a pseudonym in such cases.

Chapter 4. Findings

Part 1. The Meaning of Taiwanese Identity

The participants in this study reiterated what has been shown in the literature regarding the emergence of a Taiwanese identity. Throughout the interviews, the students regularly expressed ideas that could clearly be seen as characteristics of a distinct Taiwanese identity. At the same time, many of the participants also recognized their connection and heritage to China and saw themselves as Chinese. Importantly though, being Chinese appears to be a sub-section of a Taiwanese identity, rather than a parallel dual identity. In this section, the theme about what it means to be Taiwanese is presented in three sections, namely (a). Being distinctively Taiwanese, (b). Being culturally Chinese, and (c). Being culturally Chinese as a sub-identity of being Taiwanese.

1a. Being Distinctively Taiwanese

Being distinctively Taiwanese refers to what the interviewees understood and perceived as uniquely Taiwanese identity characteristics. Such characteristics included three factors, namely geographical distinction, different governments, and culture.

- **Geographical Distinction**

In terms of geography, the participants emphasized being from Taiwan, or more specifically being born and/or raised in Taiwan, as well as pointing out to others that being Taiwanese is something different from being anywhere else in the world, including China. For example, I asked some of the participants to share how they responded when Americans asked, “Where are you from?” As expected, they said Taiwan. For example, “I come from Taiwan. That is a fact. I don’t come from China.” Tsai-chieh answered. Similarly, Shu-fen said, “I come from Taiwan. It’s not China. It’s different. That’s all.”

Others emphasized that where one was born determines where one is from. “Since I was born in Taiwan, I say I’m from Taiwan. . . If any American or any other foreigner asks me, I would say I’m from Taiwan. I’m not from China” (Cheng-han). Likewise, when describing where his family was born, Po-jui said,

All my family were born in Taiwan. My father and my mother are so-called native Taiwanese, though not aboriginal. They are not aboriginal but they are native Taiwanese. Just as we say native Americans, we don’t mean Indians. Native Americans mean English people coming to America. They were native Americans. Indians are aboriginal. My parents are not aboriginal but they are native Taiwanese. It means their parents or grandparents came to Taiwan several generations ago. They were born in Taiwan.

The fact that one grew up in Taiwan and not China also meant that one was Taiwanese. Kuan-ting explained:

With my sisters, I didn’t talk about it. Not that we didn’t talk about it, but we have the same viewpoints. We know we are Taiwanese, not Chinese. We know we grew up in Taiwan, and our passports say Taiwan. Of course we also discuss, but actually it is more than echoing than discussion, because we think alike. So we just echoed with each other, saying “Right, we do not belong to the mainland. We are from Taiwan.” I said yes. So we share our viewpoints. ²

I also asked some of the students if they ever had experiences where they were mistaken for Chinese. One student, Tsai-chieh, who had this experience, became upset in instances where Americans continued referring to her as being from China, even after she said she was from Taiwan. She took it personally and in a negative way when she introduced herself as being from Taiwan but later, her professor continued to refer to her as being from China. She elaborated:

One professor always says I’m from China. I always correct him in that, that I’m from Taiwan. I think I would correct that, maybe not so much about the issue we discuss right now, maybe it’s more that you don’t respect me. I introduced myself as from Taiwan and you forgot that. It’s more like personal! You know what I mean? Just like every time you say

that your name is Evan, for example, and next time he sees you and says hi, Mary. Something like that.

Others, however, were not personally bothered by the mix-ups. They explained that most people in America just assume they are Chinese, as they are ignorant about the differences between China and Taiwan, or just assume everyone they meet who looks like they are from East Asia is Chinese. Shu-fen would just say “yes” when asked if she was Chinese but if probed more, she would explain that she was from Taiwan: “If they ask me if I am Chinese, I'll say yes. Because I don't think everyone understands our situation. If someone would like to know more, I'll tell them that I'm from Taiwan, I'm also Taiwanese.”

In contrast, Chun-chiao stated that she never would say she was Chinese, even though she acknowledged that her ancestors came from China. She said, “We think we are Taiwanese. But you know from history, we came from China. But we won't say we are Chinese.” Chia-hao also talked about the lack of understanding here in the States and quickly correcting the mistakes when he said:

A lot of people are confused, including my former colleague in my lab, saying “Hey, you are Chinese,” and I immediately said, “No I'm not Chinese I'm Taiwanese.” So she is really confused, saying “You still are kind of like Chinese to us.” Because she studied JD [law] before, she thought according to American policies, I'm part of China. But I don't think I'm part of China.

Another student, Chun-hung, said most people thought he was from Korea, and he made a very broad statement, “What I know of America, is (that they are) not really good at telling which country you come from if you are Asian. They think we are all the same.”

- Independent Government

Several students said they were Taiwanese because their country was Taiwan. As evidence, some said they hold Taiwanese citizenship and Taiwanese passports. For example, Po-jui said, “I am not a citizen of the PRC or Hong Kong. I am a citizen of Taiwan.” Likewise, Chih-ming said:

It is defined by citizenship. It is defined by our passport with its number beginning with letter A. It is defined by many details in our lifestyle. The boundary of the administrative control defines the boundary of our identity.³

Further, when comparing China and Taiwan, some students specifically stated that they were two different countries because they have been under the rules of two completely different governments and presidents, with Taiwan’s Republic of China being a democracy, and the mainland’s People’s Republic of China being a totalitarian regime. For example, Chun-hung said, “We are already independent.” Hung-yang felt the same way, “China is China. I would say it is a country numerous times bigger than Taiwan. At the same time, it thinks Taiwan belongs to itself, though I think we are quite separate.”⁴

Shu-fen went into more details by stressing the importance of voting in the Taiwanese government elections as evidence of an independent country. She stated:

When did I define that I was Taiwanese? Maybe after I grew up and we started to vote. We have competing elections in recent years. I would think we are a country.

Comparably, Li-hua underlined the importance of voting and perceiving Taiwan as its own country:

But our family, I mean my parents and my brother, we can vote. We think Taiwan is a country, and we chose whoever benefits our country in the election, not those who are prepared to merge with China.⁵

Another student alluded to the political history of Taiwan when asserting its independence from China.

Taiwan is no longer part of China, since we are just like... how to say that? You know, Taiwan area was given away by the old China government, the Qing dynasty, when they were defeated by Japan. So Taiwan was a territory of Japan. At that time, Taiwan was no longer part of China.
(Cheng-han)

A Taiwanese identity also emerged when several of the students made comparisons between Taiwan and other sovereign states. Chun-chiao mentioned a trade dispute about beef between Taiwan and the United States. She told me recently the Taiwanese government started allowing the import of beef from America, which Taiwanese people say contains potentially toxic chemicals such as rectopamine and clenbuterol:

For example, recently, I'm not sure it is the idea of Ma Ying-jeou or of the Council of Agriculture, they said we should allow importing American beef. They said that we only eat the beef part and do not eat viscera, and those chemicals only exist in viscera. But if it is injected and exists in viscera, how can it be possible that it doesn't exist in the meat? So Taiwanese people, especially the DPP [Democratic Progressive Party] side asked why Ma Ying-jeou allowed importing American beef. They said it doesn't matter, we can ensure citizens' security and diplomatic policy at the same time. But since they brought about diplomatic policy, obviously they care more about diplomatic policy than citizens' health.⁶

Chun-hung talked about foreign countries' cultural influences on Taiwan:

I would say Japan influenced Taiwan a lot. Mostly the pop culture and the food. I would say... Korea as well, they influence Taiwan a lot. It's the closest country beside China to Taiwan. Mostly the pop culture and the food, the language, TV shows. . .

Coincidentally, many interviews were conducted when the three governments, namely the Republic of China, the People's Republic of China and Japan were disputing over the sovereignty over an archipelago called *Diaoyutai* in Chinese, or *Senkaku* in Japanese. Participants' views on the sovereignty of the islands reflected that Taiwan was

an equal state to China and Japan. Shih-han supported her country's claim that *Diaoyu* Islands belonged to Taiwan:

Actually I feel they are ours, but it seems we cannot get them back. . . It's difficult. . . Just as our international recognition. It is something we deserve but cannot achieve. But I think we are going to try. We might go on trying [to get it].⁷

Kuan-ting, however, was not so optimistic about Taiwan's chances of controlling the islands, based on his estimates of Taiwan's military muscle:

Three adjacent countries, Taiwan wants it, China wants it, Japan also wants it. So if possible, if Japan demands it so much and China also demands it so much, and Taiwan, in case a war breaks out, we cannot win. So we might say let's forget about it. We just give it up, so we wouldn't spend our military resources on it, because we cannot win against the other two countries. Japan might have a chance with China, but Taiwan is almost sure to lose. Based on my knowledge about our armed forces and our military personnel, I do not have too much confidence.⁸

Chun-hung was quite philosophical about the islands, implying he was interested in the disputes among the three countries:

From the point of view of Taiwanese, I would say, as lots of Taiwanese say, I would say *Diaoyutai* is ours. But the Chinese would say *Diaoyutai* is theirs and Japanese would say *Diaoyutai* is theirs. Just this, we don't need to fight over the island because the island is on its own, and we don't have to care whose part it is. It is a funny problem.

While feeling that Taiwan is its own country separate from China, a few respondents also acknowledged that Taiwan was not widely recognized by the international community. For instance, Tsai-chieh clearly perceived certain "facts" that made her from an independent country of Taiwan, but that were not recognized externally, specifically by China. She explained,

I think Taiwan is now an independent country, because we have our own president and we have our own passport. So I think that is a fact. Maybe many people have disagreement about that, and maybe we have international documents that can be argued against that fact, but I think

that is a fact. It's just a fact not being accepted by China and by international countries.

Cheng-han felt the same way as Tsai-chieh, but elaborated to point out contradictions in the international community declaring Taiwan is not an independent country, yet treating it as if it were in practice, such as when issuing visas. He said,

You know it's very interesting that they give us visas on our passports. It's a shame that the US government doesn't recognize Taiwan as a country, probably because of some pressure from China or international, they cannot say Taiwan is a country. I forgot the year when Taiwan, or Republic of China, they left the United Nations. At that time, the Republic of China was no longer a country recognized in the international world. Now we prefer to use "Taiwan" as our country name, but we have lots of pressure. Like the Chinese government, they will make conflict with it. Probably most of the countries are so afraid of China, so at that time they wouldn't recognize [Taiwan as a country]. But still they give us visas. We are allowed to visit their countries, without any problem.

Similarly to Cheng-han, Shu-fen also described what she saw as a contradiction between what objectively signified that a country was indeed a country, and how Taiwan was perceived as not a country by the diplomatic arena, despite meeting the definition of a country.

That's weird. The teacher told us that when you become a country, you have your land, your people, your government. I forgot the fourth factor but we have all these four factors and [yet] we cannot become a country. Most of the reason is that in the international community, we don't have many friends. Just like we cannot get into the United Nations.

A common theme in many of these quotes is that the participants expressed a clear subjective identification of Taiwan as an independent sovereign country with its own government and politics, despite lacking the external objective recognition of such by the international community.

- Culture

A final point that some of the students emphasized as evidence of a distinctive Taiwanese identity was having a culture that was shared by all Taiwanese but different from that of China. They mentioned the Taiwanese language, lifestyle and personality.

Although Taiwan's main and official language is Chinese, there is also a Taiwanese language being spoken on the island. Although the Taiwanese language can communicate the Fujianese accent in China, interviewees use the term "Taiwanese" to identify this language. When I asked Chun-chiao about the Taiwanese language, I asked: "So when you talk about Taiwanese, do you mean Aboriginal Taiwanese language, or Taiwanese Chinese, or Chinese with a Fujian accent?"

She answered evasively: "We will say Taiwanese."

For the difference between the lifestyle in Taiwan and that in China, one participant made reference to rejecting China in regard to the lifestyle on the mainland. Shu-fen explained,

You don't have to ask me if I'm Taiwanese or Chinese. You can ask me do I want to live the lifestyle just like China? I would say I don't want to live the lifestyle in China. Just because of the right of speech, the media. It's kind of sad. That's the value we cannot accept. It's better, it's more important thing for us. That's what I think distinguishes us. (Shu-fen)

Another participant also made a comparison between Taiwan's lifestyle and China's lifestyle,

There are too many restrictions in China. Everything is controlled. You might even be monitored. That is not a free country. We have gotten quite used to freedom now, and we have been accustomed to being Westernized. We would think, "Why do you interfere with us? For example, why can we not use YouTube? Why can we not use Facebook?" About these, you would think, "What the heck are you doing?" I guess people in mainland China might also be unsatisfied by this situation. (Hsiu-ying) ⁹

A third participant referred to differences in personality traits that distinguished her and others from Taiwan as Taiwanese. Li-hua contrasted the Taiwanese personality with that of the Chinese. She said,

As for people, I feel we have different cultures. Taiwanese are more euphemist, maybe because we received education from Japan, I guess. With Japanese education, Taiwanese may be more euphemist than Chinese. Compared to Taiwanese, mainland Chinese are more vocal. I know a lot of Chinese here, and they are friendly to me. But as for personality, we still have differences. Chinese seem more vocal, in my opinion, compared with me. They do not hesitate to express themselves. ¹⁰

Li-hua went on to illustrate differences in personality among girls.

Those Chinese girls I know are stronger than Taiwanese. Generally almost all are like that. Some Chinese girls told me that I shouldn't be so mild. They thought we Taiwanese girls were too docile, too submissive. I know many strong Chinese girls. Yes, especially girls. ¹¹

Hsiu-ying made several comparisons about the national characters of Taiwan and several other countries:

Taiwan has been under control of others for a long time, so they are self-abased. They've always been self-abased, and they think their culture is inferior, so they are not united. And also, Taiwanese are xenophiles. They love foreign countries and cultures way too much, as you can see. For example, China started boycotting Japan because of the *Diaoyutai* Islands. Taiwan was also frequently bullied by South Korea, like in Taekwondo games internationally. But Taiwanese simply cannot unite themselves and boycott Korean products... I think this is where Taiwanese need improvement. They really should be more cohesive internally with each other. ¹²

Chih-ming, a male student with a social science background, shared with me his interesting perspective of how a unique Taiwanese culture constitutes a Taiwanese identity:

Identity, in my opinion, we should talk about it in different contexts... It is a relative concept, and not an absolute one. The absolute part of an identity is only introductory, maybe it's only common sense... Like we have the same government, we have military duty, or it represents a country or a

culture. That is all very dry. In my opinion, identity is only meaningful when we talk about it in a relative context... like I know you are pro-blue or pro-green, but we are in the same framework. Another example, in Taiwan there is delicious food, and where can you eat it? Something that is found in Tainan is only in Tainan. This is the interesting part of identity. I am like Foucault, his French way of life, the life having been contemplated, its subtle details. The routine of every day of sociology, that is identity. ¹³

1b. Being Culturally Chinese

Although a Taiwanese identity has fully grown among all my interviewees, a Chinese factor nevertheless remains part of the identity of some of them. Three factors were identified as distinctively Chinese.

- State's History

The state that governs Taiwan now is still called the Republic of China. Heatedly disputed though, the name still appeals to some of the participants. Although the Republic of China hardly exerts any actual control over China, it seems quite hesitant to renounce its sovereignty over the area that is now under communist rule (Mainland Affairs Council 2012), just as in the case of its continental counterpart's claim on Taiwan. For those participants who maintain that the name "Republic of China" should remain intact, their identity is inevitably influenced by it. For example, Shih-han said: "Since the time of Sun Yat-sen, there has been the Republic of China. Because we inherited his legacy, we should keep its name. We can say it is the Republic of China in Taiwan." ¹⁴

Yu-lan, a female graduate student said,

Because now we are using the name Republic of China. Of course I think Taiwan is a country, but if seen from the perspective of history or geography, Taiwan is actually a geographical term, not the name of a country. If you treat Taiwan as the name of a country, you would have to prove that, by education and other means. This is going to be a really huge revolution. ¹⁵

Chun-hung also thinks the name of the Republic of China should be kept, saying,

I don't really think we need to change the name. It's been..... We have been that way for a long time. If someone wants to change it, it probably has already happened.

Since the purpose of this part is to present how state history plays a positive role in a culturally Chinese identity, only opinions that support the maintenance of the name "Republic of China" are introduced. Understanding that it is a controversial topic whether to keep or remove "Republic of China," I will discuss opposite viewpoints in later parts of this thesis.

- Ancestry

The second element that constitutes the Chinese identity is ancestry. In fact, all my interviewees can trace their relatively recent ancestors to China. For some of them, their grandparents came to Taiwan with the Kuomintang retreat in 1949, and they are the second generation after the exodus. Tsai-chieh said, "Both my grandfather and grandmother came from mainland China after World War II." Kuan-ting talked about his grandfather: "My grandfather grew up in Yunnan. He came to Taiwan in his 20s or 30s. He's been in Taiwan for almost fifty years."¹⁶

Chun-jiao's ancestors came to Taiwan from China earlier than those of Tsai-chieh and Kuan-ting. She narrated her family's story, "My dad has been to Zhangzhou. He found our ancestors there, with our family name Zheng. So from last year, we had our pedigree. So I am the seventh or eighth generation of those who came from Zhangzhou [to Taiwan]."¹⁷ Li-hua's ancestors also came from China: "[My pedigree] says, my surname is Wu. And then it says Zhejiang. But I don't know when they came. They should have

been here for several generations. They did not come with the Kuomintang in the Year 38 of the ROC. Not at that time. ¹⁸

- Language

The third contributor to the Chinese factor within the Taiwanese identity is language. The official language of Taiwan is Mandarin Chinese, as is for China. Speaking the Chinese language on a daily basis is an important reminder for some of my interviewees that their culture comes from China. Chih-ming said, “I am Chinese. I think it depends on what you mean by Chinese, because as the English language goes for the recent century or two, the word Chinese is Chinese-speaking. ¹⁹” Shih-han shared Chih-ming’s interpretation of the word “Chinese” by saying, “I am Chinese. I speak Chinese.” More than that, she is even proud of the cultural legacy. When I asked her if she thought Taiwan needed to establish a cultural/language institute, like China’s Confucius Institute, to promote Chinese culture, Shih-han said:

We don’t seem to have such an institute. But we’ve been taught traditional Chinese characters. We can recite the Four Books and Five Classics. We learned the Three Hundred Tang Poems from childhood. We have practiced calligraphy all the way. I think they are already deep in our bones. ²⁰

When asked whether she thought Chinese culture in Taiwan is more traditional than that in China, she said,

I don’t think it is more traditional. I do not have the notion of being more or less traditional. But since we have been this way, we should keep the tradition. Like I use traditional Chinese characters, keep the ancient language. If it is what we can do, then we should do it better. (Shih-han) ²¹

Li-hua’s identity also contains a Chinese element. But compared to Shih-han, her Chinese identity is more blurred:

When someone asks me if I am Chinese, I would say: kind of, I'm from Taiwan. I would still say I come from Taiwan. That's it. I feel there is a huge difference, politically. But other parts, we speak the same language, and our culture actually came from China. So I'm not sure what I can say.

22

- Not Being Chinese

Although for some interviewees a Chinese component remains part of their identity, for others they do not think they are Chinese at all, in spite of the factors listed above.

Cheng-han did not think he was Chinese, and he thought the Chinese culture in Taiwan should not be labeled as Chinese culture because it has already changed a lot:

I don't think we are Chinese because we learn Chinese culture. Because people in Taiwan think they are from China, my thinking is that (this idea is) from Chiang Kai-shek government. They say "You are Chinese". So I don't think Chinese culture influences me in anything. I even won't say it's Chinese culture. I would say it's traditional culture.

Chun-chiao was quite vocal when she negated the statement that she was Chinese: "Yes. We think we are Taiwanese. But you know, from history, from history we say we come from China. But we won't say we are Chinese."

Chia-hao thinks "Chinese refers to people--not people in other countries, but people living in China." As a result, he also indicated that he was exclusively Taiwanese: "Right, a lot of people are confused, including my former colleague in my lab, saying Hey, you are Chinese, and I immediately said no I'm not Chinese I'm Taiwanese."

Kuan-ting shared Chia-hao's identity. When I asked him in English whether he thought he was Chinese, he answered also in English: "Ah no, I don't. I think I'm Taiwanese. I was born and raised in Taiwan." Hsiu-ying made a general statement about Taiwanese people, saying, "In the consciousness of Taiwanese, we would not say we

belong to China. We would say we belong to Taiwan. We are not Chinese, we are Taiwanese.”²³

Wei-sheng was also asked in English the question about his Chinese identity. He rejected the Chinese notion indirectly:

Interviewer: Then, do you think you are Chinese?

Wei-sheng: I would say Taiwanese.²⁴

Like Wei-sheng, Yu-lan was being polite by avoiding a direct negative answer at first. But after I followed up, she expressed herself in a straightforward manner:

Interviewer: Then do you think you are Chinese?

Yu-lan: Chinese? Um, I would introduce myself as Taiwanese. Because for the most part, when you introduce yourself, where you come from, you say, “I’m from Taiwan,” then naturally it means you are Taiwanese. So I introduce myself as Taiwanese.

Interviewer: If somebody asks you: are you Chinese? Do you answer yes or no, or something else?

Yu-lan: No. Because in general, China means mainland China.²⁵

1c. Being Culturally Chinese as a Sub-identity of Being Taiwanese

However, being culturally Chinese is not entirely a factor that brings Taiwan closer to China. Due to the fact that China’s culture has undergone severe modification or even destruction in mainland China since the communist take-over, the Chinese culture now in China is far from what it used to be before the Kuomintang left the mainland for Taiwan. Taiwan’s culture is far from what it was then, too. When I asked Tsai-chieh about her opinion on Taiwan’s Chinese culture and the mainland’s Chinese culture, she said, “Chinese culture? That’s really weird thing, because we are more traditional than people in China.” Sharing Tsai-chieh’s viewpoint, Cheng-han, a male graduate student pointed out, “We would think we have more traditional [culture]... Because you know, China had

the Cultural Revolution. At that time, they broke too many traditions.” Among the many cultural factors, Chun-chiao mentioned the simplification of the written form of the Chinese language by saying, “When Mao Zedong changed something, like simplifying Chinese characters, something original disappeared in China. My dad told me that.”

Kuan-ting said when he was...

Reading many books, sometimes the book was written by a mainland Chinese writer, I could not read those simplified Chinese characters. I don't mean I couldn't read even a single one of them, but many... Basically I do not understand at all. I need to guess what a character is, by its preceding and following character. If you show me a single simplified character, I have no idea what it is. (Kuan-ting) ²⁶

Shih-han, the girl mentioned previously who was ardent about keeping traditional Chinese culture in Taiwan, thinks it a mission to protect the traditional culture from China. She said: “I hope we can keep being independent. We can write our traditional form of language, and enjoy our freedom of speech. I think it's very important to us.” ²⁷

Apart from the difference within the written form of the language, cross-strait vocabulary differences also distinguish Taiwan from China. Chia-hao's father mainly works in China. Chia-hao said when his father went back home in Taiwan, he sometimes had difficulty understanding the vocabulary his father used. “A lot of vocabulary we don't use in Taiwan, but he (dad) uses it. Like we say ‘print out the document for me,’ you will say 打印 right? But we will say 印出來. So it's totally different. [Another example] like 滑鼠 and 鼠標. So sometimes when he comes back to Taiwan for Chinese New Year, we would say, “what did you say?” And we'd feel confused.” (Explanation for readers who do not read Chinese: 打印 and 印出來 are simply two different verbs that both mean printing. Similarly, 滑鼠 and 鼠標 are two nouns that both mean a mouse, the device that is attached to a computer.)

Chia-hao is not the only one who feels confused by different usages of words. Li-hua expressed the same viewpoint when she said, “At first I had a little difficulty understanding what they [her Chinese friends] said, but gradually I understood. In my lab there is an auntie from China. She is a technician. Sometimes I had to think a bit. [But] I understand most of what she said.”²⁸

As discussed, Taiwan maintains many aspects of traditional Chinese culture better than China, which experienced a series of revolutions, thus some of the students think Taiwan is culturally more Chinese. However, being more traditionally Chinese than China does not bring Taiwan closer to China. Contrarily, since contemporary China has been under communist control for more than half a century, the Chinese culture in China is no longer the “traditional culture” in Taiwan. Thus the fact that Taiwan is culturally Chinese could be seen as an antithesis of Taiwan being socio-politically Chinese.

Among those students who said they were both Taiwanese and Chinese, they indicated that there was a split between their cultural identity and their political identity. Tsai-chieh dichotomized her identity into a cultural aspect and a socio-political aspect by saying:

Right now, in this situation, no matter whether I like or not, Taiwan is an independent country because we have our [own] president, right?

Another male student expressed the similar viewpoint: “I am a Taiwanese, because of my blood, my culture. However, I am a Chinese, culturally. Of course I am not a citizen of the PRC or Hong Kong. I am a citizen of Taiwan.” (Po-jui)

Several other students expressed their support for their own country. For instance, Li-hua expressly told me about her viewpoint: “Politically, I think Taiwan is a country.”²⁹

Wei-sheng also vocally talked about his similar idea by rejecting China as foreign to him.

When asked the question about how he saw China, he said: “It’s another country,”³⁰ an answer that represents a noticeable distinction between his in-group of Taiwan and out-group of China. The same answer was also provided by Shih-han when she was asked the same question.

Here it is necessary to bring up two Chinese words with different subtleties. The two words are *zhong guo ren* (中國人) and *hua ren* (華人). Subject to individual interpretation, both words can be translated into the English word “Chinese.” Consistent with customary understanding, the students who think of themselves as Chinese drew a clear semantic boundary between the two terms. Chun-hung is one of them:

Interviewer: Speaking of the term Chinese, what do you think of the difference between *zhong guo ren* and *hua ren*?

Chun-hung: I think *hua ren* mainly means, it’s a noun for all people who speak Chinese, like Chinese and Taiwanese. But *zhong guo ren* is mainly for China.

Interviewer: People who live there or are from there?

Chun-hung: Yes.

Li-hua agreed with Chun-hung’s opinion by saying:

I think *zhong guo ren* refers to people of mainland China. As for *hua ren*, I would say anyone who speaks Mandarin Chinese is *hua ren*. This is my opinion.³¹

Kuan-ting gave a very detailed description of what he thought was the difference between the two terms:

Zhong guo ren and *hua ren*? I think they are different. *Zhong guo ren* simply means people growing up in mainland China, and *hua ren* is a wider term. It’s like American and white. American means people who grow up in the United States of America, and white refers to people of white race. See for example, we both are *hua ren*, but you are *zhong guo ren* and I am Taiwanese. But we both are *hua ren*. One person who speaks Chinese, maybe in Singapore, is also *hua ren*. But he is a Singapore *hua ren*, and he is Singaporean. Same is true for Malaysia, Hong Kong and the

Philippines. *Hua ren* who grow up in the United States are also Chinese or Taiwanese American, but he is American *hua ren*. So *zhong guo ren* and *hua ren* are different.³²

The perceived differences between the two Chinese words provide a way to examine the identity of those participants who claimed themselves simultaneously as Taiwanese and Chinese. Shih-han, a female student, saying she was Chinese, added that “if it means *zhong guo ren*, I would not say that.” Like Shih-han, Shu-fen also rejects the term *zhong guo ren*:

Yes I am *hua ren* but I am not *zhong-guo ren*. So that’s different... *zhong guo ren*... that would not be my term.

An interviewee accepted that he was *zhong guo ren*, which might result in a socio-political interpretation of his sense of being Chinese. However, inspecting what he explained about the term *zhong guo ren*, one can find that the term he used is also confined to the cultural division. On the cultural nature of the Chinese identity and the political nature of the Taiwanese identity, Hung-yang elaborated:

I would not say *zhong guo*, because that means you are from mainland China. But if it is *hua ren*, that is for sure. Culturally, we all say we are Chinese, because we have almost the same cultural origin. So if you say you are *zhong guo ren* because you speak Chinese, we say yes, culturally. But if it is about politics, about being from Taiwan or from mainland China, we would say we are Taiwanese. (Hung-yang)³³

As seen from those quotes, those students who claimed to be both Taiwanese and Chinese apparently split their identity into a politically Taiwanese part, and a culturally Chinese part. They claimed to be Chinese solely on the cultural ground, and they rejected the Chinese notion when it comes to their socio-political identity. This reflects the different levels of the Taiwanese identity and the Chinese identity. While the Taiwanese identity is a multi-faceted awareness that is generally accepted by all interviewees, the

Chinese identity is accepted by a limited number of interviewees. At the same time, the definition of the Chinese identity is confined to the cultural and historical aspect. This reflects that the Chinese identity is one component of the Taiwanese identity.

1d. Part 1 Summary

Comprehensively speaking, the free-standing Taiwanese identity is more prevalent than the Chinese one. Among all fifteen interviewees, all of them clearly indicated that they were Taiwanese, while only eight of them also acknowledged that they were Chinese.

Analytically, as discussed in sections 1a, 1b and 1c, it is noticed that the Taiwanese identity is comprised of various facets, including geographical, social-political and cultural. The Chinese identity, however, is confined to the cultural division, such as the name of the government, origin of ancestry of Taiwanese residents, and the Chinese language. When an interviewee described having a Chinese identity, it was only on a cultural basis; it was rejected when it comes to the socio-political aspect. The conclusion is, the Chinese self-awareness held by Taiwanese is not parallel to their Taiwanese identity, but a sub-identity of the Taiwanese one. While the Taiwanese identity is a fully flavored self-notion that is supported by a separate society and a democratic government, the Chinese identity is one component of the cultural aspect of Taiwanese people's self-identification.

Kuan-ting's quote sums up all three aspects of what it means to be Taiwanese, including reference to a Chinese component when he said:

I feel I am Taiwanese. I grew up in Taiwan. I hold a Taiwanese passport. As far as I am concerned, I am Taiwanese. Although I know some of my family came from China, I am Taiwanese. Growing up in such a small place, it makes me recognize myself as Taiwanese. What's more, I have a

Taiwanese passport. I read traditional Chinese characters, and it seems Taiwanese are now the only people who use traditional Chinese characters. Yes, I am Taiwanese.³⁴

Part 2. Independence Versus Unification

Ever since being replaced by the People's Republic of China in the United Nations in 1971, the government of the Republic of China has been denied official recognition as a sovereign state by major countries in the world. As of December 18, 2012, Taiwan has diplomatic relations with only 23 countries (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2012) of some 200 in the world. Additionally, major intergovernmental organizations deny Taiwan admission. For example, the United Nations refuses to recognize Taiwan as a member state. Another example, perhaps the most apparent, is the Olympic Games. Taiwan was represented as Chinese Taipei, and they could not use the national flag of the Republic of China.

Faced with a difficult international environment, the people of Taiwan are concerned about the status of their country. As a result, my interviews with Taiwanese students about their national identity included extensive discussions about independence and unification between the PRC and the ROC.

2a. Independence

Overall, participants talked about independence from two perspectives. One perspective is the independence of Taiwan from the People's Republic of China. It means Taiwan's autonomous sovereignty without the interference of the PRC. This aspect of independence is defined as administrative independence. The second perspective of independence involves promotion of a free-standing Taiwanese nationality, and elimination of the "Chinese-ness" of Taiwan. In this light, the second perspective of independence is labeled as ethnic independence.

- Administrative Independence

In the preceding part (Findings, Part 1. Meaning of Taiwanese Identity), it was reported that a Taiwanese identity has emerged. This Taiwanese identity consists of several components, including the fact that Taiwan is now under the administration of an independent government, which is the Republic of China. Consistently, all my participants displayed their awareness of this fact.

Generally, the interviewees are not concerned with the administrative autonomy of their own government. They are assured on the point that the two governments on either side of the Taiwan Strait function on an autonomous basis, with neither side exerting political control over the other. For instance, Tsai-chieh said, “Right now, in this situation, no matter whether I like it or not, Taiwan is an independent country because we have our [own] president, right?” Similarly, Chun-hung said, “We are already independent.” Hung-yang felt the same way, “China is China. Rather than thinking it threatens Taiwan, I would say it is a country numerous times bigger than Taiwan. At the same time, it thinks Taiwan belongs to itself, though I think we are quite separate.”³⁵ Li-hua expressly told me that, “Politically, I think Taiwan is a country.”³⁶

Shu-fen also realized that Taiwan as a political entity was functioning on a completely independent basis, but could not help complaining that her country was not internationally recognized:

Interviewer: Anyway you have an independent government.

Shu-fen: Yeah. That's weird. The teacher told us that when you become a country, you have your land, your people, your government. I forgot the fourth factor but we all have these four factors and we cannot become a country. Most of the reason is that in international community, we don't have many friends. Just like we cannot get into the United Nations.

Chun-hung, an undergraduate who came to America when he was at his high-school age, was not quite concerned with the political dispute, although he was clear about the fact that his country is administratively autonomous:

Interviewer: Being from Taiwan, how do you see China as your biggest neighbor?

Chun-hung: From my point of view, I think it is the biggest country close to us. I don't really care about politics, it's all a political thing. I am not involved in this talking. I just say it is a country but sometimes political issues are kind of annoying, cause they fight every day.

Compared to Chun-hung, Kuan-ting was more involved in the tough relationship between Taiwan and China:

For me it is all a political issue. Of course politically speaking, China has always been giving Taiwan hard times, as is known by the whole world. But for me, I think it's all right. Because, let me see, we are quite separate. If you [China] don't make trouble with us, we wouldn't make trouble with you. Same is true backward. So I think... But politically, we do feel a lot of pressure.³⁷

Shih-han also talked about the political entanglement between Taiwan and China. She was considerate of, and thus tolerant about view-points that she did not agree with. When asked about the pressure China put on Taiwan, she said: "I feel pressure. But from China's standing, it is normal that they claim Taiwan. Although they are two different countries, they had been together in history. So there are different viewpoints from different standings."³⁸

To sum up, the participants were well aware that Taiwan as an administrative entity was functioning independently, without direct interference from another government. All interviewees reached the consensus that Taiwan was a politically independent country, although its status as a nation-state is not widely recognized by the international community.

- Ethnic Independence

The second meaning of independence expressed by the interviewees involved Taiwan as a free-standing ethnicity, instead of being part of the Chinese ethnicity. Some participants indicated their wish that Taiwan establish itself as an independent ethnicity, without always being shadowed by the history of continental China that is carried over by the government of the ROC. Wei-sheng advocated the emergence of Taiwan's ethnic independence:

Wei-sheng: Most of us think we belong to the Republic of China, although its territory is questionable. Some of them want independence, or I would say now Taiwan has already been independent. However, in my opinion, Taiwan indeed needs independence, but not from mainland China because we do not belong to mainland China in any way. The independence should be from the Republic of China...

Interviewer: Independence from the Republic of China?

Wei-sheng: Yes, because the boundary of the Republic of China is very weird.

Interviewer: Weird?

Wei-sheng: Because it includes mainland China.³⁹

Chih-ming, who accepts being Chinese, supports the agenda of an independent Taiwanese identity. He defined the Taiwanese ethnicity via citizenship, culture and sovereignty:

Interviewer: Do you think there is now an ethnicity which is called Taiwanese?

Chih-ming: I feel there is, but it is fractured.... It is defined by citizenship. It is defined by our passport with its number beginning with letter A. It is defined by the many details in our lifestyle. The boundary of the administrative control defines the boundary of our identity.⁴⁰

Contrary to Chih-ming, Yu-lan did not agree that Taiwan is an ethnic entity:

Of course I think Taiwan is a country, but if seen from history or geography, Taiwan is actually a geographical term, not the name of a country. If you treat Taiwan as the name of a country, you would have to prove that, from education and other aspects. This is going to be a really huge revolution. (Yu-lan) ⁴¹

In fact, for most of the interviewees, ethnic independence does not seem to be an important issue, since most of them did not talk about it during the interview. However, because Taiwan as a national identity now exists, an ethnic identity may also be on the rise, and may take more definite shape in the future. Future study is needed to track a potentially independent Taiwanese ethnicity.

- Removal of “Republic of China” as the Name of the State

An individual Taiwanese student’s preference to remove the name “Republic of China” might potentially be a signal of his/her ethnic identity. However, no pattern was found in my sample between the preference for removal of the “Republic of China” and whether a person thinks of him/herself as Chinese. A person who rejects being Chinese may want to maintain the name “Republic of China,” while a person who thinks of himself as Chinese may want to get rid of this name.

A taxonomy is delineated to categorize all interviewees:

	Self-thinking Chinese	Self-thinking not Chinese	Total
Keeping “ROC”	4	3	7
Removing “ROC”	4	4	8
Total	8	7	15

(Table 3)

It is relatively easy to understand why a participant who regards oneself as Chinese wants to keep “Republic of China” as the name of the state that governs Taiwan. Shih-han is one of these students:

Interviewer: Do you think Taiwan should cancel the name “Republic of China?”

Shih-han: No I don’t think so, because it is indeed our name.

Interviewer: But I think it might confuse many people, wondering why Taiwan is the “Republic of China.”

Shih-han: But in my view, since the time of Sun Yat-sen, there has been the Republic of China. Since we inherited his legacy, we should keep its name. We can say it is the Republic of China in Taiwan. ⁴²

It is also easy to understand why a student who does not regard him/herself as Chinese wants to remove the “Republic of China” from the name of their country. As Chia-hao indicated, he would like to take “China” out of the name of Taiwan to distinguish it: “But I don’t think I’m part of China. If we can take China out of our name, I would like to.”

As the table above shows, there are some interviewees who think of themselves as Chinese, but want to remove “Republic of China” from their country’s name. Their motivation for support of the removal of “ROC” seems largely pragmatic. Shu-fen said, “If it can be distinguished and make people know that, I would like to do that (change the name).” Hung-yang gave a detailed account of his rationale for “ROC” removal. Basically he has two reasons to delete “Republic of China:” One reason is to clear up the confusion between China and Taiwan and buffer the tension between the two countries.

I agree with this point (removing “ROC”), because China has been quarreling with Taiwan over this point. They only acknowledge one China, as far as I know. So I think why must you call yourself “Republic of China?” Why don’t you just say you are Taiwan? I have always been using

just Taiwan since I was a child, and I never cared about “Republic of China.” It is difficult to use, and if you talk with some politically enthusiastic people, no matter whether they come from China or Taiwan, you couldn’t really say it aloud. You cannot say that you are from the Republic of China, because it might offend classmates from China, and I don’t like this. So why not say it is just Taiwan? ⁴³

The other reason is to distinguish Taiwan from China in the international community:

You say you are a country, but your name is confusing, so let’s see. And if you say you are Republic of China, . . . how many people on earth know what it is! They might say it is just China. It makes it easier for us to be just called Taiwan. (Hung-yang) ⁴⁴

Li-hua, who accepted being Chinese, shared Hung-yang’s idea. When she was asked whether Taiwan should cancel the name “Republic of China”, she said,

I think it should. If you tell other people, our passport says “Republic of China,” and we need to tell them we are Taiwanese, and we come from Taiwan. Sometimes it confuses people from other countries. So I think it is necessary to change the name. ⁴⁵

A pragmatic consideration is also Cheng-han’s reason for removing “Republic of China,” besides the fact that he denies being Chinese:

The main reason for me is that we can eliminate all the confusion. ’Cause if you say, “I’m from the Republic of China,” they will say, “Are you from China?” And I say, “No I’m from Taiwan.” But they say, “OK, I know Taiwan, but your passport says it’s China, it’s Republic of China, you are from China.” That makes people confused.

Also, there are some students who do not think of themselves as Chinese, but want to keep “Republic of China” despite that they deny being Chinese as part of their identity.

Kuan-ting, a male undergraduate student who denies Chinese as his identity, maintains that the name “Republic of China” should be kept because it is part of history. When he was asked whether he thought Taiwan should cancel its name “Republic of China,” he answered:

Let me see. Only Taiwan, without “Republic of China.” If there is no “Republic of China,” then we need to change our flag, because our national flag was the Kuomintang’s party flag when they relocated to Taiwan. Chiang Ching-kuo changed it to our national flag. Indeed, we do not have a real national flag, if you understand what I mean. Our national flag is the Kuomintang’s flag-changed. If you see a movie, you’ll see the flag then belonged to the Kuomintang. If you want to replace “Republic of China,” we would have to change our flag too. So I don’t think it necessary. We could just keep it. It has always been ours, and it is part of history. So we really don’t need to change it. (Kuan-ting) ⁴⁶

The historical consideration is also Chun-chiao’s reason to keep the Republic of China, despite not thinking she was Chinese:

I know Taiwan will be convenient. Thus, so far, it's impossible to change Republic of China. But maybe in ten years, twenty years? Maybe we'll show "Taiwan" only. And Republic of China is the name we used a long long time ago in the UN, so I think Republic of China, the name is kept as old things, but not to represent the current usage. (Chun-chiao)

In conclusion, there are two layers of independence: administrative independence, which means Taiwan’s Republic of China’s autonomous administration without interference of another government; and ethnic independence, which means a free-standing Taiwanese ethnicity. Interviewees displayed consensus over the existence of Taiwan’s political independence, but hardly agreed with one another on an independent Taiwan’s ethnicity. However, although they are confident that Taiwan now is enjoying democratic political autonomy without the interference of any other government, their confidence is far from carefree when it gets to the PRC government’s claim of threat of unification claim.

2b. Unification

In this section, the unification issue discussed is of a political nature. It is pertinent to Taiwan’s administrative independence.

- Why Not Unification?

Consistent with the finding that a Taiwanese national identity has emerged, my interviewees generally did not want a unification between Taiwan and China. Among fifteen interviewees, thirteen explicitly said they would like complete, official independence. Only one student said he would like Taiwan to merge with China, while another student was ambiguous.

The first reason mentioned for not wanting unification was the perception that China has a corrupted government. Several interviewees' parents worked in China. Hsiu-ying, whose father used to run factories on the continent, said his father "was not happy" with his business experience, "because he had fulfilled all government requirements, and the government ate its words, denying him."⁴⁷ Hung-yang, whose parents also worked in China, talked about the experience that his parents had with having to bribe the PRC's government officials in order to get authorization, saying, "Very frequently, we had to bribe officials, no matter how low-ranking they were. We even had to bribe secretaries."⁴⁸ His family's unpleasant experience precluded his willingness to merge with the PRC government. He did not hesitate to show his aversion to the mainland Chinese government with harsh words:

If it is merger with China, I do not refuse it. But with the Chinese government, its political system, in my opinion, is filthy, is quite unclean. I've always been feeling horrible about it, and I don't like it. Especially their culture, the culture of bribery, of corruption, makes me sick. I have no idea how long such a country can last if it goes this way. Only because your Chinese government is communist, although I do not see any difference between your communism and our republic. But economically speaking, there seems no difference between communism and our democracy. Just don't be like South Korea and North Korean, that's ok. But if the Chinese government goes on like this, I feel terrible. That's why

I do not want to be merged with Chinese government. But I'm fine with merging with the Chinese people. ⁴⁹

Shih-han's parents had the same issue. She said:

My parents complained with me about their business. They talked something very dark, and they told me about something.... Like business takes a lot of trouble, you need to clear all those relations, and you need lots of networking. It's not very transparent. ⁵⁰

The students' second concern about unification is China's lack of freedom. The interviewees refused to choose the PRC's rule on Taiwan because they valued their freedom. Shu-fen, a law school student, was very clear about the importance of freedom of speech:

You don't have to ask me if I'm Taiwanese or Chinese. You can ask me do I want live the lifestyle just like China? I would say I don't want to live the lifestyle in China. Just because of the right of speech, the media. It's kind of sad. That's the value we cannot accept. It's better, it's more important thing for us. That's what I think distinguishes us.

Li-hua talked about freedom of speech, too. She made a comparison between Hong Kong and Taiwan:

I think now mainland China is still communist, and Taiwan is free and democratic. Thus I do not agree some of their policies... For example mainland China blocks circulation of many kinds of news... I'm not sure what Hong Kong is like now, but I do not want Taiwan to be the second Hong Kong. ⁵¹

The "One Country, Two System" model initiated by the PRC government does not appeal to Shih-han either. Like Li-hua, she does not trust in the PRC government's freedom guarantee:

I don't think the "One Country, Two Systems" approach in Hong Kong and Macau would work, because I heard from my Hong Kong friends that their textbook was modified. ⁵²

She also elaborated what freedom meant when asked why she did not want to merge with China: “Freedom of speech for the most part. I hope I can vote, and I want transparency. I want to know what my government is doing, and I can have a say in what my kids want to do.”⁵³

- Democracy as Basis of Unification

Since the political situation in China is a major concern for my interviewees, some of them said they would not rule out the possibility to merge with China, if the Chinese government becomes democratic. Tsai-chieh, when asked if she accepted being part of China, she said, “I will not refuse if China becomes democratic.” Po-jui agreed with Tsai-chieh’s view, but he went further, saying that as a Chinese-speaking country, Taiwan shared the responsibility to help China democratize:

I think though they are separated, they will possibly be united in the future one day. However, I do hope it would be good for people, on both sides, if mainland China can learn something about democracy, though I don’t think Taiwanese democracy is really good enough for mainland China to learn. But there is something to learn.

He went on saying: “I can accept it if my country changes its name or is united with the other country some day, as long as the whole process is democratic and legitimate.”

Yu-lan did not so readily accept the scenario that Taiwan would merge with China.

Of course I think Taiwan is now a country. It is a fact. This is my first point. The second point, if Taiwan really ends up being merged with mainland China, then what we could only do is accept it, because we have no other option anyway. But we need really to agree with mainland China’s political principles if that is really what’s going to happen.⁵⁴

Quotes about China’s democracy as a premise for unification are limited, because most of my interviewees do not wish to merge with China, and for them, Chinese democracy is not an important issue. But as the world trend towards democracy

advances, a potentially democratic China not only benefits China-Taiwan relations but also contributes to a stable world order. Thus more study may be needed to measure Taiwanese citizens' ideas about the development of democracy in their biggest neighbor country, and their co-destiny.

- Pragmatic Consideration

Although most interviewees rejected a unification with China, they were not eager to jump to a conclusion that severs all ties with it, because Taiwan needed to do business with the bustling Chinese economy. Hsiu-ying said, "The whole world depends on mainland China's economy, thus we cannot be independent simply because we want to."

⁵⁵ Hung-yang made his acknowledgement of the importance China's economic cooperation with Taiwan. When he was asked whether Taiwan should declare official independence now and seek admission to the United Nations, he said:

If we can clear up all the confusion with China and can stop the argument about who we are, of course it's good. But sometimes Taiwan would not feel like clearing up this confusion, probably out of an economic consideration. Because if you are still unclear about who you are, China would aid Taiwan. Or I would rather say China helps Taiwan, not aid. Just on economic terms, it would not see Taiwan break down. ⁵⁶

A healthy relationship is considered vital to Taiwan, not only by those who view themselves as Chinese, but also by those who view themselves as exclusively Taiwanese. Chun-chiao rejected the notion that she was Chinese and advocated official Taiwanese independence. When she was asked if the Democratic Progressive Party was doing the right things by amplifying their voice on the agenda about Taiwan's total separation from China, she answered:

Totally not! I admit that sometimes China has pressure, when it comes to Taiwan's issue. But I don't know. Taiwan has to be friendly with China, you know because China will be a powerful country after ten years,

twenty years, I don't know. We have connected, we share the same blood, you know. Because most people in Taiwan have moved from China from history.

Similar to Chun-chiao, Kuan-ting views Taiwan-China friendship as beneficial to Taiwan as well as China. Despite that he thinks the Taiwanese President Ma Ying-jeou was going too far in maintaining a good relationship with China, it is to some extent necessary to maintain a positive tie between the two countries, as long as it is not detrimental to Taiwan's political independence:

Undeniably, in terms of politics, we need your help in many ways, and you need our help in many ways. Because we have many businessmen in your country. If you break us down, our economy will suffer.... But we do not have to be so close. But recently I feel he (President Ma) has done some good things. For example, we have some criminal suspects who went to mainland China, and now mainland China can extradite them to us. I like that point. Of course if your criminal suspects come to our country, we can also arrest them and send them back.... So I think he's done a good job in some agreements. But I still feel we need a distance. In my opinion, there should be a distance.⁵⁷

Li-hua was also slightly unhappy about President Ma's Chinese policy, although she promoted cross-strait peace. When she was asked whether President Ma was being excessively soft with China, she said:

I think it's all right to make friends, but you must adhere to your principle, which means you must show we are a country. I think friendship between the two countries, and world peace, they are necessary. But he was undermining Taiwan's status. (Li-hua)⁵⁸

As is seen from the quotes above, pragmatic considerations are a factor that renders the interviewees desirous of a stable cross-strait relation. A positive Taiwan-China relationship is seen as good for Taiwan in terms of economy and society. The wish for cross-strait friendship is held, regardless of whether one thinks oneself as Chinese or not.

Yet an avid desire for peace between the two countries does not indicate that one wants Taiwan and China unified into one single country.

2c. Future Solution

Most students were not ready to give an answer to the question about what would happen ultimately to Taiwan in the future. Chun-chiao's answer is a representative response of most participants' idea about a immediate solution. When she was asked if she thought Taiwan should declare independence now, she said "so far, no."

Not only were they cautious about an immediate change of the current situation, interviewees were also largely hesitant to predict what would happen ultimately to Taiwan as the ultimate solution of its status as being de facto independent but not de jure independent. Among the fifteen students, nine did not specify an expectation about what would happen to Taiwan's official status. Two students were optimistic that their country would finally achieve international recognition and join the United Nations as a nation-state, while four were pessimistic.

- Ultimate Unification

Participants' pessimism was mostly due to their knowledge about Taiwan's domestic politics. Po-jui, a student majoring in political science, said although Taiwan and China "are separated, they will possibly be united in the future one day." Asked whether he really thought they would merge in the future, he said: "Eventually I do, eventually. Especially when you see what Taiwanese government officials are doing sometimes, you don't even dream Taiwan will be independent someday. I don't think so."

He obviously gave a negative evaluation of Taiwanese government officials. I did not probe why he thought negatively about his country's government, but his opinion could

be used as an example of how Taiwan's internal politics can influence its foreign relations, including its relationship with China. Po-jui is not the only one disappointed in his government. Wei-sheng, a student who came to the United States two years ago, told me that he favored a politician named Lai Ching-te. But he thought it might take Dr. Lai quite a while to attract enough attention to win himself Taiwanese presidency, and Taiwan might well have been merged when Dr. Lai is able to stage campaigns. He said:

The chances that Taiwan will join China is 70%. It [will] still take Lai Ching-te some time (to gain nationwide popularity). It is possible that during this time, Taiwan is merged with China... Taiwanese people are going closer and closer to (China)... either for economic interest or for something else; they are more inclined to China. This situation is also reflected by votes. ⁵⁹

Chih-ming did not think Taiwan would gain an official independent status within his life time:

Independence, if it means changing the name of the country, changing the flag, and other signs, I don't think it will ever happen while I'm still alive. It's very difficult. ⁶⁰

- Ultimate Independence

But not all interviewees think Taiwan's independent future is stark. Still some students envisioned a bright future where Taiwan will be an equal country to China.

There are generally two reasons that account for their positive prediction.

One reason is that as older people die off, memories about mainland China are fading. Younger people who were born and grew up in Taiwan do not have such strong sentiments about China as their elders do. Shih-han expressed her view towards Taiwanese young people, with overseas Taiwanese students as her example:

I guess every overseas Taiwanese, like those you have interviewed so far, we all have the notion that we are a country. I think we, who are now

residing overseas, and people who are now living in Taiwan, we all know this is not going to be easy, but we will go on. (Shih-han) ⁶¹

Hung-yang similarly commented about future generations:

My feeling is that sooner or later, Taiwan will sever its historical tie with China. But now it seems [not realistic]... It appears everyone feels just fine with the status quo, and they are happy with the present situation. Because it (status quo) has been like this for well over fifty years, and it doesn't seem to be a problem for another fifty years like this. Our next generation's idea will again differ from ours, and Taiwan and China should be more independent from each other. ⁶²

Another reason for optimism about Taiwan's future independence is based on democracy. As mentioned in the preceding section, many students said they would not refuse unification with China if it became democratic one day. While this seems to be a conditional promise to the PRC government, democracy as a premise is actually a time delayer which could both maintain Taiwan's de facto independent status quo, and help Taiwan gain final de jure independence when the time has come. Speaking about Chinese democracy as a precondition for Taiwan's unification with it, Shu-fen says:

It's tricky. Someday if China becomes a democratic country, I don't think we can be the same country, because democracy is that, just like we could vote to decide, you have to follow the rule, but I cannot talk about the detail of law but I know that if you become a democratic country, we won't be together. It's because of the idea of democracy. Do you know what I'm talking about? ...I mean, if you become democratic country, then it's impossible for a reunion because it's democracy.....Yes. If there is self-determination, 統一就不成立 (there is no ground for a reunification). So you ask people in Taiwan, can we be together? I believe that it won't happen. If you respect our opinion, that won't happen.

Shu-fen was insightful about the value of democracy. Her idea will be specifically analyzed in the discussion part of this thesis.

- War and Peace

Three interviewees mentioned the possibility of military confrontation between Taiwan and China, and considered war as a solution for Taiwan to get final official status in the world. Hsiu-ying said “independence will be achieved through a channel that is not peaceful.”⁶³ On the contrary, Shih-han said there would not be firearms involved in the sovereignty dispute:

I don't think it will happen. I don't think China dares to. When we held the presidential election [several years ago], they had their missiles targeted at Taiwan. But I don't think they will really do this, because other countries will speak up.⁶⁴

But after all, war is not a desirable solution to the sovereignty stand-off. Realizing this, it is easy to understand why not many interviewees brought up this topic. Chih-ming said the human race may need better ideas to tackle such a problem as is faced now by Taiwan and China. His idea about war and peace sums up this section:

A single nationality can form a single state easily; Various nationalities can also easily form a single state, but can one single nationality form two states? The human race's wisdom is stuck here. Americans became American after their war with Britain, so they could say there were Americans, not British. Today we talk about Taiwan, you want Taiwanese independence, you want a flag, and all other symbols that distinguish you from China. Is the human race wise enough to think about this issue without resorting to force? I think Taiwanese independence advocates should think about this. If war is the only channel, military confrontation is the only channel, do you still support democracy? Do you still support independence? Many people do not want to think about this.⁶⁵

Part 3. Living in America

The identity of most students interviewed underwent transformation after they started their study in the United States. For some of them, they came to feel more Taiwanese than they did when they lived in Taiwan, after they came to America and contrasted themselves sharply with the multi-cultural environment featured in their personal network and in American society. Also for some, they came to feel more Chinese than when they were in Taiwan, after they started to make friends with people from China, and realized there were more similarities than they used to think between Chinese and Taiwanese. These findings are discussed below.

3a. In a Multi-cultural Environment

In Findings, Part 1, it was mentioned that some participants complained that their country of origin was often mistaken for China, which upset them. But still, some students said Taiwan was relatively well known in the United States. Chia-hao said “after he studied in the United States,” he thought “Taiwan is greater than I thought in the United States.” Hung-yang also thinks so. He said: “In the United States, Taiwan is famous, which is normal, because after all, the US government supports Taiwan. There is a wide media coverage about Taiwan. But it might not be the case in other countries.”⁶⁶

Chia-hao and Hung-yang might not find many people sharing their idea about popularity of Taiwan in the United States. Interviewees more often than not complained that they were mistaken as Chinese instead of Taiwanese. A number of participants also said they were occasionally mistaken for people from Thailand, simply because Taiwan and Thailand sound alike.

Living in the multi-cultural United States, Taiwanese students became more aware of where they came from and who they were, than they were before they left Taiwan for America. According to Kuan-ting, living in America augmented his Taiwanese identity:

In Taiwan my national identity was not so strong. Since you were in Taiwan, everyone was Taiwanese, you wouldn't even talk about it. But in America, this issue is magnified. Here we talk about what we would not talk about in mainland China or Taiwan, and my national awareness was bolstered.⁶⁷

Residing in a foreign country, for Chun-hung, also helps overseas Taiwanese become more united:

Most of my friends would say once you are abroad, say in the US or Canada, we appreciate more where we come from, Taiwan, or think more about and care more about Taiwan. We are in a different country but we all come from Taiwan.

For Chia-hao, his study in America not only increases his national identity as Taiwanese, but also makes him more desirous of a complete independent Taiwan state, as compared to when he was living in his home country:

Before I studied the United States I wanted to keep the circumstances like they had been for, like fifty years. I don't care. But after I studied in the United States, I think Taiwan is greater than I thought in the United States, so I think if we have the chance, and no one will attack us, I would like Taiwan be an independent country. After seeing a lot of differences outside Taiwan, I would like Taiwan to be an independent country.

3b. Interaction with Chinese

Living in a multi-cultural environment can also potentially make people more aware of their home culture. On the other hand, living in such a complex environment also teaches people to respect various viewpoints, and be tolerant of ideas that are different from, or even opposite to, one's own notions. Shih-han talked about her experience with her Chinese friends in the United States, saying:

But looking from another view-point, you would not think it straightforward. They have their own ideas, we have our ideas, too. Because when I just arrived here, I was quite unhappy that they compared me to Chinese. I was Taiwanese. I have my own passport, and we have our constitution, so I tried to talk about it with my friends. But later I asked myself: why so serious? Now I still tell friends that I come from Taiwan and we are a country, letting them know about our position. If they insist Taiwan is part of China, I would still be unhappy, but I would not promote it too much. ⁶⁸

Stories about conflicts over Taiwan's status between Chinese and Taiwanese sometimes came up in the interviews. There were extreme cases where differences of ideas ended up evolving into physical attacks, or even fighting with weapons such as scissors. Kuan-ting's Taiwanese identity was increased when he saw Taiwanese were bullied by the Chinese government and some people from China. He said: "Many times in the United States, when you see Taiwanese were treated badly by the Chinese government or by some insensitive Chinese, you would feel more Taiwanese." ⁶⁹

Although there were sad stories about incidents between students from China and students from Taiwan, there are rational people who have learned to listen to and talk about opposite ideas. Li-hua said she would avoid talking about hot topics such as her identity:

My Chinese friends and I would not talk about politics. It hurts to talk about it so we would simply ignore it, and stay away from this kind of topic. ⁷⁰

Chun-hung was able to make a heated political topic a joke to make fun of:

My Chinese friends will say Taiwan belongs to us. We are just making fun of this. Not really an annoying thing.

Stories are also told of some rational Chinese students who genuinely try to understand Taiwan's situation. Li-hua talked about one of her friends:

My [Chinese] friends like Taiwan, so there is not so much disagreement. My friends also think Taiwan is a country, different from China. One of my friends thinks Taiwan is so good, that he said Taiwan should declare independence as soon as possible. Once he was talking about this with an American, and their conversation was heard by another American. He said he had never heard a Chinese could talk about this so fiercely and seriously. ⁷¹

Actually, it should be easier for Chinese and Taiwanese to make friends with each other because they speak the same language. Just as Shih-han said:

[Before I left Taiwan] I thought maybe Chinese were different from us. But after I left Taiwan, I made friends with many Chinese, I feel we are the same. We are all *hua ren*, we all speak the Chinese language. ⁷²

Kuan-ting also made friends with many Chinese. He thought that Chinese and Taiwanese should make friends with each other, although the two countries' governments seemed to be deliberately stimulating Taiwanese-Chinese animosity:

In fact at times I feel it is the Chinese government which is being wicked, as well as the Taiwanese government. When I was in Seattle there were many Chinese studying in America. We all knew each other. We would think China is China, Taiwan is Taiwan. There should really be no confusion. They also thought the Chinese government was too naive. ⁷³

Chapter 5. Discussion

1. Identity

- Taiwanese National Identity and Chinese Cultural Identity

The participants' accounts of who they thought they were clearly suggest that a Taiwanese identity has emerged. This Taiwanese identity was reflected in several ways. The first way is Taiwan's geographical distinction from anywhere else in the world. Being a geographically isolated island, Taiwan was defined by its coastline, the area within which people from Taiwan call home. The second is Taiwan's government, the Republic of China. The Republic of China functions on a completely autonomous basis. The president of this government is chosen through a general election every four years. The third way is culture. This factor is blurry because of culture's pervasive nature. From what the interviewees said, Taiwanese culture includes lifestyle, participation in public affairs, social life, national character and language.

According to Anthony Smith (1991), a nation consists of: [1]. A historic territory, or homeland, [2]. Common myths and historical memories, [3]. A common, mass public culture, [4]. Common legal rights and duties for all members, and [5]. A common economy with territorial mobility for members. Among the three aspects of Taiwanese national identity listed above, its land correspond with Smith's concept of historical territory, or homeland (No.1), The Taiwanese government is correspondent with Smith's factor No. 4 (common legal rights and duties for all members), and the cultural part is correspondent with Smith's No. 3 (a common, mass public culture). In the interviews, participants also mentioned the importance of Taiwan's economy. Thus their economic consideration is correspondent with Smith's factor No. 5 (a common economy).

Now the only factor that seems in question is No.2. common myths and historical memories. Though not frequently discussed by my interviewees, Taiwanese people have their own common history that distinguishes them from any other group of people in the world. To cite Dreyer (2003),

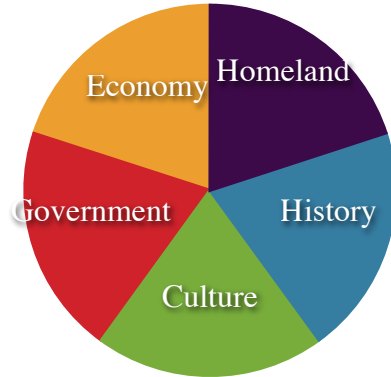
The Polynesian cultures of the aboriginal tribes, occupations of varying lengths and degrees of intensity by the Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch, 50 years of colonization by an assimilationist Japan, and a period of strong American influence after World War II have all contributed to the development of distinct habits and mindsets of the Taiwanese people. Several decades of isolation from the mainland after 1949 also resulted in changes in the prevailing culture on Taiwan. Meanwhile, under the influence of Mao Zedong's communist government, the culture of the mainland was changing as well, further widening the identity difference between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait.

Thus Smith's five factors are all satisfied with regard to the existence of a Taiwanese nation, based on which an independent Taiwanese national identity can be established.

That said, a Chinese factor nevertheless remains part of this Taiwanese national identity. First, the government that rules Taiwan, the Republic of China, has a Chinese origin and still names itself as China. Second, ancestors of many Taiwanese residents relocated from various Chinese provinces to Taiwan. Third, Taiwan's official (and main) language is Chinese, and Taiwan's written Chinese language is more traditional than that of China's. These three facts can be categorized into Smith's two factors: the history of government and the ancestry of residents are part of Taiwan's common myths and historical memories, while the Chinese language is part of Taiwan's public, mass culture.

A pie chart is drawn to delineate the relationship between the Taiwanese national identity, and its Chinese component:

Taiwanese Identity



(Chart 4)

This whole pie stands for a general Taiwanese identity, which was held by all my interviewees. The pie was divided into five parts, each part standing for one of the five factors of the Taiwanese national identity, based on Smith's definition of a nation.

Although the five sectors look to have the same size, the importance of one certain factor within an individual's national identity varies person by person.

Within the sector of history, a Chinese fraction remains one component of it. The same applies to the sector that represents culture. On the individual level, the size that is taken up by the Chinese factor also varies person by person. It can be as big as taking up the whole sector of history or culture, and can be as small as non-existent, which is the case for those students who maintained that they were exclusively Taiwanese.

Thus two ideas are derived from the fifteen interviews:

1. On the social level, interviewees regard themselves as Taiwanese, and some but not all of them regard themselves as Chinese,
2. On the individual level, for one who thinks of oneself as Both Taiwanese and Chinese, the Chinese identity is confined within the cultural and historical divisions.

The two factors indicate that an independent Taiwanese national identity has fully formed, within which a Chinese factor remains a sub-identity.

- Taiwanese National Identity and Taiwanese Ethnicity

While a Taiwanese national identity has been achieved after the Republic of China's several decades of nation-making, a Taiwanese ethnicity has not yet taken shape, at least not completely.

In the Findings section of this thesis, it was mentioned that several interviewees defined "Chinese" as Chinese-speaking. If we adopt the language-based ethnicity definition, all Taiwanese fall into the definition of ethnically Chinese, though this term was rejected by some participants. Also, the question about whether an interviewee thinks of him/herself as Chinese was presented in English in all fifteen interviews, thus among those who denied the English term "Chinese," some might still accept that they are ethnically Chinese (*hua ren*), although this guess has to be confirmed by follow-up studies.

Among those students who accepted that they were Chinese, their acceptance of this term was just on the ethnic ground. When they were asked whether they were *hua ren* or not, some said they were, citing that *hua ren* means Chinese-speaking people. For them, their ethnicity was still embedded in the Chinese ethnic background. Thus the conclusion is that a free-standing Taiwanese ethnicity has not yet completely formed.

However, lack of a Taiwanese ethnicity does not preclude the formation of a Taiwanese national identity. As Smith observed in his book, a new nation can form with or without a new ethnicity. The coming-into-being of a new nation without a new ethnicity is not unprecedented in history. The United States became a new nation after its

Independence War with Great Britain. Before the war broke out, the Americans were immigrants or descendants of immigrants who came from Europe. They were still maintaining their home culture. After the war, the United States of America came into existence. The creation of the new nation was in fact a pre-condition of an American ethnicity. Nowadays Americans generally refer to themselves as Americans, and seldom think of their European ancestry unless specifically asked about it.

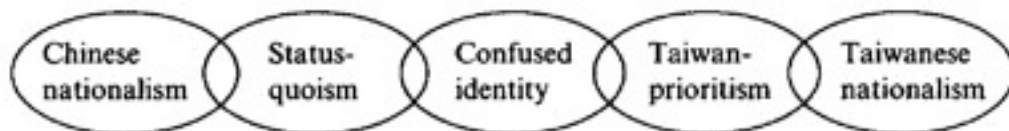
This scenario also applies to Taiwan. While Taiwan is developing its diplomatic ties with foreign countries and promoting its international recognition, the reputation of a Taiwanese nation is on the rise. Along with the expansion of Taiwan's regional and global influence, Taiwanese people's awareness of their own country is becoming stronger and stronger. Moreover, with older people who immigrated from China dying out in Taiwanese society, and with more and more Taiwan-born people entering, memories about their Chinese ancestry were gradually fading away. The classification about provinces of origin, Islanders (*bensheng ren*) and Mainlanders (*waisheng ren*) no longer applies to my interviewees. Indeed many of them told their grandparents' story of either coming to Taiwan with the Kuomintang government when the Communist Party took power, or staying in Taiwan already before the Kuomintang's retreat to Taiwan. They also knew clearly whether their grandparents were Islanders or Mainlanders. But the effect of Mainlander/Islander dichotomy does not have such a strong impact on the identification of the Taiwanese students I interviewed, who are in their 20s or 30s. Their generation is almost all born and raised in Taiwan, thus the dichotomy of Mainlander/Islander for them is not as meaningful as it was for their grandparents. The interviews confirmed that their identity with mainland China is not so affected by the place of origin of their

grandparents. Largely growing up and receiving education in the post-democratization era of Taiwan, the younger generation have access to freedom of speech, and formed their identity based on their own experience with Taiwan. This is perhaps why their identity is less influenced by the place of origin than was the case for their parents and grandparents. This inter-generational trend is consistent with the survey result collected by the Election Study Center of National Chengchi University (Election Study Center 2012), which indicated that older generations had a stronger identity with China than the young people did.

In accordance with Smith's statement that an ethnicity is not primordial, if the Taiwanese status quo continues for enough time, a Taiwanese ethnicity will ultimately come into being, replacing the notion of the Chinese ethnicity that is still prevalent among Taiwanese citizens.

- Taiwanese: Who They Think They Are

As shown in Chart 2, Wong and Sun (1998) identified five political positions about Taiwanese's national identity on a continuum. The continuum of national identity held by Taiwanese is shown in the following schema:



(Chart 2)

Wong and Sun's continuum consists of five sections. The left direction represents a stronger Chinese sentiment, and the right direction represents a stronger Taiwanese sentiment.

My interviews with the Taiwanese students show a discrepancy from what Wong and Sun hypothesized. All the interviewees think they are Taiwanese. Though some of them also think they are Chinese, their sense of being Chinese is solely a cultural complex, and not a socio-political attachment. Thus, “Chinese nationalism” is not reflected in my interviews. The strong Taiwanese sentiment displayed by my interviewees indicate that they want their country to be a real country sooner or later, and wish that the status quo be gone some day. Thus the status-quoism does not apply to the findings of my thesis.

Although some of the participants report a double identity, i.e. Taiwanese as the main identity and Chinese as the cultural aspect, they are by no means confused. All of them clearly said they were Taiwanese. Thus the “confused identity” also fails to be reflected by my study.

Most participants fall into the two categories, Taiwanese-prioritism and Taiwanese-nationalism. Both the two categories represent a preference for prioritizing Taiwan’s own interest. The difference between Taiwanese-prioritism and Taiwanese-nationalism is, according to Wong and Sun, that the former maintains Taiwan’s interests and right of self-determination, but does not rule out the possibility of merging with China, while the latter expressly calls for an independent country of Taiwan. As is expressed in the fifteen interviews, all participants clearly said that they were Taiwanese and wished for the best for their country. The inherent difference among them is that some students said they would accept a conditional unification resolution with China when the latter learned to be democratic, while others decisively said they would push for complete independence. In other words, of the five categories presented by Wong and Sun, only the two Taiwanese-

oriented categories are reflected by my study, and none of the Chinese-oriented categories, not even the ambiguous one, applies.

2. Independence versus Unification

- Political Independence

The political independence of Taiwan is not a question to talk about. Since Taiwan is in fact functioning as an autonomous state, students have reached a consensus that their country is indeed an independent one, with little foreign intervention, including Chinese intervention. They are assured on the point by the fact that the two governments on either side of the Taiwan Strait function on an autonomous basis, with neither side exerting political power over the other. Given the condition that the two governments are now treating each other as partners practically though not nominally, most interviewees are confident in the possibility of protecting political independence of Taiwan from mainland China. Although Taiwan and mainland China depend on and cooperate with each other in numerous pragmatic aspects, these aspects nevertheless do not pose a threat to the democratic functionality of the government in Taiwan. On the contrary, administrative cooperation between Taiwan and mainland China benefits both parties, thus some of my interviewees are happy about the friendliness.

- Ethnic Independence

A Taiwanese ethnicity is in the process of formation. For some of my interviewees, political independence of Taiwan is not a problem. What they are really concerned about, is finding a free-standing position for Taiwan, as opposed to being entangled by the history of the Republic of China.

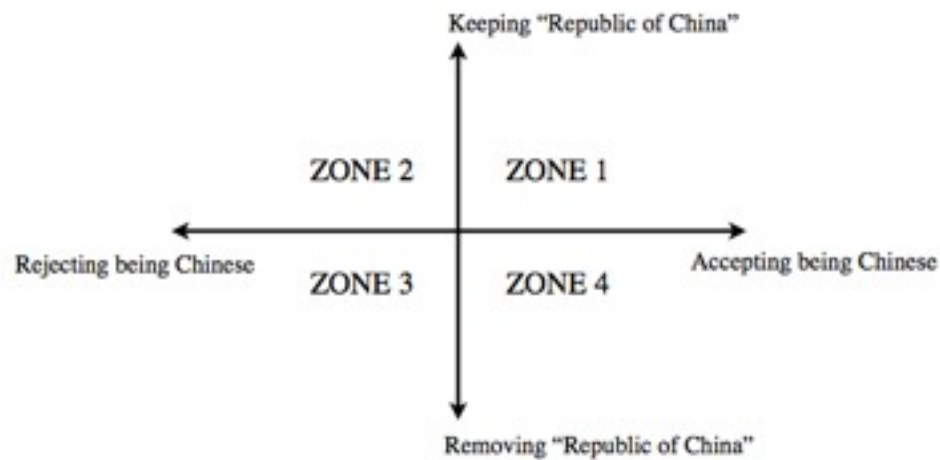
The Republic of China claims the territory controlled by the People's Republic of China as its part. That is to say, both mainland China and Taiwan are components of the Republic of China. However, due to the fact that the PRC has already established a stable regime in mainland China, this claim is no more realistic than the PRC's claim on Taiwan. Talking about different viewpoints held by Taiwanese on their independence, interviewees suggested that independence has two meanings, a political one and an ethnic one. They are not concerned with the interference from the PRC in the administration of Taiwan. Instead, they advocate that Taiwan be independent from the Republic of China, and remove the name "Republic of China." In this way, the tie between Taiwan and China is indefinitely severed.

The removal of "Republic of China" is a symbol of ethnic independence, which was supported by eight interviewees. They gave different grounds for a change of the name of their country from Republic of China to Taiwan. For most of them, the removal of ROC is purely out of pragmatic consideration. Since China has been widely accepted by the international community as the name of the PRC-controlled mainland China, the use of the Republic of China as the name of the government controlling Taiwan is confusing. Elimination of ROC from the name of the country would enhance the international recognition of Taiwan.

Others advocate removal of "ROC" based on an in-depth ground. They say that Taiwan is not only the name of an island, but also has evolved into a name of a population. Although a good proportion of Taiwanese residents' ancestors are from mainland China, and although Taiwanese people speak Mandarin Chinese, they nevertheless have been living in Taiwan from over half a century to as long as several

centuries. The geographical division between Taiwan and mainland China creates cross-strait variations in numerous respects, and a Taiwanese ethnicity has already formed, according to some of my interviewees.

On the point of accepting or rejecting being Chinese, and the preference to keep or remove “Republic of China,” this chart is used to explain the four categories of viewpoints:



(Chart 5)

As explained in the Findings Part 2, a person who rejects being Chinese may want to keep “Republic of China” (depicted by zone 2). This kind of preference is motivated by historical consideration. Citing that the name “Republic of China” has always belonged to them, some Taiwanese students value the historical significance conveyed by this name, despite not regarding themselves as Chinese. A person who self-identifies as Chinese and wants to keep the “ROC” (depicted by zone 1) may want to do so for ethnic reasons, for historical reasons, or both.

Oppositely, a person who regards him/herself as Chinese may want to remove the name “ROC” (depicted by zone 4) just for pragmatic reasons, so that if Taiwan is called

just “Taiwan,” it would be more recognizable for non-Chinese speaking people from other parts of the world. Likewise, a person who rejects being Chinese wants to remove “ROC” as well for ethnic reasons, or for the aforementioned pragmatic consideration, or both. As displayed in Table 3, there does not seem to be a correlation between interviewees’ acceptance of being Chinese and their preference to remove the “ROC” from the state name.

- Political Unification with Mainland China

Now that the Republic of China has been ruling Taiwan for nearly seven decades, the justifiability of the ROC in Taiwan is out of question. Moreover, the democratization that occurred in the 1990s allowed Taiwanese residents to choose their government with the vote, and at the same time substantiated the legitimacy of the power of the government of the ROC.

Few interviewees find appealing the People’s Republic China’s claim on Taiwan, or its proposed “Unification with the Homeland.” During the interviews, the Taiwanese students frequently expressed their concern for the condition of mainland China. Among various topics that arouse concern, the most frequently discussed are government corruption, lack of freedom and lack of democracy. The interviewees talked about their parents’ bribery experiences as business people in China when dealing with mainland Chinese officials. They also expressed their dismay at not being able to use the Internet freely when they visited mainland China. Several interviewees gave specific examples about how the PRC government created social chaos (e.g., the Cultural Revolution) and mistreated dissenting ideas. About cross-strait cooperation, many of my interviewees mentioned the economic development of mainland China, and quite a few of them

regarded it important for Taiwan to maintain a good relationship with China in terms of non-political issues, such as economy, transportation and cultural exchange. They were quite philosophical on the point that a good Taiwan-mainland China relationship is beneficial to both sides. (One interviewee said trade with mainland China is vital to the existence of Taiwan.) But support of a friendly relationship between Taiwan and China does not expand to an embrace of the idea of a merger. On the contrary, it is just because the PRC government has a stained human rights record and a bustling industry that my interviewees felt that it may be threatening or dangerous if Taiwan merged with the PRC, thus preferred to keep a safe distance from it.

When foreseeing Taiwan's future, the Taiwanese students were largely optimistic that Taiwan will finally declare official independence and join the United Nations as a member state. Most of them indicated that the status quo would continue, and the de facto independence will evolve into de jure independence. But their optimism is not carefree. Firstly, they did not think Taiwan should declare independence right away. This is due to both the pressure that the PRC put on Taiwan, and the pro-China stance that President Ma takes as the head of the state. Second, they did not specify a foreseeable time when Taiwan could do so. Third, some of my interviewees did not rule out the possibility that Taiwan would merge with mainland China. Several participants indicated that if the PRC is democratized and Taiwan has the right to decide its own fate, that they would not refuse a unified outcome. Among those who hold democracy as a premise for unification with mainland China, many expressed doubt and concern when they talked about the administrative model that was applied to Hong Kong. Some said that the compromising

of to Hong Kong's democracy is a negative example for Taiwan, and they did not accept a Hong Kong-style arrangement with the PRC.

However, although the Taiwanese interviewees rejected the idea of merging with the People's Republic of China for its poor understanding of human rights and democracy, some felt that Taiwan would not merge with China even when China is democratized, because the democratic new Chinese government will understand and respect Taiwan's position. In this light, the PRC's so-called "Taiwan issue" is actually mainland China's democracy issue itself. It is exactly because the PRC does not understand the value of democracy and cultural diversity that it relentlessly claims Taiwan as its own, like it claims Tibet. For this reason, the "Taiwan issue" will not be a permanent problem. It may automatically resolve upon China's democratization. When totalitarianism falls apart, and a new democratic Chinese government is established, the expectation is that the new Chinese government will either: 1. find so many similarities and common viewpoints with the Taiwanese government that the two governments will start negotiation about a unification solution that is not detrimental to the rights of either Taiwanese or mainland Chinese, or: 2. feel just fine with an independent Taiwan and make friends with it, no longer caring about whether Taiwan should belong to China or should be independent.

An overview of the transcripts of the interviews shows taciturnity. When discussing unification, my interviewees subconsciously assumed solutions that are dominated, or at least initiated by the government of the PRC. It seems that their imagined unification will happen (if it will at all) with mainland China's government taking the leading role, and the government in Taiwan either accepts or refuses. In the minds of most of my interviewees, "unification" means the annexation of Taiwan by the PRC government,

instead of the annexation of mainland China by the ROC government. The subconsciously assumed subordinate role reflects the comparison of power between the PRC-controlled mainland China and the ROC-controlled Taiwan.

3. Multi-Cultural Experience

Interviewees' living experience in America leads them to a stronger identity of being Taiwanese. Exposed to a multi-cultural environment, the Taiwanese students became more aware of who they are than they were when in Taiwan. The augmentation of the Taiwanese identity was due to the comparison between the Taiwanese self and other people. The difference between a Taiwanese student and his/her environment exposes him/her to the fact that he/she came from Taiwan, and bore a unique Taiwanese trait that is not characteristic of people from another country. The effect of being different is especially strong for a country which is not so widely accepted internationally as a nation-state. Having to explain to other people where they came from and that they are an independent country, made the interviewees feel that Taiwan is a country in need of more publicity or promotion, and made them more determined to strive for a wider recognition of their homeland. In this sense, Taiwanese students came to feel more like they are part of Taiwan.

A number of participants said that they did not know many Chinese people when they were in Taiwan, and that they started making friends with Chinese only after they started living in America. Taiwanese students' interaction with Chinese pushes Taiwanese identity in two directions. On one hand, Taiwanese students noticed that there were differences between themselves and Chinese. The differences lie in personality, accents, written languages, political viewpoints, among others. They may also notice that Chinese

students treated Taiwanese people in a way different from Chinese from a different Chinese province. The taciturn cleft between Chinese and Taiwanese might remind Taiwanese of the fact that Taiwan and China are two different countries. The enhancement of the Taiwanese identity is especially boosted when a Taiwanese student meets a Chinese who harbors antagonism against Taiwanese students' sense of national independence. For example, one participant talked about a conflict between a Taiwanese student and a Chinese student, the latter becoming furious when hearing the former saying Taiwan was not part of China. In cases like this one, enmity between people from the two countries significantly encouraged an invigoration of the Taiwanese student's sense of being Taiwanese.

On the other hand, Taiwanese students' interaction with Chinese might also strengthen their Chinese cultural identity. Here Chinese does not only refer to people from China, but also includes Chinese-speaking people from other countries, such as Singapore, Malaysia, and some U.S. citizens. In other words, Chinese here denotes the Chinese ethnicity. Sharing a language with people from other countries might integrate Taiwanese students into a worldwide Chinese community, raising Taiwanese students' awareness as of Chinese ethnicity (*hua ren*) around the world.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

1. Identity

This study reveals that a Taiwanese national identity has fully formed. This Taiwanese identity is multi-faceted. Students perceive themselves primarily (and for some of them, exclusively) as Taiwanese based on five elements: [1] As a geographical entity, Taiwan is distinctively identified as an island located in East Asia, and it is not confused with anything other than the island. [2] Taiwan has its unique history (as any other country does), and Taiwanese people share the memory of what has happened in the past on this island. Although Taiwanese history is intertwined with, and sometimes parallel with that of other countries, such as Japan and China, it nevertheless has a different past as a whole when compared with other countries. [3] Taiwanese culture is different from that in other parts of the world. Like Taiwanese history, Taiwanese culture is influenced by other countries' culture. But it has features that are not found anywhere else in the world. [4] Taiwan has an independent functioning government, which is called the Republic of China. The ROC controls Taiwan (and peripheral islands around Taiwan), and Taiwan is controlled only by the ROC. [5] Taiwanese people are concerned with the national interest of Taiwan. They feel they are part of the economic community of Taiwan.

The study also indicates that a Chinese cultural identity is part of the Taiwanese identity. First, the Taiwanese government's official name is "Republic of China," which is a conspicuous reminder of Taiwan's historical and cultural link with China. Second, many Taiwanese are descendants of people who came to Taiwan from China earlier some time. Their ancestry is traced back to China. Third, the official (and widely used) language in Taiwan is Chinese. The Chinese language in Taiwan is even more traditional

than the Chinese language in China. All these indicators show that Taiwanese has a cultural identification of being Chinese. However, this Chinese identity is just one component of their Taiwanese identity. There are three reasons for the subordination. First, all Taiwanese students clearly stated that they are Taiwanese, but not all of them said they are Chinese. Second, the Taiwanese identity is multifaceted, while the Chinese identity is constituted only by cultural and historical factors.

Some interviewees displayed a dichotomy in their identity. Their national identity is split into two parts: socio-political and cultural. The socio-political identity is Taiwanese, while the cultural identity is Chinese. This is an alternative explanation of the fact that their Chinese identity is confined to the cultural sphere, and does not have anything to do with China as a political entity, i.e. the PRC. Moreover, because the communist regime in China has “revolutionized” culture in China so much, that the “Chinese culture” in China is much different from that in Taiwan. Thus the fact that Taiwan is culturally Chinese actually makes Taiwan socio-politically non-Chinese, i.e. non-PRC. In other words, Taiwanese may accept that they are *hua ren*, but they would reject that they are *zhong guo ren*.

2. Independence Versus Unification

- Administrative

All interviewees realized that their country has an autonomously functioning government, thus Taiwan is an independent country. They have reached a consensus that their country is not part of any other country, and most of them wish eventual official independence for Taiwan in the future. As for the unification with China, most Taiwanese

show strong opposition, or at least indifference. The reason why they do not think unification is desirable is that they think China is not a democratic country. Some Taiwanese students used Hong Kong as a negative example of a formerly free region being put under the totalitarian control of China even if it had been promised a “two-system” arrangement. Among those students who indicated that they would not want to merge with China, some say that if China becomes democratic one day, they would think about unification. But as one interviewee pointed out, democratization of China would not necessarily result in merger of Taiwan and China because when China is a democracy, it will learn to respect the choice of the Taiwanese people, thus will not execute a unification of Taiwan, when Taiwan will have been independent for several decades.

- Ethnic

Not all interviewees agreed that a Taiwanese ethnicity has emerged. Many of them still think Taiwanese are ethnically Chinese. Nor do all of them think it necessary to remove “China” from Taiwan’s state name (Republic of China).

It should be noted that support of the removal of “ROC” from the state name does not come hand in hand with an identification of a Taiwanese ethnicity. There are students who think they are ethnically Chinese but want to remove “ROC”, and there are also students who think they are ethnically Taiwanese but still want to keep the “ROC” as the name of the Taiwanese government.

3. Living in America

Taiwanese students' experience of living in the US affects their national identity. Since the US is a multi-cultural country, the interviewees have the opportunity to meet people from all over the world. They have the chance to compare Taiwan to other countries and find out that Taiwan is perceived as a different country from any other country. They also noticed that there are differences between people from Taiwan and people from China. Thus the interviewees' Taiwanese national identity was strengthened by their experience of living in America.

At the same time, some Taiwanese students make friends with people from China. They were able to get along and interact with each other. They speak the same language and even found many common points in their respective home culture and their personality. As a result, they concluded that differences between Taiwanese and Chinese are not that big, thus their Chinese cultural identity was increased by interaction with Chinese.

Taiwan is not officially recognized as a country by many countries in the world. As a result, many people in the United States do not think Taiwan is a country. These include people who were born and grew up in America, and who came to America as foreigners, including people from China. The interviewees have the opportunity to meet those people who do not think their country is really a country. The confrontation of opposite viewpoints on one hand stimulates Taiwanese students' national awareness and make them feel more Taiwanese. On the other hand, the encounter of opposite ideas also makes

them realize that not all people agree with them, thus they are more tolerant than different attitudes about their country.

4. Study Limitations and Recommendations for Further Study

This study is not a quantitative study, and the sampling is not a random sample. Certain crucial groups of people were missing in the sample: none of the fifteen interviewees belongs to the Taiwanese Aboriginal Peoples. All of the fifteen interviewees came from the Taiwan island, and nobody from Kinmen, Matsu or Penghu (all peripheral islands around Taiwan) was interviewed. The study result would be more generalizable if future studies could employ random sampling among all Taiwanese residents.

Interviews that are conducted in the English language probably have lost some nuances. Translation between Chinese and English failed to preserve all nuances that were originally expressed. For example, the Chinese terms *zhong guo ren* and *hua ren* are simply translated into one English term, “Chinese.” As a result, Chinese-speaking readers can be confused when they read: Cheng-han rejects the notion of being Chinese, because they have difficulty understanding whether the English term “Chinese” is in the socio-political meaning, or in the cultural meaning. Future researchers are advised to make clear the meanings of two terms, and to make note of nuances that might be lost due to translation.

Because the study was conducted entirely in the United States, it might not reflect the true identity held by Taiwanese who live in Taiwan. US-living Taiwanese have had some life experiences that are not shared with their domestic compatriots, thus their national identity might have evolved during their stay in America. Caution is needed when trying

to generalize the study's conclusions to all Taiwanese people. Future researchers would have a better basis for generalizing about Taiwanese people if they conduct such a research project in Taiwan.

Glossary

Names that are in *italic* are romanized in *pinyin*. Names that are in regular font are romanized in Wade-Giles. Names that are underscored are neither *pinyin* nor Wade-Giles, but are customarily or officially romanized.

Anping: 安平

Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits: abbreviated as ARSTS, 海峽兩岸關係協會

Beijing: 北京

bensheng ren: Islanders, 本省人

Changhua: 彰化

Cheng Ch'eng-kung: also known as Koxinga, 鄭成功

Cheng Chih-lung: 鄭芝龍

Chiang Ching-kuo: 蔣經國

Chiang Kai-shek: 蔣介石

Chinese Communist Party: acronym CCP, 中國共產黨

Dachen Islands: 大陳群島

Diaoyutai Islands: 釣魚臺列嶼. Japanese name: Senkaku Shotō

hua ren: 華人

Kinmen: also known as Quemoy, 金門

Koxinga: same as Cheng Ch'eng-kung, 國姓爺

Kuomintang: Chinese Nationalistic Party, 中國國民黨

Lai Ching-te: 賴清德

Lee Teng-hui: 李登輝

Lin Huixiang: 林惠祥

Matsu: 馬祖

Ma Ying-jeou: 馬英九

Mao Zedong: 毛澤東

Mei-li-tao Incident: 美麗島事件

Ming Dynasty: 明朝

Nanjing: 南京

Penghu Islands: 澎湖群島

Qing Dynasty: 清朝

Senkaku Shotō: Japanese name, 尖閣諸島. Chinese name: *Diaoyutai* Islands

Shi Lang: 施琅

Straits Exchange Foundation: acronym SEF, 海峽交流基金會

Sun Yat-sen: 孫中山

Taichung: 臺中

Tainan: 臺南

Taipei: 臺北

Taiwan: 臺灣

Tamsui: 淡水

waisheng ren: Mainlanders, 外省人

Wu Fusheng: 吳福生

Yijiangshan Islands: 一江山群島

yuan zhu min: Taiwanese Aboriginal Peoples, 原住民

Zhejiang: 浙江

zhong guo ren: 中國人

Zhou Enlai: 周恩來

Zhu Yigui: 朱一貴

Quotes in Chinese

Only conversations originally in the Chinese language are included in this section.

Duplicate quotes exist because one quote may be cited twice or more in the thesis.

1 訪談者：所以你跟你的臺灣朋友相比就很少介意中國和臺灣之間關係的問題。
被訪者：應該是，我覺得對中國只是一種不爽，很難講說到底為什麼。

2 林冠廷：姐姐妹妹，比較沒有討論。也不是說沒有討論，因為我們的立足點都是一樣的，就是我們知道我們是臺灣人，不是中國人。我們知道我們是在臺灣長大的。我們知道我們的護照是寫臺灣……當然我們也會討論，但是其實討論也不是說是討論，就是，尤其是我們理念都一樣，所以根本就是附和，說對啊，我們不是大陸的啊，我們不是中國大陸的。我們就是臺灣。我說對啊，我們全部想法都是一樣的。

3 張志明：憑國籍來定。憑A本護照來定。憑很多的生活方式。因為會變得就是說，所謂法制的管轄權在哪裡，就決定了你的區隔。

4 郭鴻陽：中國就是中國，與其說它是威脅臺灣，不如說它本來就是一個比臺灣大很多倍的國家。另一方面是它認為臺灣是他們的。我覺得兩邊是很分開的事。

5 吳麗華：但是我們家的話，就是我爸爸媽媽跟我還有我弟，因為我們都有投票權。我們就覺得說，臺灣就是一個國家。那我們選舉的時候就應該選對我們國家好的，就是把臺灣當作一個國家，不是說為了準備要跟中國統一這樣的。

6 鄭春嬌：有一些，比如說，不一定是馬英九本人提出的，有可能是農委會。他們說，我們必須引進美國牛，因為我們吃肉，不吃內臟。那樣那些化學藥物只存在于內臟。但是，他打進去如果存在內臟，有可能不存在肉裡面嗎？所以臺灣人民尤其是民進黨那邊的人就會說為什麼馬英九這個要引進美國牛的政策。他們是說，引進來沒有關係啊，我們可以同時顧有國民安全於外交政策。可是當他提出外交政策的時候，很明顯他就是為了外交政策而不是為了那個國民健康。

7 劉詩涵：其實我覺得那是我們的，可是好像拿不回來。……就跟我們在世界上的認可一樣。好像是我們應該得到，但是很難。可是我們還會試吧，我們應該還會試。

8 林冠廷：三個鄰近國，臺灣也想要，中國也想要，日本也想要。所以有可能，我是覺得日本如果這麼想要，中國也這麼想要，臺灣的話是，如果真的要打的話，我們是打不贏的啦。我們可能就，就不要好了。我們乾脆不要，不要這樣子浪費我們的軍用資源，因為我們是不可能贏過這兩個國家的。日本跟中國可能還有一個機會，我們的話一定是馬上就擺在後面了。以我對我們軍事、軍人來講，我是對他們的瞭解，我是沒什麼信心啊。

9 黃秀英：在大陸受限太多了，什麼東西都會被管。你可能還會被監聽之類的。這不是一個自由的國家。我們已經自由慣了，我們已經西化慣了。我們就覺得，你憑什麼管我們這麼多。像YouTube為什麼不能看，為什麼Facebook不能用。就這些你會覺得，搞什麼？！我覺得可能這情況也導致說，我覺得大陸人應該也不滿意這情況吧。

10 吳麗華：人的話，我覺得文化好像還是有些不一樣。臺灣人還是比較含蓄，可能是因為接受了日本的教育，我猜。接受過日本人教育所以可能會比中國人含蓄一點。中國人跟臺灣人比起來是很敢講。我來這邊認識很多中國人，他們對我很友好，我是說就personality方面，文化是有差。中國人好像還是比較，我覺得，對我來說，跟我比起來，還是比較敢講，敢發表。

11 吳麗華：那我認識的中國女孩就比臺灣人強勢很多。Generally，幾乎都是這樣。還有就是中國女生，說我不能這麼軟弱，就覺得我們臺灣女生太好講話了，比較服從之類的。我就覺得認識好多很強勢的中國女生。尤其是女孩特別。

12 黃秀英：臺灣一直處於被欺壓的狀況下，所以臺灣人會自卑，一直很自卑，覺得自己的文化什麼的不好，然後就導致不太團結。然後就會比較崇洋媚外。臺灣人還蠻崇洋媚外的。你應該看得出來。應該說，就像中國開始抵制日本，是因為釣魚臺的事件。可是像我們臺灣受到韓國欺壓也不少，就是可能像跆拳道比賽，國際上比賽也會受韓國人影響。可是臺灣人就是沒辦法很團結，說我們要抵制韓國用品之類之類的……我覺得臺灣人是要比較進步的一個地方吧，真的要比較向內一點。

13 張志明：比如說，你是在討論你的difference，你是深藍的偏綠的。我知道你是偏藍的，我知道你是偏綠的，可是我們在同一個框框下面。在我看來，這個才是identity。然後臺灣能夠吃到好吃的東西，哪裡吃到，臺南吃到好吃的東西，是只有這裡才吃得到的。這個才是比較有趣的identity。就是我會比較像是那種Foucault，或者法國的那種生活很深沈的，很旁支末節，每天都routine做的事情，社會學，才會是。

14 劉詩涵：可是我個人覺得，從孫中山那個時候，就是這個中華民國。我們既然繼承了他的遺志，我們就應該留著這個名字。我們可以說是中華民國在臺灣。

15 陳玉蘭：我當然認同說臺灣是一個國家，……可是如果從歷史或者地理的觀點來看的話，臺灣它代表的其實是一個地理名稱，可能不是一個國家名稱。如果你現在要把臺灣當成一個國家名稱的話，就是你會需要證明，或者是從你的教育等等的開始。可是這就會是一個很大的革命。

16 我爺爺是在雲南長大的。我爺爺二十幾歲還是三十幾歲的時候就來臺灣了。他來臺灣快五十幾年了。

17 鄭春嬌：我爸去過漳州。他有找到我們家的，就是姓鄭的，再往前的那一代。所以去年開始我們家有族譜。所以我是漳州那邊過來的第七代或者第八代。

18 吳麗華：上面是寫，我姓吳。然後上面寫浙江。但是確實不知道是多久以前了。應該也來了好幾代了。不是民國三十八年過來的。不是那個時候。

19 張志明：我是Chinese啊。我覺得這個部分是你把Chinese這個字要掛上什麼樣的意涵在裡面。沒有辦法，因為英文用了一兩百年，Chinese就是指……

訪談者：Chinese speaking的。

張志明：對啊。

20 劉詩涵：我們好像沒有特別成立機構耶。可是我們教的都是繁體字，我們會背四書五經，從小就唐詩三百首，一路寫書法練下來，我覺得已經deep in our bones。

21 劉詩涵：我不覺得是不是正統耶。我不覺得有什麼正不正統的那種notion。可是我覺得既然都這樣下來了，那我們就延持這個傳統。就像我覺得寫繁體字，保留一些古文，如果是我們可以做的，那麼我們就可以做好。

- 22 吳麗華：譬如說有人問我說是不是Chinese，我會說kind of, I'm from Taiwan。我還是會想說我是從臺灣來的。那，就是這樣。還要講什麼。覺得政治上面差很多。但是其他部分……因為我們用同樣的語言，然後我們的文化其實也是從中國來的。所以就是，我不知道要怎麼講。
- 23 黃秀英：臺灣人的意識裡面就不會說我們是中國，說我們是臺灣，我們不是Chinese，我們是Taiwanese。
- 24 訪談者：那麼，do you think you are Chinese？
王偉勝：我會講Taiwanese。
- 25 訪談者：那你覺不覺得你是Chinese？
陳玉蘭：Chinese嗎？嗯，我還是會介紹我是Taiwanese。因為大部分，你在介紹人家說從哪裡來的時候，當然還是會說I'm from Taiwan，然後理所當然你介紹你是Taiwanese會比較符合自己的說的。所以我個人會介紹我是Taiwanese。
訪談者：那如果有人問你，are you Chinese，你會回答yes還是no，或者是別的什麼回答？
陳玉蘭：嗯，no。因為在一般人的觀點來說，China還是中國大陸。
- 26 林冠廷：所以很多書有時候，有時候有些書是大陸作者寫的，我看著簡體字我看不懂。不是說一個字都看不懂，很多字……我基本上全部都看不懂。有些字我都是要猜的。看上面哪一個字然後猜下一個字，就是這個意思。不然直接看，我不知道那個字是什麼。
- 27 劉詩涵：我希望我們還可以保持獨立，能寫我們的繁體字，然後能有我們的言論自由。我想這對我們很重要。
- 28 吳麗華：他們講的話，一開始我有點聽不懂。有些詞還是聽不懂。但是現在漸漸地，慢慢知道。我們實驗室就有個中國來的阿姨，她是technician。跟她講話有時候還是要想一下，大部分都聽得懂。
- 29 吳麗華：政治方面，我覺得臺灣是一個國家。
- 30 訪談者：怎麼看中國？
王偉勝：怎麼看中國，就是另一個國家。
- 31 吳麗華：中國人，我覺得中國人，在中國大陸的人；華人的話，我會覺得只要說mandarin Chinese的都是華人。這是我自己的認知。
- 32 林冠廷：中國人和華人嗎？我覺得是有不一樣說。中國人，當然最簡單就是中國大陸長大的。華人是一個總稱。就像是American跟White。American是在美國長大，White就是白人。那我們就是華人，那你是中國人我是臺灣人。但是我們都是華人。你會講中文，可能在新加坡，也是華人，但是他是新加坡的華人，是新加坡人，馬來西亞也是一樣。香港啊菲律賓……在美國長大的華人，也是Chinese American或者Taiwanese American。但是是美國華人。所以中國人和華人是不一樣的。
- 33 郭鴻陽：不會說是中國，因為中國就是說你是大陸人的意思。如果說是華人，就一定是啊。但是“中國人”……如果是從文化的觀點上來看的話，我們都承認是中國人，因為我們文化基本上是一樣的。所以你講你是中國人說中國話，我們說是啊，就文化上來說。但是如果你說從政治，就分辨說你是臺灣人還是大陸人的時候，我們就會說自己是臺灣人。

34 林冠廷：我覺得我是臺灣人。從小在臺灣長大，我拿的臺灣護照。對我自己認知，我覺得我是臺灣人。雖然我知道我有家人是從中國來的，但是我是臺灣人。從小都在這個小的島上長大，然後，對我的認知我就是臺灣人。然後我有臺灣護照。從小我念的是繁體字，我們好像是唯一一個目前為止還用這麼傳統的繁體字。然後就是臺灣人。

35 郭鴻陽：我個人認為，只是個人認為，中國就是中國，與其說它是威脅臺灣，不如說它本來就是一個比臺灣大很多倍的國家。另一方面是它認為臺灣是他們的。我覺得兩邊是很分開的事。

36 吳麗華：政治方面，我覺得臺灣是一個國家。

37 林冠廷：對我來講，這都是政治上面的問題。當然政治上面來講的話，很多時候，中國給臺灣壓力很大，這都是全世界都知道的。但是對我來講，我是覺得，是還好。我是覺得還好。因為，不知道怎麼講。井水不犯河水了。你們不會來弄我們，我們也不會怎麼樣。我們不去弄你們，你們也不會怎麼樣。所以我覺得是……但是政治方面來講一定有很大的壓力。

38 劉詩涵：我會覺得受到壓力，可是我覺得如果站在中國立場想，他們想要臺灣也是正常的。雖然說是兩個國家，可是歷史以來他們是在一起的。所以站在不同的立場會有不同的想法。

39 王偉勝：大多還是覺得自己……是中華民國，只是它的邊界比較有問題。那麼有一部分覺得是想要獨立，或是說現在已經是獨立了。然後我是認為是，臺灣是需要獨立，可是不是獨立於中國大陸，因為本來就不屬於中國大陸。是要獨立於中華民國。

訪談者：獨立於中華民國。

王偉勝：對對對。因為中華民國它本身的邊界就是很奇怪的。

訪談者：邊界很奇怪？

王偉勝：就是包括中國大陸啊。

40 訪談者：你現在覺得沒有一個叫做Taiwanese的ethnicity？

張志明：我覺得他有。但是他是很斷裂的……憑國籍來定。憑A本護照來定。憑很多的生活方式。因為會變得就是說，所謂法制的管轄權在哪裡，就決定了你的區隔。

41 陳玉蘭：我當然認同說臺灣是一個國家，……可是如果從歷史或者地理的觀點來看的話，臺灣它代表的其實是一個地理名稱，可能不是一個國家名稱。如果你現在要把臺灣當成一個國家名稱的話，就是你會需要證明，或者是從你的教育等等的開始。可是這就會是一個很大的革命。

42 訪談者：那覺得臺灣應不應該取消“中華民國”這個名字？

劉詩涵：我不覺得應該取消，因為那本來就是我們的名字。

訪談者：因為我想它會confuse很多人。會認為Taiwan為什麼會是Republic of China。

劉詩涵：可是我個人覺得，從孫中山那個時候，就是這個中華民國。我們既然繼承了他的遺志，我們就應該留著這個名字。我們可以說是中華民國在臺灣。

43 訪談者：那你覺不覺得應該把臺灣改名？改成臺灣，不要叫Republic of China。

郭鴻陽：這點我倒是很贊成。因為你如果一天不改名……因為中國一直因為這件事情在跟臺灣吵。他們只承認一個中國啊，就我所知。然後我就想說，你何必堅持自己是Republic of China？為什麼不說是臺灣就好？我從小到大認知都是臺灣而已啊，才沒有管什麼中華民國這四個字。我反而覺得很難用。而且碰到某些政治立場比較鮮明的同學，不管是中國的同學還是臺灣的同學，有些話不能夠講得太白。就是你不可以很堅持地說你是中華民國，好像就冒犯到中國的同學，所以我不喜歡這樣。與其這樣，還不如說是臺灣就好了。

44 郭鴻陽：你想說自己是一個國家，但是名字上又牽扯不清。所以再看一下好了。而且你說 **Republic of China**，你去問世界上有哪幾個人知道那是什麼東西。搞不好人家只知道那是 **China** 而已。然後你如果說臺灣的話搞不好還比較容易。

45 吳麗華：我覺得應該（改名字）。就是你如果跟人家講，我們的護照上面還是寫了 **Republic of China**。每次跟人家講都說我們是臺灣人，從臺灣來的。有時候會 **confuse** 其他國家的人。所以覺得應該要改。

46 林冠廷：我想想看啊，只有臺灣，沒有中華民國臺灣。那如果沒有中華民國，我們連國旗都要換掉啦。因為我們的國旗是國民政府來的時候他們的黨旗。然後蔣經國把它變成國旗。真正來講，我們是沒有真正的國旗，如果你這樣想的話。因為我們的國旗是那時候國民黨的黨旗，到時候變成國旗。如果你自己去查，你看看電影，那個時候的國旗就是臺灣的國旗。如果你說把中華民國換掉，那麼國旗都要換掉啦。所以我覺得，應該沒什麼必要吧。我覺得留著就留著啊。反正都已經是我們的，應該是歷史的一部分，這就是歷史而已啊，所以沒什麼必要。

47 黃秀英：我爸不是很開心。因為政府要求的 **requirement** 他都做到了，可是政府後來又反悔說你這些不行這樣這樣的。

48 郭鴻陽：但是我父母他們就會覺得說，因為是臺商，所以大陸工作覺得大陸政府的欺負。

訪談者：欺負？我以為會優待呢。

郭鴻陽：你想太多。

訪談者：他們怎麼欺負臺灣人？

郭鴻陽：稅啊，要包紅包啊，諸如此類的。很多。再小的官都要包。好像是遞文件的人也要包。

49 郭鴻陽：如果你說跟中國融合，我沒意見。可是跟中國政府，它的政治體系一直讓我覺得很骯臟，很不乾淨，一直給我感覺很差。我不喜歡。尤其是他們的文化，送紅包那種文化，貪污的文化，讓我覺得很糟糕很噁心。所以如果一個國家再這樣搞下去，不知道還能夠撐多久。只是因為你們中國政府是共產主義，雖然我現在看不出共產主義跟我們所謂的 **republic** 有什麼不一樣，但是共產主義跟民主主義現在看起來，就經濟上的觀點來說，好像沒有什麼差別。你只要不要像南韓和北韓差那麼大就好了。但是如果中國政府再這樣子貪污下去，我覺得會很糟糕。所以不想跟中國政府合一起。但是和中國人合在一起我覺得沒有關係。

50 劉詩涵：我爸媽也跟我們抱怨生意上的時候，有些事情很黑暗，然後他跟我們說一些有的沒的事。……像做生意很麻煩，就是你要一層一層去打通，然後可能要很多應酬。不是很透明。

51 吳麗華：我覺得應該是說中國大陸還是共產主義嘛，臺灣比較民主自由，所以譬如說有些他們的政策就很不認同。……比如說你們就會和諧掉很多新聞之類的。……我不清楚現在香港是什麼樣，可是我也不希望臺灣變成第二個香港。

52 劉詩涵：我不覺得香港那種一國兩制或者澳門那種事情會 **work**，因為後來我也聽一些香港的朋友說，他們的教材還是有些被改變了。

53 訪談者：那麼你作為臺灣人，是怎麼看待中國這個國家，比如說它的政治？你覺得你不想跟它融合的原因在哪裡？

劉詩涵：言論自由吧。很大一部分。然後我希望有選舉權，我希望透明，我希望我能知道我的政府在做什麼，然後我能決定我以後的小孩想要做什麼事。

54 陳玉蘭：就是我們認為臺灣就是（一個國家），因為本來，我們認為本來就是一個既定事實了。所以這是第一點。那再來，如果說到最後真的要被中國大陸吸收了成為一部分，那如果那個時候，就是我們是可以認同中國大陸的政治的話，那我想或許，反正不接受也不行。如果到最後真的走向那樣子的方向。

55 黃秀英：應該說全世界的經濟都要靠大陸，所以沒辦法現在想獨立就獨立。

56 郭鴻陽：如果這樣子，和中國切得很乾淨，不用在那邊爭臺灣是誰的話，那當然好啊。但是臺灣有時候會覺得說它不想跟中國切得那麼乾淨，可能是經濟上的關係，經濟上的考量。因為畢竟如果你還是有一點曖昧的話，你再怎麼樣中國好像都會援助臺灣，某種程度上是幫助，不能說是援助。就是經濟上的考量，它還是不讓臺灣垮掉。

57 林冠廷：無可否認，我們在政治上來講，有些地方有很多東西要靠你們，有很多東西你們也要靠我們。因為我們很多臺商在你們大陸。如果一下來我們全部都垮了。我們那邊經濟一定馬上下來的。……但是我覺得沒有必要這麼親近。但是很多，我覺得他（指馬英九總統）做了很多事都還不錯。就像臺灣現在我們很多犯罪之後跑到大陸，那大陸現在可以抓人遣送回來。……當然你們來了我們地方，我們也可以抓了把你們遣送回去。所以很多其實，很多的也不是說條件，協議，我覺得他做得還不錯。但是我覺得，還是要保持一定的距離。我自己覺得還是要保持一定的距離。

58 吳麗華：我覺得友好沒有關係。但是你必須適度，就是還是要讓他表示我們是一個國家。我覺得兩國之間友好，世界和平嘛，是必要的。但是覺得，那麼委屈我們臺灣……

59 王偉勝：70% 的可能性會加入中國吧。因為賴清德還是要等，可是在等的期間，有可能就是被併掉了。……因為人民是也慢慢靠近，或者慢慢，對啊……利益或者是之類的關係，就比較偏中國了。……從票數來看也是這樣的。

60 張志明：所謂獨立不獨立這件事情，如果一定要更改國號，更改國旗，這些一定要掛上等同的符號才能成立的話，我覺得到我死之前可能都不會出現。很困難。

61 劉詩涵：我覺得，出來的每一個人，我想至今你interview 到的，大家都還是很有我們是一個國家的意向。可是我覺得我們出來的人，或者在臺灣的人，明明知道這條路不是很容易，可是我們還是要堅持。

62 郭鴻陽：感覺上是總有一天會切斷呢，但是好像現在……大家都覺得現在這樣子沒有什麼不好的感覺，就這樣子就好啊。因為，現在怎麼說，也都過了五十年有了吧，再來個五十年好像也不是什麼問題耶。我們之後的下一代，想法不一樣，應該會分得更開了吧。

63 黃秀英：會經過一個非常的不和平的方式來獨立。

64 訪談者：如果付諸武力呢？

劉詩涵：我不覺得會走到那個地步。我不覺得中國敢，如果它……那個時候選總統，有飛彈瞄准臺灣。可是我不覺得他們會那麼做。因為其他國家會說話。

65 張志明：單一的民族可以成立一個單一的國家，很簡單；那不同的民族可以成為一個國家，很簡單；可是，單一的民族能不能成為不同兩個國家，人類的思維卡在這個部分。那，美國人是打了一戰才……所以他們可以說他們是Americans，不是British。那當然，那個是兩百年前的事情了。可是問題是，人類有沒有進步，這兩百年有沒有學到lesson，能夠用更其他的角度去看這件事情。就會變得就是說，講得難聽一點，今天要說Taiwanese，你要有Taiwanese的自主權，你要把這個東西有明顯的國旗，然後跟所謂的中國做明顯的區隔的時候，這個時候，假如說人類沒有進步到，或者是理性到不用戰爭或者其他的層面去思考這件事情的時候，我覺得是很多臺灣獨立的人要去思考一件事，就是你願不願意一戰。就是走到戰爭的這一步，走到武力衝突的這一步，你還支不支持民主，支不支持獨立。很多人不願意想到這一點。

66 郭鴻陽：來美國，臺灣在美國有名，可能是正常的，因為畢竟是美國支持的，所以很多新聞都會報臺灣的事情。但是如果到別的國家可能就不怎麼樣了。

67 林冠廷：當然在臺灣，自我民族的意識沒有那麼強烈。因為你都是在臺灣，大家都是臺灣人，你不會去討論。但一來美國，當然這個話題被放大了。也不是跟別人比較。很多在大陸可能不會討論，在臺灣不會討論的，在美國會討論。像對我來講，當然就是民族意識有變更強。

68 劉詩涵：站在另一個角度想，其實事情也沒有那麼straightforward。他們也有他們的立場，我們也有我們的立場。因為剛開始一來的時候，我還蠻不喜歡人家把我跟中國人compare。因為我是臺灣人，我有我自己的passport，我們有自己的constitution，然後我就試著跟我的其他朋友講這件事。可是後來我就覺得，why so serious？我還是會跟我朋友說我是臺灣來的，然後我們是一個國家，讓他們知道我們的立場。然後他們如果說臺灣是中國的一部分，我還是有點不高興。可是我不會這麼試著去推廣。

69 在美國很多時候，在國際上面看到臺灣人被中國政府，或者被不懂事的中國人侮辱，你會覺得臺灣人的意識會越來越強。

70 吳麗華：我跟中國朋友也比較不會講到政治，談到政治傷感情啊。所以通常不太會講，不太會碰觸到這種話題。

71 吳麗華：我（的中國）朋友都很喜歡臺灣，所以也沒有不同意。我的朋友們他們也是，我覺得他們也認為臺灣是國家，跟中國不一樣。我有一個朋友就是講說，臺灣很好，他覺得臺灣是應該獨立，要早點獨立。他有一次在跟一個美國人講這件事情，然後被旁邊另一個美國人聽到，他就說我從來都沒有聽過一個中國人會講這件事情，而且還這麼義正辭嚴。

72 劉詩涵：（在臺灣時）然後我就覺得，可能中國人跟我們有點不太一樣。可是出來以後，遇到很多很好的朋友都是中國人，我覺得他們跟我們都是一樣的，都是華人，也說中國話。

73 林冠廷：其實我覺得我們有時候，那根本很多時候都是中國政府在搞鬼，跟臺灣政府他們兩家有時候就故意這樣子弄。因為像有時候很多人，很多中國人來，在美國念書，認識，那時候在西雅圖大家都認識，有的就認為臺灣就是臺灣，中國就是中國啊，沒有必要搞混。他們有時候也覺得有時候中國政府很幼稚這樣子。

Interviewees Information

1. Demographic

#	Pseudonym	Sex	Age	City of Birth	Grandparents, Mainlander or Islander
1	Tsai-chieh Yang 楊采潔	F	34	Changhua	Both
2	Cheng-han Li 李承瀚	M	29	Taichung	Both
3	Chun-chiao Cheng 鄭春嬌	F	24	Taichung	Islander
4	Shu-fen Tsai 蔡淑芬	F	27	Taipei	Islander
5	Po-jui Tseng 曾柏睿	M	34	Taipei	Both
6	Hung-yang Kuo 郭鴻陽	M	25	Tainan	Islander
7	Chia-hao Hsu 許家豪	M	31	Taipei	Islander
8	Chun-hung Hsieh 謝俊宏	M	19	Taipei	Both
9	Hsiu-ying Huang 黃秀英	F	NK	Changhua	Islander
10	Li-hua Wu 吳麗華	F	NK	Taipei	Islander
11	Kuan-ting Lin 林冠廷	M	21	Taichung	Both
12	Shih-han Liu 劉詩涵	F	27	Taipei	Islander
13	Chih-ming Chang 張志明	M	36	Taipei	Islander
14	Wei-sheng Wang 王偉勝	M	30	Taichung	Islander
15	Yu-lan Chen 陳玉蘭	F	27	Taichung	Islander

Name: Both surnames and given names are pseudonyms.

Age: at time of interview

2. Viewpoint: identity

#	Pseudonym	Language of Interview	Self-thinking Taiwanese	Self-thinking Chinese	Keeping "ROC"
1	Tsai-chieh Yang 楊采潔	English	Yes	Yes	Yes
2	Cheng-han Li 李承瀚	English	Yes	No	No
3	Chun-chiao Cheng 鄭春嬌	English	Yes	No	Yes
4	Shu-fen Tsai 蔡淑芬	English	Yes	Yes	No
5	Po-jui Tseng 曾柏睿	English	Yes	Yes	Yes
6	Hung-yang Kuo 郭鴻陽	Chinese	Yes	Yes	No
7	Chia-hao Hsu 許家豪	English	Yes	No	No
8	Chun-hung Hsieh 謝俊宏	English	Yes	Yes	Yes
9	Hsiu-ying Huang 黃秀英	Chinese	Yes	No	Yes
10	Li-hua Wu 吳麗華	Chinese	Yes	Yes	No
11	Kuan-ting Lin 林冠廷	Chinese	Yes	No	Yes
12	Shih-han Liu 劉詩涵	Chinese	Yes	Yes	Yes
13	Chih-ming Chang 張志明	Chinese	Yes	Yes	No
14	Wei-sheng Wang 王偉勝	Chinese	Yes	No	No
15	Yu-lan Chen 陳玉蘭	Chinese	Yes	No	No

Language of interview: An interview that is marked as in English might include Chinese conversations and vice versa.

Self-think Chinese: All 15 interviewees were presented the question “do you think you are Chinese” in the English language.

3. Viewpoint: political

#	Pseudonym	Party Preference	Wishing Independence or Unification	Expecting Independence or Unification
1	Tsai-chieh Yang 楊采潔	Blue	Ambiguous	Unclear
2	Cheng-han Li 李承瀚	Green	Independence	Unclear
3	Chun-chiao Cheng 鄭春嬌	Green	Independence	Unclear
4	Shu-fen Tsai 蔡淑芬	None	Independence	Independence
5	Po-jiu Tseng 曾柏睿	Blue	Unification	Unification
6	Hung-yang Kuo 郭鴻陽	Blue	Independence	Independence
7	Chia-hao Lin 林家豪	Green	Independence	Unification
8	Chun-hung Hsieh 謝俊宏	Blue	Independence	Unclear
9	Hsiu-ying Huang 黃秀英	Blue	Independence	Unclear
10	Li-hua Wu 吳麗華	Green	Independence	Unclear
11	Kuan-ting Hsu 許冠廷	None	Independence	Unclear
12	Shih-han Liu 劉詩涵	Blue	Independence	Unification
13	Chih-ming Chang 張志明	None	Independence	Unclear
14	Wei-sheng Wang 王偉勝	Green	Independence	Unification
15	Yu-lan Chen 陳玉蘭	None	Independence	Unclear

Appendix 1. Recruitment Script

Hi (Name of Potential Participant),

Thank you for your interest in my study about Taiwanese national identity.

I would like to invite you to do an interview with me. I want to ask some questions about being Taiwanese and your national identity. The interview will last 45 to 60 minutes. It will be completely confidential.

If you agree to be interviewed, would you please reply to this email and provide a phone number? I will contact you further with a detailed plan of time and location. A small compensation of appreciation will be provided for your time.

Thank you very much!

Liu, Zhao

Department of Sociology

Indiana University, IUPUI

Appendix 2. Flyers



Are you a
Taiwanese
student?

If yes, we invite you
to a one-time
interview which lasts
40 to 60 minutes.
You'll get \$20 in cash.

CONTACT:
Zhao Liu
zliu88@iupui.edu
317-658-2627

1. The research is about the national
identity of Taiwan.
2. The interview will be completely
confidential.
IRB Approval #1209009461 on
09/10/2012

 INDIANA UNIVERSITY



您是從
台灣
來的留學生嗎?

我們誠摯邀請您參加我
們的訪談。
訪談主題為台灣人的國
家認同感。
您將獲得20 美元現金作
為回饋。

敬請聯絡：
劉釗
zliu88@iupui.edu
317-658-2627

1. 此項研究之主題為台灣人的國家
認同感；
2. 對您的個人資料以及訪談情報，
研究者承諾保密。
學術倫理審查委員會於2012年9月10號
審查通過，序號 #1209009461

 INDIANA UNIVERSITY

Appendix 3. Interview Guide

1. Eligibility

- Are you 18 years or older?
- Are you born in Taiwan?
- Are you students?

2. Family

- Please tell me about your family, like your mother and father, sister and brother.
- Where were you born?
- When were you born?
- Where is your sister/brother born and what are they doing?
- Where are your parents from and what are they doing? Where did your grandparents come from?
 - Where is your ancestry?

3. National Identity

- Being from Taiwan, how do you see China?
- What does your sister/brother say about it?
- What is your parents' idea?
- What is your grandparents' idea?
- Are you 外省人 (mainlanders)?

4. Taiwan Politics

- What do you think President Ma Ying-Jeou?
- Are you pro-green or pro-blue?
- What do you think President Ma's China-Friendly Policy?

5. Foreign Relation

- Once when a Chinese government official visited Taiwan, Taiwan was told not to hang its national flag. What do you think?
 - Taiwanese National Flag was not hung in Olympics Games or United Nations. What do you think?
- Do you think Taiwan should declare independence?
 - How do you think Taiwan and China's economic relation?
 - What do you think the difference of 中國人 (*zhong guo ren*) and 華人 (*hua ren*)?
 - What do you think Diaoyutai Island/Diaoyudao/Senkakus? Who does it belong to?
 - Do you think Taiwan should cancel its name "Republic of China?"
 - Is it often that your American friends mix you up with people from China?
 - Coming to America, how does your national identity change?

6. Taiwan Culture

- What role do you think Japanese culture play in Taiwan?
- What role do you think Chinese culture play in Taiwan.
- Do your grandparents have memory about Japanese rule?
- Do they think they are Japanese?
- Do you know Confucius Institute? What do you think of it?
- Do you think there should be a Taiwanese Institute like Confucius Institute?

7. History

- Where were your grandparents when the KMT government retreated from mainland China to Taiwan in the late 1940s?
- How did the 228 Incident affect your family?
- How did the White Terror Period affect your family?

8. Ending

- Anything else that you think is important for me to know?
- Do you think there are any questions that I should have asked but I didn't?
- Please provide your comment about this interview.

Appendix 4. Study Information Sheet

IRB STUDY [#1209009461, 09/10/2012]

INDIANA UNIVERSITY STUDY INFORMATION SHEET FOR National Identity about Taiwanese Research Study

You are invited to participate in a research study of the meaning of Taiwanese from the perspective of Taiwanese students in the US. You were selected as a possible subject because you are a Taiwanese student in the US. We ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

The study is being conducted by Zhao Liu of the Department of Sociology IUPUI. The sponsor of this study is his professor, Dr. Carrie Foote, in the Department of Sociology at IUPUI.

STUDY PURPOSE: The purpose of this study is to understand what it means to be Taiwanese from the perspective of Taiwanese students in the US. This research is part of the master thesis for Zhao Liu's MA degree in Sociology.

PROCEDURES FOR THE STUDY: If you agree to be in the study, you will do the following things: First, Zhao, the student researcher, will conduct a recorded interview with you, lasting about 45 minutes to one hour. Then the interview will be transcribed and analyzed. A report will be produced from the findings.

CONFIDENTIALITY: I will make every effort to keep your personal information confidential by changing your name during the transcription of the recordings and by not recording your name in any other way. Your name will not be used in the final research report. The only other people that may inspect the research records include my professor Dr. Foote, and staff at the Indiana University Institutional Review Board. But please know that your personal information will be removed from any note of the research such that it is impossible to identify that you even participated in this research.

PAYMENT: You will receive a small gift as my way of saying thank you and expressing the appreciation for your time and effort taken to help me complete this study.

CONTACTS FOR QUESTIONS OR PROBLEMS: For questions about the study, contact the researcher Zhao Liu at 317-658-2627. For questions about your rights as a research participant or to discuss concerns about the research or to obtain information Dr. Carrie Foote at 278-8454. You may also contact the IU Human Subjects Office at (317) 278-3458 or (800) 696-2949.

VOLUNTARY NATURE OF STUDY: Taking part in this study is voluntary. You may choose not to take part or may leave the study at any time.

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Curriculum Vitae

Zhao Liu

EDUCATION

- Jul, 2013 Master of Arts in Sociology, Indiana University at Indianapolis (IUPUI).
Thesis title: *Taiwanese Accounts of the Meaning of Their National Identity: A Qualitative Study* (Expected)
- Jul, 2011 *Bachelor of Law*, from China University of Political Science and Law, Beijing.

SCHOLARSHIPS, AWARDS AND HONORS

- Spring 2013 Service Learning Scholarship, IUPUI
2012-13 Full Tuition Fee Remission Scholarship by the Department of Sociology, Indiana University at IUPUI
- 2012-13 Thesis Grant of the Department of Sociology, Indiana University at IUPUI
- 2011-12 Indiana University Fellowship
2011-12 Indiana University Graduate Student Travel Grant

PROFESSIONAL ACADEMIC EXPERIENCES

- Spring 2013 *Teaching Assistant* for Prof. Dave Strong's Introduction to Sociology. Responsibilities include taking attendance, grading quizzes, and returning papers.
- Spring 2013 *Research Assistant* for Prof. Carrie Foote, 2013 Ryan White HIV Needs Assessment Project.
- 2012-13 *Teaching Assistant* for Prof. Robert Aponte's Introduction to Sociology. Responsibilities include taking attendance, grading quizzes, and holding study session.
- Fall 2012 *Research Assistant* for Prof. William Gronfein. Researched literature about paranoia in business.
- Summer 2012 *Research Assistant* for Prof. Ain Haas. Researched literature about indigenous Australians, for details about how society perceives and treats juvenile delinquency.
- Summer 2012 *Research Assistant* for Prof. Robert Aponte. Researched literature about Latino/a immigration into the US, and about US military existence in Latin America.

CONFERENCES

- Apr, 2013 North Central Sociological Association Conference, Indianapolis, Apr 5, 2013, presented paper: *Taiwanese Accounts of the Meaning of Their National Identity: A Qualitative Study*
- Jun, 2012 North American Taiwan Studies Association 2012 Conference, Bloomington, IN, June 8-9, 2012
- Mar, 2012 American Journal of Sociology Casual Thinking and Ethnographic Research 2012 Conference, Chicago, March 8-9, 2012

SERVICES

- Apr, 2013 Guest speaker in Dave Strong's class Introduction to Sociology, gave a talk on Taiwanese national identity. Tuesday, April 16, 2013
- Apr, 2013 Guest speaker in Dave Strong's class Introduction to Sociology, gave a talk on Taiwanese national identity. Wednesday, April 17, 2013

OTHER PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCES

- Summer 2012 *Social Research Interviewer* for Habitat for Humanity of Greater Indianapolis. Interviewed 2 local homeowner families.
- Sep, 2009 Beijing, China: Surveyor of *Rural Education Action Project*, a Stanford-Tsinghua (Beijing) academic project related to children of migration workers. Worked as surveyor and interviewer
- Jul-Aug, 2009 Lucknow and peripheral villages, India: *Office assistant* at Sarathi Development Foundation. Helped organize villagers' conferences and produced cultural field reports.
- Feb-Apr, 2009 Simferopol, Ukraine: Participating in *World Without Borders*. Gave presentation in local schools about other cultures and cultural diversity with other presenters from various countries

LANGUAGES ABILITY

- | | |
|----------|--------------------------------------|
| Native | Mandarin Chinese |
| Fluent | English |
| Readable | French |
| Basic | Japanese, Spanish, Russian and Latin |