

THE ROLE OF ECFA IN TAIWANESE/CHINESE IDENTITY OF TAIWANESE

by

CHIEH-JU LU

A THESIS

Presented to the Conflict and Dispute Resolution Program
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Science

June 2019

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE

Student: Chieh-Ju Lu

Title: The Role of ECFA in Taiwanese/Chinese Identity of Taiwanese

This thesis has been accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Science degree in the Conflict and Dispute Resolution Program by:

Tuong Yu	Chairperson
Daniel Buck	Member

and

Janet Woodruff-Borden	Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School
-----------------------	--

Original approval signatures are on file with the University of Oregon Graduate School.

Degree awarded June 2019

© 2019 Chieh-Ju Lu

THESIS ABSTRACT

Chieh-Ju Lu

Master of Science

Conflict and Dispute Resolution Program

June 2019

Title: The Role of ECFA in Taiwanese/Chinese Identity of Taiwanese

The paper uses the Cross-Strait Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA), signed by Taiwan and China in 2010, and Taiwanese's national identity, to explore the relationship between economic cooperation and political conflicts. Social identity theory indicates that people compare the in-groups to which they belong with out-groups, and develop negative feelings toward out-groups. According to the intergroup contact theory, contact between members of different groups can work to reduce prejudice, intergroup conflict, and improve social relations. ECFA, the most significant trade achievement between Taiwan and China, is predicted to reduce Taiwanese identity under the theory. For exploring this relationship, I compare identity data before and after the ECFA was implemented, and also discuss the Sunflower Movement and the new political word "Tian Ran Du." I lastly compare the results of the Taiwan's Presidential elections in 2008, 2012, and 2016. My research found that ECFA has not reduced Taiwanese identity obviously.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Chieh-Ju Lu

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon, Eugene
National University of Kaohsiung, Republic of China (Taiwan)

DEGREES AWARDED:

Master of Science, Conflict and Dispute Resolution, 2019, University of Oregon
Master of Law, American Law, 2017, University of Oregon
Bachelor of Law, Economic and Financial Law, 2013, National University of
Kaohsiung

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Conflict and Dispute Management
ADR (Alternative Dispute Resolution)
Economic Analysis of Law
Intellectual Property Law

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Mediator and Coach, Chinese Arbitration Association, Taipei, 2018-present
Legal Counselor, Song Hui Department Store Co., 2017-present
Legal Counselor, LCJ Music Studio, 2015-present
Mediator, Lane County Circuit Court Small Claim Court, April 2018-February
2018
Intern, Eugene Municipal Court, March 2019-June 2019
Intern, the Greater Lane County Mobile Mediation Project (under Judge Rick
Brissenden), Lane County Justice Court, March 2018- June 2018

GRANTS, AWARDS, AND HONORS:

Stan Sitnick Scholarship, 32nd Annual Conference, Oregon Mediation Association,
2018

Jubitz Peacemaker Fund, University of Oregon Conflict and Dispute Resolution
Program, 2018

Scholarship, University of Oregon Conflict and Dispute Resolution, 2017

Scholarship, University of Oregon School of Law, 2016

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor Professor Tuong Vu for his continuous support and for his patience, motivation, and immense knowledge. His guidance helped me throughout the process of researching and writing of this thesis. Besides my advisor, I would like to thank Professor Erik Girvan for providing insightful suggestions to my study. My sincere thanks also goes to Professor Daniel Buck for serving as a member of my thesis committee and giving me useful comments.

For my parents, my brother, my sister and my brother in law, who supported me spiritually throughout writing the thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	01
1.1 National Identity Conflict Existing Between Taiwan and China	03
1.2 Intergroup Contact Theory and ECFA (Cross-Strait Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement)	10
1.3 Literature Review and Methodology	13
II. ANALYSIS.....	17
2.1 Comparison With the Data of Taiwanese Identity of Taiwanese Citizens Before and After Implementing ECFA	17
2.2 2014 Sunflower Movement and the Creation of the New Political Word “Tian Ran Du”	22
2.3 Comparison With the Voting Results of the Taiwan’s President Election in 2008, 2012 and 2016	28
III. CONCLUSION	31
APPENDIX: GRAPHS AND METHODOLOGY: THE DATA OF TAIWANESE/CHINESE IDENTITY OF TAIWANESE	33
REFERENCES CITED.....	40

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Changes in the Unification-Independence Stances of Taiwanese (1994-2018)	02
2. Changes in the Taiwanese/Chinese Identity of Taiwanese (1992-2018. 06)	08
3. Changes in the Party Identification of Taiwanese (1992-2018).....	20

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Public Opinion on the Declaration of Taiwan Independence	02
2. The Factors that Define Taiwanese Identity	10
3. 2008 Voting Results of Taiwanese President Election.....	29
4. 2012 Voting Results of Taiwanese President Election.....	29
5. 2016 Voting Results of Taiwanese President Election.....	29

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

“Is Taiwan a part of China?”

The issues between Taiwan and China are not as simple as this question. As Taiwan and China have developed differently since 1949 when the Republic of China lost the Chinese Civil War and moved to Taiwan, the issues between the two include not only the legitimacy of Republic of China’s government but also differences in ideologies, including national identity: Taiwanese or Chinese.

Humans pursue peace to avoid war, to protect their lives and their private properties, and to promote the sustainable development of their communities. The present paper is a peace study that explores the relationship between economic cooperation and political conflicts through a case study. This is the Cross-Strait Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA), signed by Taiwan (Republic of China, R.O.C.) and China (People’s Republic of China, P.R.C.) in 2010, and its effect on the Taiwanese identity of Taiwanese citizens. Taiwan and China, after the military confrontation period (1949-1958) and the deadlock period (1958-1986), have been in the interaction period since 1986. According to the 2011 Taiwan National Security Survey conducted by the Election Study Center at National Chengchi University, 80.2% Taiwanese favored Taiwanese independence if there was no war with China, compared to only 34.3% if independence required conflict. Thus, the majority of Taiwanese’ believed that its independence depended on whether it caused a war with China.

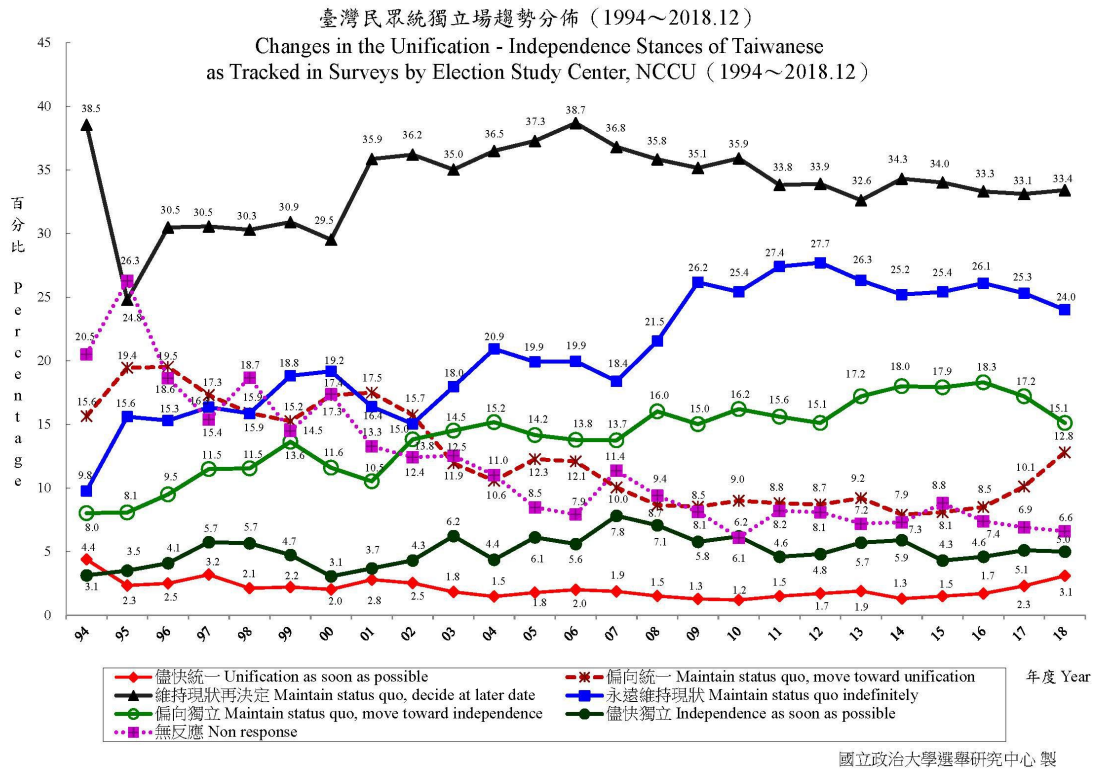
Table 1

Public Opinion on the Declaration of Taiwan Independence

	Favor	Not Favor
Taiwan Independence if no war with China	80.2 %	19.8%
Taiwan Independence if war with China	34.3%	65.7%

Source: The 2011 Taiwan National Security Survey

Additionally, more than 50% of Taiwanese participants supported maintaining the current status with China in 2018, as seen in the graph below. It seems that cross-strait peace is important for Taiwanese.



Graph 1. Changes in the Unification-Independence Stances of Taiwanese (1994-2018) conducted by the Election Study Center, NCCU, Taiwan.

However, different ideologies, such as national identity, between Taiwan and China make their interactions challenging, like the 55th Golden Horse Films festival and awards¹ for example. From the perspective of conflict and dispute management, conflict can be positive and socially productive, and more understanding can cause fewer conflicts. And in terms of conflict transformation, an approach to address disputes, placing more weight on addressing the underlying conditions that give rise to the conflict is the first and most important stage in the process. As a Taiwanese, I hope, through the paper, to promote the understanding that there are different ideologies in Taiwan and China for maintaining peace in the Taiwan Strait. Due to the lack of data about the national identity of Chinese citizens, only the national identity of Taiwanese citizens will be examined in this paper.

To discuss the relationship between ECFA and Taiwanese national identity, the thesis is divided into two sections: the introduction and the analysis. In the first chapter, I will discuss the national identity conflict that exists between Taiwan and China, as well as intergroup contact theory and ECFA. I will also provide a literature review and the study's methodology. Then, in the second chapter I will compare data of Taiwanese citizens' identities before and after implementing ECFA, in addition to a discussion of the 2014 Sunflower Movement and the creation of the new political word "Tian Ran Du" (Traditional Chinese: 天然獨, describing generations born after 1980 who believe that they are Taiwanese, not Chinese). I will also compare the voting results of Taiwan's Presidential elections in 2008, 2012, and 2016.

1.1 National Identity Conflict Existing Between Taiwan and China

¹ BBC News. (November 2018). Golden Horse awards hit by controversy over Taiwan. Retrieved: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-46250674> (Last Date: May 9, 2019.)

Taiwan, formerly known as Formosa, is an island in East Asia, and it is currently governed by the Republic of China; however, the legitimacy of the government of the Republic of China is in question because it lost the 1949 Chinese Civil War and moved to Taiwan. The People's Republic of China took control of mainland China. Since then, Taiwan and mainland China have been governed separately by the Republic of China (Taiwan) and by the People's Republic of China (China). Both still claim sovereignty over the entire country of China even though they each govern only part of it. Additionally, as China becomes the world's second largest economy, China insists upon a "One-China" policy and denies the legitimacy of the ROC government.

Before it was governed by the government of the Republic of China, Taiwan's location on the trade route in the Pacific Ocean made it desirable. Taiwan had been colonized by the Netherlands (1624-1662), Spain (1626-1642), the Kingdom of Tungning (1662-1683), the Qing dynasty (1683-1895), and Japan (1895-1945). Taiwan has its own story of aboriginals and emigrants. Under the governing of the Republic of China, Taiwan experienced martial law and authoritarianism (1949-1987), and now democratic reform and democratization (1987-present). Taiwan's development is different from China's under the PRC government- Chinese Communist Party.

Identity reveals intrinsic characteristics of a people or a nation (Danielsen, 2012, p. 137). Social identity theory, proposed by Turner and Tajfel (1986), points out that a person's sense of who he or she is depends on the groups to which he or she belongs. There are three components of social identity: self-conceptualization, group-self-esteem, and commitment to the group, and when a person meets the three components, it leads a person to feel that he or she is connected to the group (in-group). Social identity, through three mental

processes—categorization, social identification, and social comparison, is created by people. Through categorizing people based on similarities and differences, people define others into “we/us” (in-group) or “they/them” (out-group). Categorization sharpens intergroup boundaries by producing group-distinctive stereotypical and normative perceptions and actions and assigns people, including the self, to the contextually relevant category (Hogg & Terry, 2001). Every group has some type of social status that goes with its membership and gives it value to members. People adopt the norms of the in-group and tend to compare their own group’s achievements or favoritism with out-groups to maintain or enhance their self-image and status. In-groups tend to discriminate and hold prejudiced views against out-groups.

Culture, language, and ethnicity contribute to the formulation of an identity (Danielsen, 2012, p. 137). But identity is far more complex than a mixture of these three ingredients (Danielsen, 2012, p. 137). After the ROC lost the Chinese Civil War and moved to Taiwan, Taiwan and China have been governed by the ROC and the PRC respectively as two different countries. Over time, Taiwan and China have experienced and developed different histories and cultures, particularly after the lifting of martial law in 1987 and the democratization of Taiwan.

Taiwan’s democracy is the centerpiece of its identity (Danielsen, 2012, p. 148). The political environment changed fundamentally with democracy in the early 1990s (Danielsen, 2012, p.139). Since 1949 when the Republic of China moved to Taiwan, Taiwanese residents were governed under martial law, which restricted their rights of assembly, association, speech, publishing, and movement. But on July 15, 1987, martial law was lifted. The 38-year period of martial order and the time of authoritarian rule by

Kuo Min Tong (KMT) ended. In addition, after 1987 Taiwan began to democratize, for example, lifting the ban of organizing political parties and relaxing restrictions on newspaper publication. Moreover, the Taiwanese government permitted the Taiwanese to visit their relatives in mainland China. Furthermore, as the political environment was liberalized and democratized, many social movements took place, such as the Wild Lily movement in 1990. Social movements promoted Taiwan's democratization. Due to Taiwan's democratization, residents in Taiwan enjoy freedom to speech, freedom of assembly and association, voting rights and so on, which are protected by the Constitution of R.O.C. After 1996, the Taiwanese President has been elected by citizens directly. In 2000, ruling party alternation first happened. The ruling party KMT lost for the first time, and Taiwanese experienced a peaceful government change. Taiwanese established their democracy through a long political struggle, and democracy thus serves as a common achievement with shared ownership (Danielsen, 2012, p.148). It is something that all Taiwanese can be proud of creating together (Danielsen, 2012, p.148).

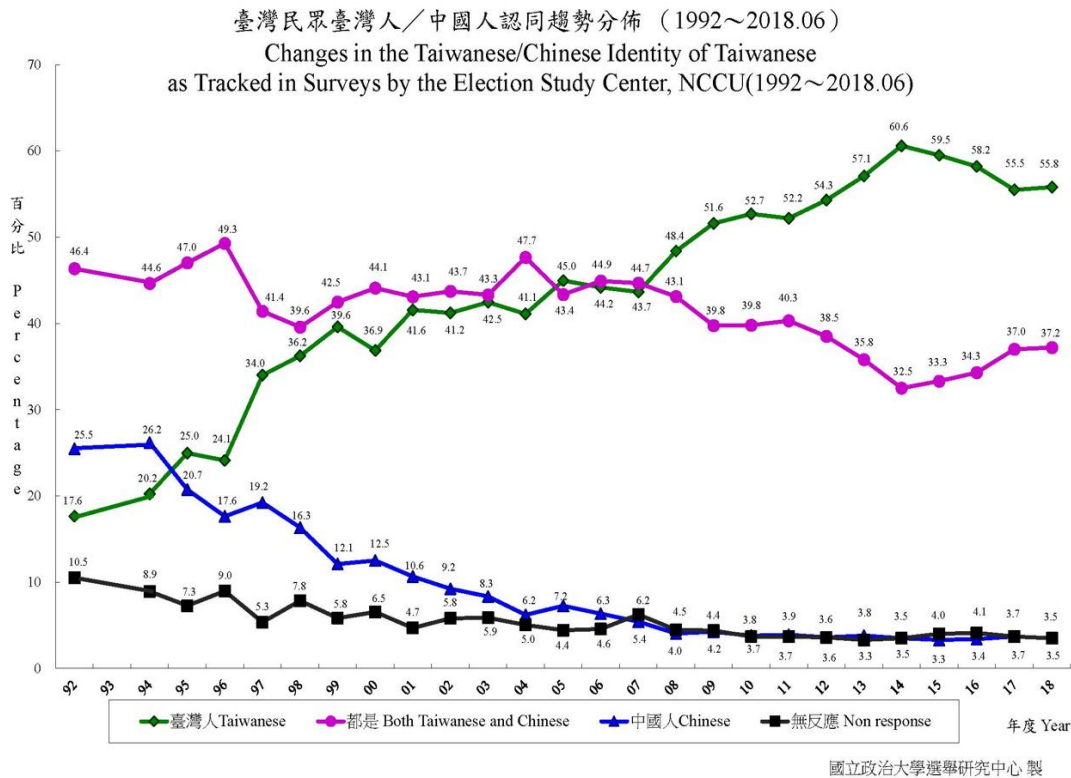
From a historical perspective, China's history is not Taiwan's history, and Taiwan's history is not China's. Taiwan is a story of emigrants and aboriginals who experienced several failed attempts to colonize the island from The Netherlands, Spain, the Qing dynasty, and Japan (Danielsen, 2012, p.135). Since World War II, Taiwan has also been strongly influenced by the West—especially the United States (Danielsen, 2012, p.135). Taiwan's history differs in distinctive ways from China's history. Taiwan's historical struggles and memories have been experienced separate from China's historical events, such as their own cultural revolution (Danielsen, 2012, p.138). This is due to marked differences in the wider society and historical memories, which have a pivotal impact on

individuals' personal and social identities (Danielsen, 2012, p. 138), and according to the social identity theory, even create different national identities: Taiwanese and Chinese. The different national identities impact various matters and cause conflicts in interactions between Taiwan and China. This includes, for example, recent Taiwanese/Chinese identity debates after the 55th Golden Horse Films festival and awards.

Controversy stemmed from the following statement by director Fu Yue, whose award-winning film "Our Youth in Taiwan" documented the 2014 Sunflower Movement: "I really hope that, one day, our country can be treated as a truly independent entity. This is my greatest wish as a Taiwanese." After her statement, Tu Men, the winner of last year's Golden Horse award for best actor, and who was born in mainland China said, "he was honored to be a presenter at the show in "Taiwan, China" and felt everyone was part of "one big family on both sides of the strait." Those different perspectives led to Taiwanese and Chinese debates on social media, like the comment part under news in Facebook.

From the news², reporting a public survey conducted by the Taiwanese Public Opinion Foundation in 2018, over 70% respondents identified as Taiwanese, not Chinese. In another survey (below) in 2018, 55.8% of respondents thought they were simply Taiwanese. Those survey results show that the citizens of Taiwan appeared to be moving toward a common Taiwanese identity. However, the definition of Taiwanese is unclear since the individual choosing the word "Taiwanese" not "Chinese," to describe himself or herself has his or her own definition.

² SETN. March 2018. Retrieve: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BWtksX0XHSo>



Graph 2. Changes in the Taiwanese/Chinese Identity of Taiwanese (1992-2018. 06)
Conducted by the Election Study Center, NCCU

Although the definition of Taiwanese is unclear, by organizing comments under national identity debates on social media, people reveal how various elements lead them to define themselves as Taiwanese, Chinese, both, or neither, and how people weigh the elements impacts on his or her national identity.

The first element is nationality. Bhikhu Parekh said, “the nation provides a home, a place they call their own, whose membership of it generally cannot be taken away from them.” The home is Taiwan; it is Taiwan’s political community that provides the Taiwanese with their passports, citizenship, military defense, national health care, education, high living standard, general welfare, national public institutions, free press, and democracy (Danielsen, 2012, p.137). However, the word “Taiwanese” is not the same to “Republic of China.” The

Republic of China citizen can call him or herself Chinese or Taiwanese or both. Although the connection between nationality and national identity is strong, they are not the same. In order to explore what it means to be Taiwanese, based on Taiwanese/Chinese identity debates on social media like comments under the news, I organized and found that in general, people who thought they were Taiwanese focused more on their differences from people living in mainland China. On the other hand, people who thought they were both Taiwanese and Chinese focused more on their similarities to people living in mainland China.

In terms of “home,” people using Taiwanese to describe themselves emphasized the place where they grew up and lived; however, for other people living in Taiwan who used Chinese (and Taiwanese) to describe themselves, they emphasized where their family was from. In order to suppress Taiwanese identity, China asks Taiwanese actors to issue statements that they are Chinese and their families are from China. The Chou Tzu-Yu event is the best example.³

Moreover, from a cultural viewpoint, people calling themselves Taiwanese focused on how Taiwan is different from China at a micro level, including democratic governing style and Taiwanese (language). Whereas people calling themselves Chinese (and Taiwanese) focusing on macro-level factors in Chinese culture, called “Zhong Hua” (Traditional Chinese: 中華), such as Confucian thoughts. Taiwanese identity includes, but is not limited to, these characteristics mentioned above.

³ Buckley, C. & Ramzy, A. (January 2016). Singer’s Apology for Waving Taiwan Flag Stirs Backlash of Its Own. The New York Times. Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/17/world/asia/taiwan-china-singer-chou-tzu-yu.html>

Table 2

The Factors that Define Taiwanese Identity

	The definition of “Home”	Culture (Language, History etc.)	Perspectives from Social Identity Theory
Taiwanese	Emphasizing his or her personal place of residence	Localization (e.g. Taiwanese)	Emphasizing the differences
Chinese	Emphasizing where his or her ancestors were from	Emphasizing “Zhong Hua” (Traditional Chinese: 中華, describing common Traditional Chinese Cultures, like Confucian thoughts)	Emphasizing the similarities

1.2 Intergroup Contact Theory & ECFA (the Cross-Strait Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement)

Since 1970, the international relationship has changed from highly political (e.g., military alliances) to not very political (e.g. economic cooperation). Allport’s intergroup contact theory points out that, contact between members of different groups can work to reduce prejudices, intergroup conflict, and improve social relations through four conditions: equal group status within the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and authority support. Equal status means that members in the contact situation should not have an unequal hierarchical relationship. Cooperation means that members in contact should work together and not in competition. In terms of common goals, members must rely on each other to achieve their goals. And in the contact situation, there should be authorities that support positive contact. Allport argued it is essential that the contact situation exhibits these factors to some degree. A study by Pettigrew (1998), found that, while contact under

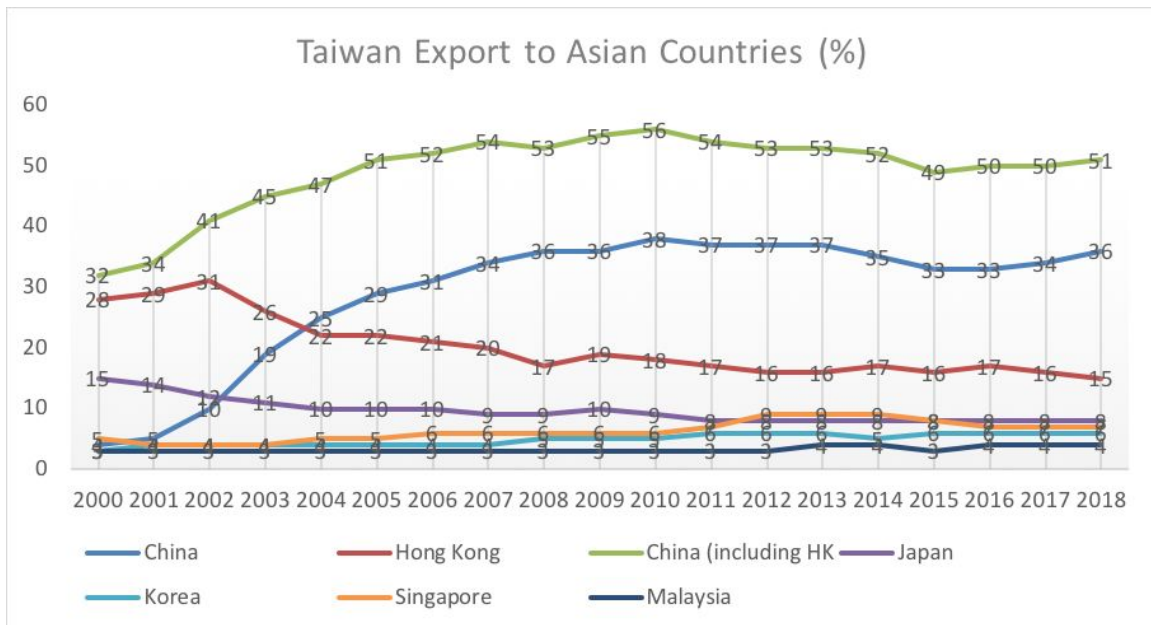
Allport's conditions is especially effective at reducing prejudice, even unstructured contact reduces prejudice.

ECFA (Cross-Straits Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement) is a bilateral trade agreement between Taiwan and China, signed on June 29, 2010, for future trade between the two. The agreement is similar to a free trade agreement (FTA) wherein the tariffs of 90% of goods, including agriculture, aquaculture, petrochemical industry, finance, banking, etc., are exempted to zero within 10 years. ECFA is the most important economic interaction between Taiwan and China, and it took effect on September 12 of that year. ECFA tries to avoid political and sovereignty issues between Taiwan and China. Until now, it includes an agreement on an early harvest program, which was implemented on the first day of 2011, the Cross-Strait Bilateral Investment Protection and Promotion Agreement, which was signed and implemented on August 9, 2012, and February 1, 2013 respectively. The Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement, was signed on June 21, 2013, but was not implemented due to the Sunflower Movement in 2014, and Cross-Strait Goods Trade Agreement, which is still in the process of negotiation.

ECFA is the primary policy during the KMT governing era. The Ma Ying-Jiu government in 2009 initiated the ECFA. It was done to avoid marginalizing Taiwan on the international stage and in Asian economic integration, such as such as CAFTA (China-ASEAN Free Trade Area), ASEAN+3 (Association of Southeast Asian Nations plus 3), especially because almost 40% of Taiwan's exports go to China, and in general, Asian countries are competing for economic development.

Since the end of the 1980s, two major phenomena have transformed Taiwan's politics and economy: the rise of the Taiwanese national identity and the development of its close

economic interaction with China (Muyard, 2012, p. 153). Taiwan and China, experienced a military confrontation period (1949-1958) and a deadlock period (1958-1986), are now occupying an interaction period since 1986. Moreover, after 2001 three mini links have operated between the two (Traditional Chinese: 小三通; meaning that allowing postal, transportation and trade between the islands of Jinmen and Matsu in Taiwan and the mainland's coastal Fujian province). Furthermore, in 2008 the three links operated comprehensively. Business activities between Taiwan and China have gradually become frequent, and for Taiwan, trading with China plays a significant role in the Taiwanese economy. Based on the data from Ministry of Finance, R.O.C. (Taiwan), China, including Hong Kong, is Taiwan's main trade surplus country. Additionally, compared to the trade volume of other Asian countries, its trade volume with China makes up more 40% of the trade volume with other countries in Asia.



Source: *The Statistic of Export and Import of the ROC, Bureau of Foreign Trade*

Intergroup contact theory focuses on the conditions that foster intergroup contact and lead to changes in intergroup relations. Contact between members of different groups can

work to reduce prejudice and intergroup conflict (Everett, 2013). And thus, under intergroup contact theory, it assumes that ECFA can reduce the Taiwanese identity of Taiwanese citizens because of their close economic interaction.

1.3 Literature Review & Methodology

In terms of whether increasing economic dependence can reduce conflicts between states, a Singaporean scholar Cheng Yung-Nien, in 2016, pointed out that the degree of interdependency of Asian economies makes it hard to avoid conflict because economic sovereignty has deep roots in Asian countries, and the countries are in competition.⁴

However, considering the benefits brought by ECFA, ECFA might promote peace in terms of the Cross-Strait relationship (Liu, 2010), and ECFA would play a positive role in Cross-Strait relationship (Ma, 2009). In the study *Economic Interest and Symbolic Attitudes: Analyzing the Dynamics of Taiwan Identity*, Lu-Huei Chen, Ying-Nan Chen, and Hsin-Hsien Wang evaluate how the benefits of Taiwan-China economic interactions impacted the national identity of Taiwanese. Most Taiwanese who thought that they were both Taiwanese and Chinese agreed that economic interaction made Taiwan better. On the other hand, Taiwanese who only identified as Taiwanese, not Chinese, disagreed that economic interaction with China benefitted Taiwan.

Nevertheless, some scholars have negative points of view. Lai (2012) argued, “closer or better economic interaction would not necessarily lead to better political relations neither would the bad political relations worsen the economic interactions.” Based on the value of Taiwan democracy, the policies in the era of President Ma and Taiwanese history, Taiwan appears to be moving toward a common Taiwan identity despite the rapid rapprochement

⁴ Master-Insight.Com. (August 2016). Whether the economic dependence can reduce conflicts between or among countries. Retrieved: <https://www.master-insight.com/經濟上的互相依賴,會減少國家間的衝突嗎?/> (Last view: May 9, 2019)

between Taiwan and China through cross-strait trade agreements and a closer relationship between China's Communist party and Taiwan's government party, the KMT (Danielsen, 2012, p. 136). Taiwanese distinguish economic issues from their identities (Danielsen, 2012, p. 135). Despite that a majority of the Taiwanese support closer economic relations with China, they consider cross-strait relations as a foreign affair and distinguish it from their Taiwanese identity and affiliation with Taiwan (Danielsen, 2012, p.136). Compared with the European Union (EU) and the European Economic Community (EEC), political integration requires (1) equal partners in rights with mutual recognition and respect of each partner's national sovereignty; (2) common and mutual economic, political, strategic security interests and goals; (3) a mutually agreed on common form of identity, be it regional or civilizational; (4) common political values and systems; (5) common desire; (6) competent and trusted leaders—all things that are largely nonexistent in the current cross-strait situation (Muyard, 2012, p. 179). Economic, cultural, and human interactions between societies also often reinforce the perception of concrete distinctiveness and separation rather than abstract ideas of commonness (Muyard, 2012, p. 179). The Taiwanese identity and support for independence are also here to stay and keep on rising with or without close integration with the Chinese economy (Muyard, 2012, p. 182).

In order to explore the relationship between ECFA and the national identity of Taiwanese citizens, this paper compares data of Taiwanese identity before and after the ECFA was implemented in 2010 (Ch. 2-1). It also discusses the 2014 Sunflower Movement (Ch. 2-2), which was the largest social movement in Taiwan recently, and the creation of the new political word — Tian Ran Du (Ch. 2-2). It also compares the voting results of the presidential elections in 2008, 2012, and 2016 (Ch. 2-3).

The data used in this paper regarding Taiwanese identity of Taiwanese citizen is from the Election Study Center at National Chengchi University in Taiwan. The details of the data methodology are attached in the appendices. The data was collected via telephone surveys, and the chart of trends of Taiwanese/Chinese identity from 1992 until 2018 is based on data gathered through telephone survey polls and merged every year. The target population for each survey is the adult population, 20 years or older, in the Taiwan Area, excluding the offshore islands of Kinmen and Matsu. Each sample is constructed from numbers listed in each county and city telephone books (China Telecom Residential Telephone Number Books) and is drawn proportionately from all residential phone numbers across the island. In addition, in order to ensure complete coverage, after systematic sampling produced a sample for each city and county, it was then supplemented as needed based on the last two or four digits to include households with unlisted numbers.

After phone contact was established, the interviewer followed a specified intra-household sampling procedure to identify the targeted member of the household and began the interview. The survey question about Taiwanese/Chinese identity of Taiwanese is “In our society, there are some people who call themselves ‘Taiwanese,’ some who call themselves ‘Chinese,’ and some who call themselves both. Do you consider yourself to be ‘Taiwanese,’ ‘Chinese,’ or both?” Responses were categorized into one of four options: Taiwanese, Chinese, both, or no response.

Regarding the 2014 Sunflower Movement and the creation of the new political word, Tian Ran Du, I investigate these topics through participant observation.

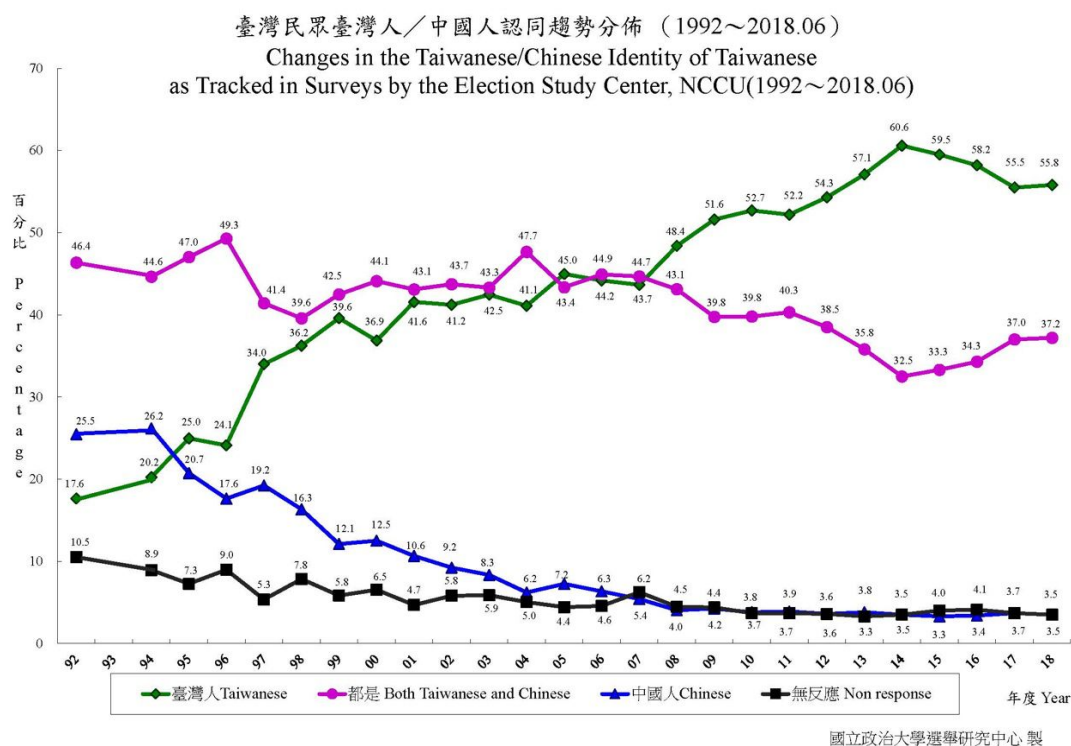
The data about voting results of Taiwan's Presidential elections in 2008, 2012, and 2016 are from the Central Election Commission, Taiwan. I use these voting results to analyze Taiwanese majority opinions for ECFA as one of main policies in the KMT era.

CHAPTER II: ANALYSIS

2.1 Comparison of Taiwanese/Chinese Identity of Taiwanese Citizens Before and After Implementing ECFA

Since the ECFA was signed by Taiwan and China in 2010, comparing data of Taiwanese national identity before and after 2010 is a simple method to investigate whether the ECFA impacted the Taiwanese/Chinese identity of Taiwanese citizens.

In a survey by the Election Study Center at National Chengchi University, Taiwanese participants were asked, “In our society, there are some people who call themselves ‘Taiwanese,’ some who call themselves ‘Chinese,’ and some who call themselves both. Do you consider yourself to be ‘Taiwanese,’ ‘Chinese,’ or both?” There was no direct and clear definition of Taiwanese and Chinese in the survey, and there were four identities for Taiwanese participants to choose from: Taiwanese, Chinese, both Taiwanese and Chinese, and no response. According to the data, there was no further information regarding the characteristics of the respondents, like age, gender, education, etc.



Graph 2- Changes in the Taiwanese/Chinese Identity of Taiwanese (1992-2018. 06)
Conducted by the Election Study Center, NCCU

In accordance with the graph above, before 2010, and before 2008 the percentage of Taiwanese who identified as both Taiwanese and Chinese was more than Taiwanese alone, except for the year 2005. However, after 2010, to be accurate, after 2007, the percentage of people who identified as Taiwanese made up the largest proportion, and in the year 2014, it increased to 60 percent. Moreover, from 2007 to 2014, the percentage of people who identified as Taiwanese grew consistently. In other words, there was no significant change in the growth of the Chinese identity of Taiwanese citizens after 2010 when the ECFA was signed by Taiwan and China.

However, in 2011 the percentage of Taiwanese identity declined slightly from 52.7% down to 52.2%, while the percentage of both Taiwanese and Chinese increased a little from 39.8% in 2010 to 40.3% in 2011. This may be evidence that the economic interaction could

reduce national identity conflict. However, the declination was a reflection of the expectation that the ECFA would bring benefits to Taiwan’s economy; not actually a response that economic cooperation could reduce the Taiwanese identity of Taiwanese citizens. Because national identity conflict has always challenged the interaction between Taiwan and China, during ECFA negotiations Ma emphasized that the ECFA would avoid the political and sovereignty issues between Taiwan and China. According to public opinion results of the ECFA from the Mainland Affairs Council, Republic of China (Taiwan), 70% citizens thought it was necessary to have ECFA with China, and 60% people agreed that the ECFA could enhance Taiwan’s internationalization. Moreover, 55.9% participants believed that the ECFA would have positive impact on the development of Taiwan’s economy.⁵ In 2012, Taiwanese identity rose again, and the increase was evidence that the change in 2011 was a response to ECFA expectations.

Q: Do you think it is necessary or not to have ECFA with China to handle cross-strait trade?

Must	Necessary	No Necessary	Must Not	No Response
20.5%	49.5%	16.8%	6.7%	6.6%
70.0%		23.5%		6.6%

Q: Do you think ECFA will bring good or bad impact or non-influence to Taiwan’s economy?

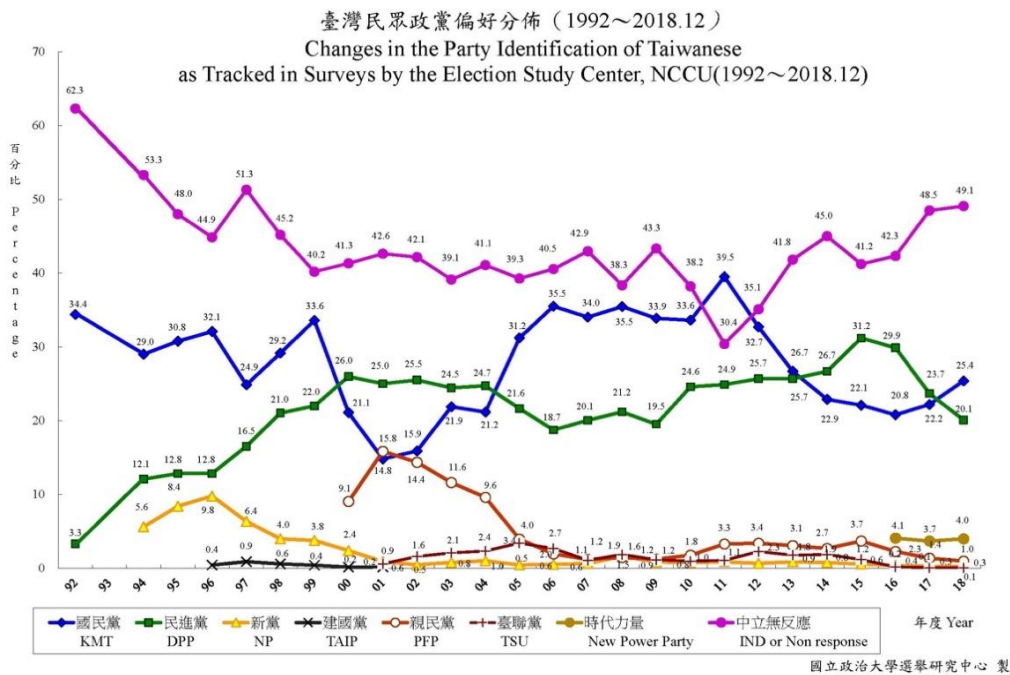
Good Impact	Bad Impact	No Impact	No Response
55.9%	22.2%	12.7%	9.3%

*Source: MAC Public Opinion Survey: 70% Citizens thinking it is necessary to sign the ECFA. (04/2009)
Mainland Affairs Council, R.O.C. (Taiwan)*

In addition, the most interesting thing is that the gap between Taiwanese who thought they were simply Taiwanese and those who identified as both Taiwanese and Chinese was bigger when the KMT was the ruling party (2008-2012 and 2012-2016) than in the periods

⁵Mainland Affairs Council Republic of China (Taiwan). (April 2009). MAC Public Opinion Survey: 70% Citizens thinking it is necessary to sign the ECFA. Retrieved from: https://www.mac.gov.tw/News_Content.aspx?n=B383123AEADAE52&sms=2B7F1AE4AC63A181&s=5CE3D7B70507FB38 (Last view: 05/10/2019)

of the DPP (Democratic Progressive Party) as the ruling party (2000-2004 and 2004-2008). Currently, Taiwan has a two-party system, and the KMT is a political party whose policies are pro-China. On the other hand, the DPP is pro-Taiwan independence. Moreover, according to the graph below, from 2005 to 2013, the percentage of Taiwanese who supported the KMT was higher than the percentage of Taiwanese who supported the DPP. Therefore, ECFA as the KMT primary policy with China did not show that ECFA reduced Taiwanese identity.



Graph 3- Changes in the Party Identification of Taiwanese (1992-2018)
Conducted by the Election Study Center, NCCU

Last but not least, the percentage of Taiwanese who identified as Taiwanese declined after 2014. For the declination, it is better to divide into two periods: after 2014 and after 2016, because current President Tsai Ing-Wen, representing the DPP, won the 2016 presidential election and took office.

Comparing Graphs 1, 2, and 3, Taiwanese identity declined to 59.5% in 2015 from 60.6% in 2014, and the identity of both Taiwanese and Chinese went up to 33.3% from 32.5% the same year. The percentage of non-response was up to 4% from 3.5%, and the Chinese identity was 3.3% in 2015 from 3.5%. Additionally, according to the Graph 1, the percentage of unification, in general, went up 0.4%, the percentage of maintaining status went down 0.1%, the percentage of independence went down 1.7%, and the percentage of non-response to the unification-independence of Taiwan went up 0.8%. However, the DPP support's percentage increased 3.5% (Graph 3). It seems that the neutral Taiwanese citizens, who did not have strong opinions about the cross-strait relationship, were back to their pre-2014 positions. The declination in 2015 was a slowdown after the 2014 Sunflower Flower.

From 2016 until present, the DPP is the ruling party. During this period, Graphs 1, 2 and 3 show that the percentage of people who supported maintaining status quo, and moving toward unification increased, that the Chinese identity of Taiwanese increased, and that support for the DPP declined. This indicates that the Taiwanese identity reduced. However, after the DPP took office in 2016, economic interaction with China has become inactive⁶. The decline in public opinion is a result of domestic policies under the DPP, such as the Annuity Reform, the amendment of the Labor Standard Law, and energy policies. From the last public opinion survey that gauges support for President Tsai's from the Taiwan Public Opinion Foundation, approximately 53% Taiwanese did not agree with Tsai's policies.⁷

⁶ Up Media. (February 2017). ECFA is unsustainable. The meeting of ECFA have been suspended for more than 2 years. Retrieved from: http://www.upmedia.mg/news_info.php?SerialNo=11582 (Last view: June 3, 2019)

⁷Taiwanese Public Opinion Foundation. (April 2019). Taiwanese citizens' view to the competition between Tsai and Lai. Retrieved from: <https://www.tpof.org/%E5%9C%96%E8%A1%A8%E5%88%86%E6%9E%90/%E5%8F%B0%E7%81%A3%E7%B8%BD%E7%B5%B1%E9%81%B8%E6%B0%91%E7%9C%8B%E8%94%A1%E8%B3%B4%E4%B9%8B%E7%88%AD%EF%BC%882019%E5%B9%B44%E6%9C%8821%E6%97%A5%EF%BC%89/> (Last view: 05/10/2019)

The change of Taiwanese identity after 2016 does not relate to economic interaction with China.

2.2 The 2014 Sunflower (Student) Movement & The Creation of the New Political Word “Tian Ran Du”

The Graph 2 shows that the percentage of Taiwanese identity in 2014 reached a peak of 60%, and the percentage of both Taiwanese and Chinese declined to the lowest point of 32%. The Sunflower (Student) Movement happened that same year and might have contributed to these results.

The Sunflower (Student) Movement, also known as the March 18 (Student) Movement or the Legislative Yuan’s Occupation Event, refers to the 23-day occupation of the Legislative Yuan in Taiwan from March 18, 2014 to April 10, 2014. However, the Sunflower Movement included more than the occupation of a legislative building. The movement also consisted of two other events: an unsuccessful occupation of the Executive Yuan on March 23, 2014, and a rally on March 30, 2014, which gathered almost 500,000 people, making it the largest social protest in recent years in Taiwan. The term “sunflower” is used to describe how the movement was unintentional and how an anonymous supporter sent sunflowers to the Legislative Yuan to support the occupants in the building.

Considering how the 1990 Wild Lily Student Movement was a symbol of hope, a sunflower was used to describe this movement. In addition, the event was branded as a student movement because most occupants in the legislative building were students.

However, I prefer to call the event a movement because the participants included occupants and supporters, who were not only students but also people from various fields.

As China becomes a stronger country around the world and because KMT governs with pro-China policies, some Taiwanese residents are worried about China's interference in Taiwan's economy and politics through economic interactions. After June 21, 2013 the Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement (CSSTA) under ECFA was signed by Taiwan and China in Shanghai, China. To address the worries above mentioned, the agreement was made after KMT and other political parties in Taiwan negotiated that the CSSTA should undergo 16 public hearings by professionals, NGOs, and representatives from various fields that might be impacted by the CSSTA and should be reviewed clause by clause.

However, the KMT held eight public hearings within one week, and only several groups were invited or notified at the last minute. In addition, when participants in the hearings shared their opinions, the presiding chair of the Legislature's Internal Administrative Committee, Ching-Chung Chang, a member of KMT, rejected their opinions and pointed out that the CSSTA must be adopted in its entirety and could not be amended. The final straw was on March 17, 2014, when Chang, as the convener of the Internal Administration Committee of the Legislative Yuan, announced that the CSSTA was deemed to be reviewed under the Article 61 of the Legislative Yuan Functions Act, and it should be delivered to the plenary session for a final vote on March 21, 2014. The announcement broke the previous agreement that CSSTA should be heard and reviewed clause by clause.

In the evening of that day, a few students gathered in front of the Legislative Yuan to express their dissatisfaction with the negligent and careless review process, and then tried to occupy the legislative building at midnight. Then, some people with various backgrounds, including people working in civic organizations, lawyers, medical doctors, hotel/restaurant owners, taxi drivers, self-employers but not limited, after watching the

news, went to the building to support the students who were occupying the legislative building. The occupation of the Legislative Yuan in Taiwan lasted 23 days. Their demands were to return the CSSTA, establish a cross-straits agreement monitoring, legislate first and then review later, and convene a constitutional conference. During the occupation, negotiation with the government was not successful. Therefore, some participants tried to occupy the Executive Yuan on March 23, 2014, but the occupation was also unsuccessful. On March 30, 2014, almost 500,000 people joined the largest social protest in Taiwan in recent years. The participants who came to support the protest had different considerations and interests. Some participants disagreed with the process, some were worried about China's unfriendly interaction, and some believed Taiwanese should protect the value of Taiwan's democracy.

The occupation of the Legislative Yuan ended on April 10, 2014. During and after the occupation, there were different perspectives of the event. Through social media, the Chinese government and citizens voiced anti-movement opinions, which included messages about the breakdown of Taiwan's democracy, violence breaking the rule-of-law, and other negative words.⁸ However, in Taiwan, in 2018, the court decided that the occupants of the Legislative Yuan were not guilty due to the civil disobedience. People who identified as Taiwanese, not Chinese, believed that Taiwanese democracy was the most relevant value in Taiwan, and that Taiwan was not China. Throughout the Sunflower Movement, the following slogan emerged: "Today's Hong Kong, tomorrow's Taiwan." This compared the event to the umbrella revolution in Hong Kong, where the occupants of the umbrella revolution were found to be guilty and jailed. Based on social identity theory,

⁸ <https://www.dw.com/zh.中國大陸輿論齊嗆太陽花/a-17541803>

there is no doubt that these opposing outcomes amplified differences between the Taiwanese and the Chinese.

The Sunflower Movement was also a symbol of Taiwan's nationalism, which was obviously pro-left-wing politics (Wu, 2012). The Sunflower Movement was an anti-capitalism movement. Although Taiwan is a capitalist country, Taiwan is a state that emphasizes social justice. For example, its public health insurance was regulated in the Constitution of the R.O.C. (Taiwan), from Article 152 to 157.

An out-group is any group outside of an individual's in-group, who can be a potential rival/competitor for resources (Redmond, 2009). The participants in the Sunflower Movement or the rally had various perspectives, and their fear of China's economic expansion was the most relevant factor. Based on data from the Ministry of Finance, R.O.C. (Taiwan), China, including Hong Kong, is the main trade surplus country to Taiwan. Moreover, comparing trade volume with other Asian countries, Taiwan's trade volume with China made up more than 40 percent of the trade volume with other countries, such as Japan and the United States. Although the trade volume shows a trade surplus, ECFA and CSSTA, by creation of free trade, make it easier for the Chinese to intervene in Taiwan's market. The expansion of trade with China has created social inequality, wherein the rich become richer, and the poor become poorer, especially after the Chinese economic reform. The Sunflower Movement was a response to long-term injustices under the capitalism. Under social identity theory, it can lead to discrimination in favor of the in-group or against other out-groups, as well as stereotyping and prejudice when a perceived threat occurs (Redmond, 2009).

In addition, the interaction policies with China during the KMT era did not meet the four conditions for intergroup contact theory. Even though Taiwan and China have equal statuses on the agreement, China's market is bigger than Taiwan's market, and the impact of ECFA to Taiwan's market is more serious than to China's market. The cross-strait interaction actually strongly favored China during the KMT's 8-year governing period because Taiwan sits on a lower position of the political stage (Kuo, 2016).

In addition, based on the social identity theory, every group has a social status and a value. The group's members use the status or the value to maintain and enhance their self-esteem. "Social identity and intergroup behavior is guided by the pursuit of evaluative positive social identity through positive intergroup distinctiveness, which in turn is motivated by the need for positive self-esteem" (Hogg & Terry, 2001). Moreover, social identity is motivated by self-enhancement and uncertainty reduction, which causes groups to strive to be both better than and distinct from other groups (Hogg, 2006). China pushes Taiwan aside on the international stage. For example, the Chou Tzu-Yu event in 2016 wherein she was forced to apologize and state that "she is Chinese." Thus, it is easy for Taiwanese, who occupy a lower position of political stage and experience disadvantages, to create their own identities to improve Taiwan's international position. The situation clearly distinguishes Taiwanese from the Chinese.

A newly created word always reflects a social phenomenon. The appearance of "Tian Ran Du" (Traditional Chinese:天然獨) after the Sunflower Movement shows that China did not weaken Taiwanese identity. Tian Ran Du describes generations born after 1980 who identify as Taiwanese, not Chinese, and believe that Taiwan, in fact, is an independent country, different from China.

“Tian Ran Du” was adopted from a public talk by Tsai Ing-Wen, Taiwan’s current president, in 2014 who said, “as Taiwan democratizes, identifying with Taiwan, and recognizing the independence of Taiwan and the value of freedom in Taiwan become inherent and natural for younger generations.” Tian Ran Du divides younger generations from older generations born before 1970 who are called “Dang Ran Tong” (Traditional Chinese: 當然統), which means that people identify as Chinese because both Taiwanese and Chinese inherit Zhong Hua (Traditional Chinese: 中華) culture. Some Dang Ran Tong believe that the Republic of China should return to mainland China.

Tian Ran Du occurred because this generation experienced the lifting of martial law and have lived under democracy. As Taiwan democratized and diversified, younger generations raised many issues, such as abolishing the death penalty, supporting same-sex marriages, moving prosecution from the executive branch to the judicial branch, and having rights and freedoms that are not restricted by the government. The value of Taiwan’s democracy and the achievements younger Taiwanese generations have made Taiwanese identity common. For example, on May 17, 2019, a same-sex marriage law was passed in Taiwan’s Congress. The law made Taiwan the first country to legalize same-sex marriage in Asia and made some Taiwanese proud to be Taiwanese⁹.

In addition, political policies in Taiwan have promoted “Taiwan localization.” For instance, young Taiwanese now learn Taiwanese history separately from Chinese history. And in school, young generations learn not only Chinese, but also Taiwanese. In 2005, under the governing of the DPP, “Taiwan” was added after “the Republic of China” to become “the Republic of China (Taiwan)”. The creation of the new political word “Tian

⁹ CNN. (May 2019). Taiwan legalizes same-sex marriage in historic first for Asia. Retrieved from: <https://www.cnn.com/2019/05/17/asia/taiwan-same-sex-marriage-intl/index.html> (Last view: June 3, 2019)

Ran Du” indicates greater support for a Taiwanese sense of identity, which has become a new consciousness/ideology in Taiwan society.



2.3 Comparison of Voting Results of the Taiwanese Presidential Elections in 2008, 2012, and 2016

Elections reflect public opinion of government performance. The ECFA is the most important policy under the Ma era, who represents KMT, and by comparing the results of the Taiwanese Presidential elections in 2008, 2012, and 2016, I can explore whether the Taiwanese were satisfied with KMT’s policies as the ruling party.

Ma Ying-Jeou served as President of ROC from 2008 to 2016, and he won in the 2008 and 2012 Presidential Elections, representing KMT, one of the first political parties in Taiwan. KMT’s policies, compared with DPP’s- pro-Taiwan independence, the other founding political party in Taiwan, are closer to pro-China’s One-China policy although the definition of “One-China” the KMT uses is different from China’s, and it has promoted a much closer relationship to China. In the Ma era, Ma laid out three “No policies”: no unification, no independence, and no military force. In addition, Ma offered and promoted ECFA to improve economic interactions with China and prevent Taiwan from being marginalized in Asia as China became more powerful. The ECFA was signed by Taiwan

and China successfully in 2010; however, the majority of Taiwanese were not satisfied with KMT's pro-China policies, even in 2016 when President Tsai Ing-Wen, representing DPP, took over as president.

Table 3

2008 Voting Results of Taiwanese President Election

Political Party	Number of Votes Obtained	Percentage of Votes Obtained	
KMT	7,659,014	58.44%	Won
DPP	5,444,949	41.55%	

(From Central Election Commission. 2008 President Election Analysis. Retrieved from: db.cec.gov.tw/histMain.jsp?voteSel=20080301A1 (Last view: 11/18/2018))

Table 4

2012 Voting Results of Taiwanese President Election

Political Party	Number of Votes Obtained	Percentage of Votes Obtained	
KMT	6,891,139	51.60%	Won
DPP	6,093,578	45.63%	
---	369,588	02.76%	

(From Central Election Commission. 2012 President Election Analysis. Retrieved from: db.cec.gov.tw/histMain.jsp?voteSel=20120101A1 (Last view: 11/18/2018))

Table 5

2016 Voting Results of Taiwanese President Election

Political Party	Number of Votes Obtained	Percentage of Votes Obtained	
KMT	3,813,365	31.04%	
DPP	6,894,744	56.12%	Won
PPF (People First Party)	1,576,861	12.83%	

(From Central Election Commission. 2016 President Election Analysis. Retrieved from: db.cec.gov.tw/histMain.jsp?voteSel=20160101A1 (Last view: 11/18/2018))

According to the Central Election Commission's records regarding Taiwan's Presidential election results, Ma won the 2008 and 2012 Presidential elections; however, his vote share decreased from 58.44% in 2008 to 51.60% in 2012. On the other hand, the percentage of

votes for the DPP increased from 41.55% in 2008 to 45.63% in 2012. In the 2016 Taiwanese Presidential election, a ruling political party alternation occurred. DPP's percentage of votes rose to 56.12%, while the KMT's percentage of votes dropped to 31.04%.

After releasing the results of the 2016 Presidential election, Eric Chu, the KMT chairman in that time, left his position in the KMT, and indicated that the failure showed that the KMT had lost the public's hearts because its policies did not align with public expectations. The presidential election was the biggest failure for the KMT since it moved to Taiwan.

After the KMT lost, many discussed the reasons for its loss. One explanation was that the KMT misunderstood the trend of Taiwanese national identity and used wrong strategies. Due to Taiwan's geographical location, the Taiwan Strait is a natural protection, but the strait also obstructed the relationship between Taiwan and China from a historical perspective. The different ideologies between Taiwan and China are likely inherent; however, the KMT tried to use the economic benefits to cover the conflicts over national identity, and it was hard to satisfy public opinion, especially as Taiwanese identity increased.

CHAPTER III: CONCLUSION

By comparing data of Taiwanese identity before and after implementing ECFA, discussing the 2014 Sunflower Movement and the creation of the new political word “Tian Ran Du,” and comparing voting results of Taiwan’s Presidential elections, I found that ECFA does not reduce the Taiwanese identity; instead, Taiwanese identity has steadily increased over time.

The issues between Taiwan and China are much more complex than the question posed at the beginning of this paper: “Is Taiwan a part of China?” The issues between Taiwan and China include more than the legitimacy of government as well. Under social identity theory, people in Taiwan and in China have different ideologies due to differences between the two groups. These different ideologies create conflicts as they interact with each other.

After 1970, the international relationship changed from highly political to less political and is marked by three mini links between Taiwan and China, with business activities becoming frequent and trading with China, which plays an important role in Taiwanese economics. In 2010, the ECFA was signed by Taiwan and China in order to improve cross-Strait trade.

Under intergroup contact theory, different groups can reduce prejudices to some degree by four contact situations: equal status, intergroup cooperation, common goals, and support by social and institutional authorities. It assumes that ECFA can reduce Taiwanese identity of Taiwanese citizens due to their economic relationship.

Data on Taiwanese national identity before and after implementing ECFA revealed no obvious change, and as time goes by, Taiwanese identity has only increased. Although in 2011 the Taiwanese identity declined slightly, it was a reflection of expectations that the ECFA would benefit Taiwan’s economy, not the outcome of an economic interaction with

China. The percentage of Taiwanese who identify as Taiwanese reached a peak in 2014—up to 60%. In 2014, the Sunflower Movement occurred, and some scholars claim that it was a sign of emergent Taiwanese nationalism. Due to Taiwan’s and China’s economic conditions and positions difference, ECFA increased Taiwanese identity.

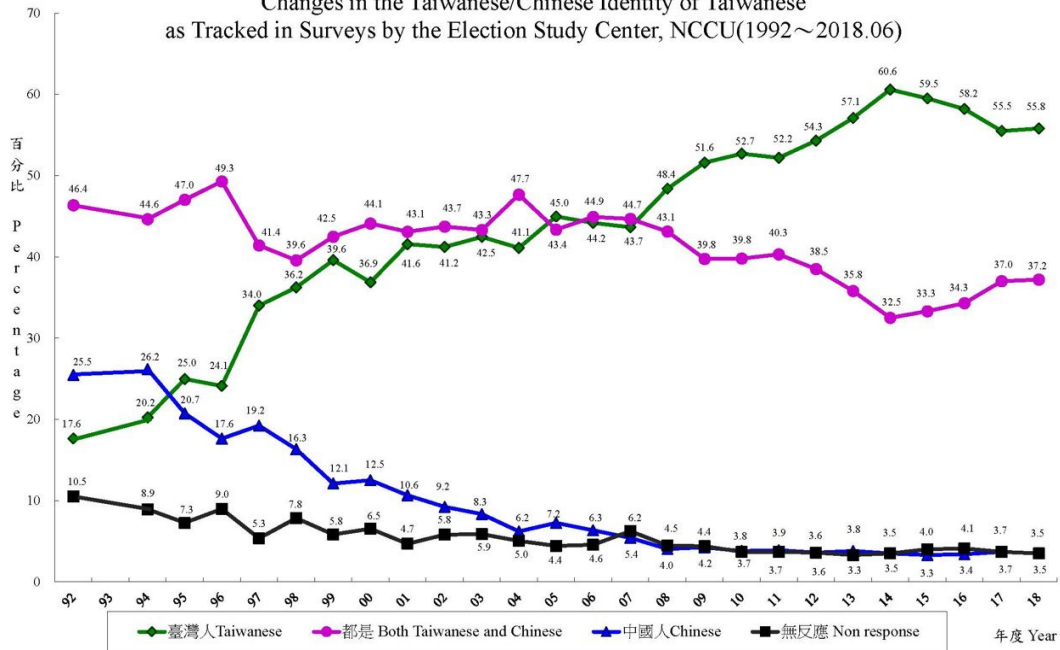
After the Sunflower Movement, a new political word was created: “Tian Ran Du.” Tian Ran Du means that generations born after 1980 see themselves as Taiwanese, not Chinese, and they believe that Taiwan is an independent country. The phenomenon shows that Taiwanese identity increases as time goes on due to the cultural differences from the Chinese. It demonstrates that ECFA does not reduce the Taiwanese identity.

In addition, ECFA has been a primary policy in the KMT governing era. By comparing the results of the Taiwanese Presidential election in 2008, 2012, the Taiwanese were not satisfied with KMT’s performance in its governing era, and the ECFA does not impact people’s national identity because KMT’s policies are pro-China. Overall, ECFA does not have any obvious impact on the national identity of Taiwanese.

For future studies, the development of Taiwanese nationalism is worthy to continue to observe. And in terms of the relationship between economic cooperation and political conflicts, various situations may be categorized to better understand the relationship between economic cooperation and political conflicts. Additional factors that also impact Taiwanese identity can be explored.

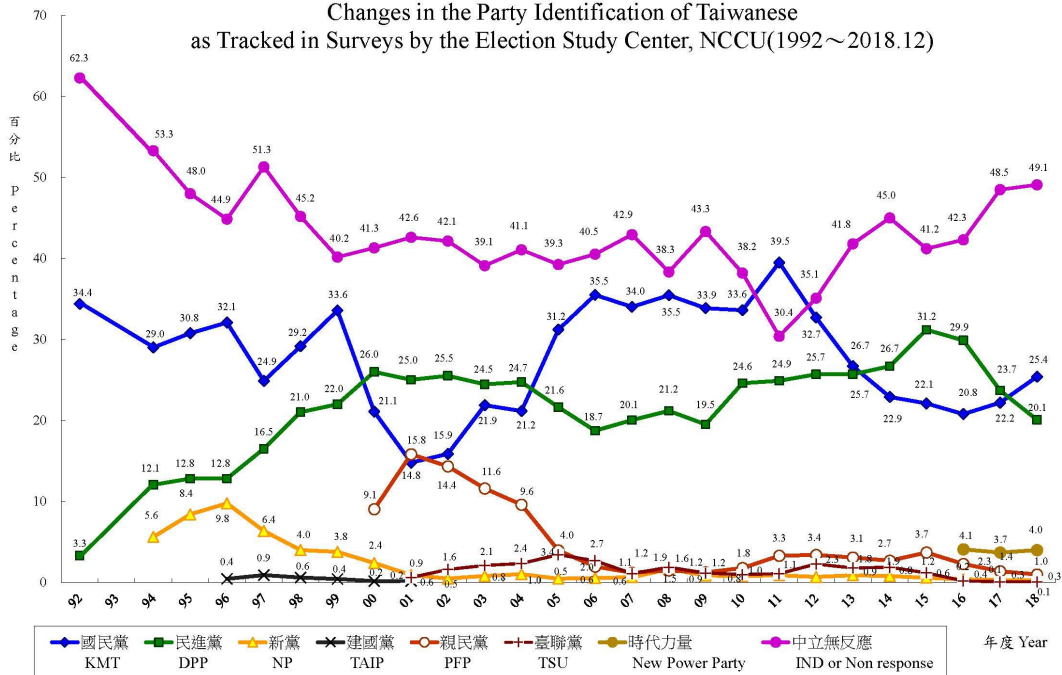
APPENDIX: GRAPHS & METHODOLOGY: DATA OF TAIWANESE/CHINESE IDENTITY OF TAIWANESE

臺灣民眾臺灣人／中國人認同趨勢分佈 (1992~2018.06)
 Changes in the Taiwanese/Chinese Identity of Taiwanese
 as Tracked in Surveys by the Election Study Center, NCCU(1992~2018.06)



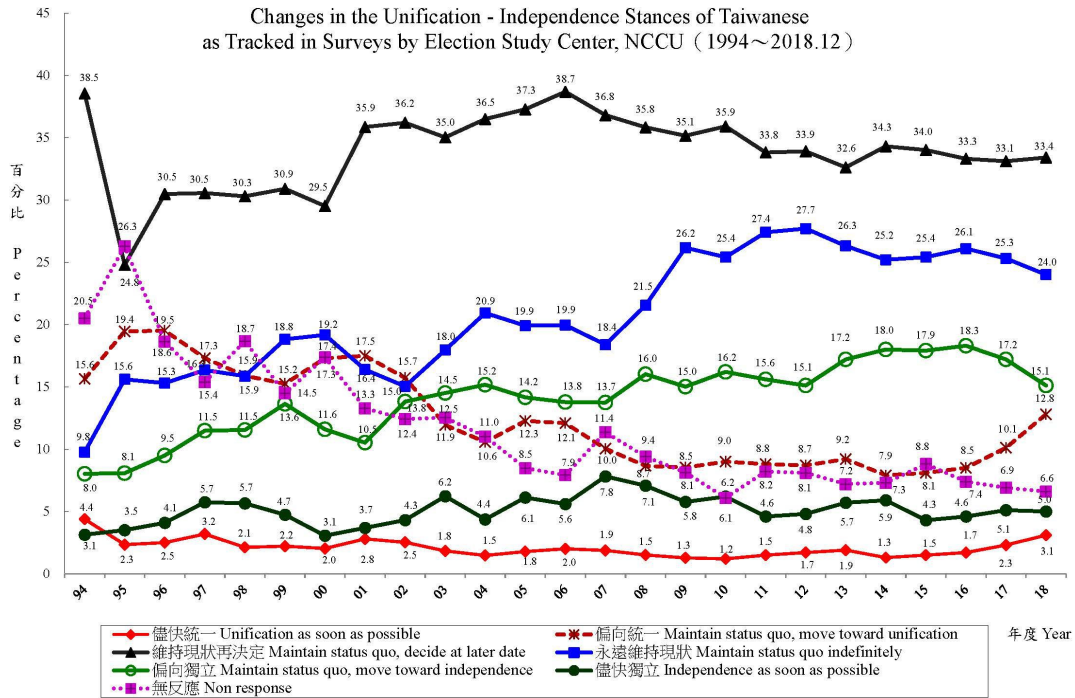
國立政治大學選舉研究中心製

臺灣民眾政黨偏好分佈 (1992~2018.12)
 Changes in the Party Identification of Taiwanese
 as Tracked in Surveys by the Election Study Center, NCCU(1992~2018.12)



國立政治大學選舉研究中心製

臺灣民眾統獨立場趨勢分佈 (1994~2018.12)
 Changes in the Unification - Independence Stances of Taiwanese
 as Tracked in Surveys by Election Study Center, NCCU (1994~2018.12)



國立政治大學選舉研究中心 製

Trends in Core Political Attitudes among Taiwanese – Data Collection Methodology

Ying-lung Chou^{*}

I. Data Sampling and Analysis

The research target population for each survey is the adult population 20 years or older in the Taiwan Area (excluding the offshore islands of Kinmen and Matsu). The sample was drawn from telephone books, with the most recent year's set of *China Telecom Residential Telephone Number Books* serving as the population. Each sample is constructed from numbers listed in each county and city telephone book and is drawn proportionately from all residential phone numbers across the island. In order to ensure complete coverage, after systematic sampling produces a sample for each city and county, it is then supplemented as circumstances warrant based on the last two or four digits to include households with unlisted numbers. After phone contact was established, the interviewer followed the specified intra-household sampling procedure to identify the targeted member of the household, and begins the interview.

In order to ensure that the sample structure was more representative of the population, key sample variables are used to weight the sample's partial characteristics through an iterated (raking) process. These include weights for sex, age, education and geographic location calculated from the *Taiwan-Fukien Demographic Fact Book, Republic of China*, published by the Ministry of the Interior.

The chart of trends in core political attitudes among Taiwanese is based on data gathered through this center's telephone survey polls. Interview data is merged every year. After results are weighted, the figures for the three main variables are parsed out and added to the trend chart.

II. Time of Coverage and Sample Sizes

The data presented in the current trend chart includes that from 1992 through the second half of 2018. The interview sample sizes for each year are detailed below:

^{*} Ying-lung Chou is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Global Politics and Economics (English-Taught Program) at Tamkang University. His research interests

include Research Methods in the Social Sciences, Statistical Methods in Social Sciences, Survey Research, Voting Behavior Comparative Politics, Political Parties and Elections.

year	cases
1992	4120
1994	1209
1995	21402
1996	10666
1997	3910
1998	14063
1999	9273
2000	11062
2001	10679
2002	10003
2003	14247
2004	34854
2005	7939
2006	13193
2007	13910
2008	16280
2009	20244
2010	13163
2011	23779
2012	18011
2013	13359
2014	20009

2015	22509
2016	15099
2017	13455
2018	9490

III. Main Variables

1. Taiwan Independence versus Unification with the Mainland (TI-UM) The independence-unification (TI-UM) position is constructed from the following survey item: “Thinking about Taiwan-mainland relations, there are several differing opinions: 1. unification as soon as possible; 2. independence as soon as possible; 3. maintain the status quo and move toward unification in the future; 4. maintain the status quo and move toward independence in the future; 5. maintain the status quo and decide in the future between independence or unification; 6. maintain the status quo indefinitely. Which do you prefer?” In addition to these six attitudes, the trend chart also includes non-responses for a total of seven categories.

2. Political Party Identification (PID)

The political party identification variable was constructed by combining three survey items. The respondent is first asked the following: “Of the following five political parties -- Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, or KMT), Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), New Party (NP), People First Party (PFP), and Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU) -- which party do you support the most?” If the respondent names a party, then that answer is taken to be the respondent’s party identification; if the respondent does not answer unequivocally, then s/he is asked “which do you prefer more: the KMT, the DPP, the NP, the PFP, or the TSU, or do you not prefer any of these?” If the respondent then names a party, that answer is taken to be his/her party ID; and if the respondent still does not indicate a preference, the answer is counted as a non-response.

3. Taiwanese Identity

The following survey item was used in all instances to construct the measure of Taiwanese identity: “In our society, there are some people who call themselves ‘Taiwanese,’ some who call themselves ‘Chinese,’ and some who call themselves both. Do you consider

yourself to be ‘Taiwanese,’ ‘Chinese,’ or both?’” Responses are scored into one of four categories: Taiwanese, Chinese, both, or no response.

Statement of Copyright

The contents displayed on this website, including but not limited to text, figures, formatting, audio and visual recordings, and other information, are without exception protected by copyright. Under copyright law, materials on this website can be downloaded for private use, under the condition that the user includes the following acknowledgement: “Source: Core Political Attitudes Trend Chart, Election Study Center, National Cheng Chi University.” This webpage may not be reproduced in part or in full without permission of Election Study Center.

Without express approval, this website or any part of its contents may not be reproduced, broadcast, presented, performed, transmitted, modified, disseminated or used in any other activity covered under the standards of current copyright law. Actions taken in proper accordance with copyright law are not subject to this restriction.

REFERENCES CITED

- Bureau of Foreign Trade. The Statistic of Export and Import of the ROC. Retrieved from: <https://cus93.trade.gov.tw/FSC3040F/FSC3040F?menuURL=FSC3040F> (Last View: 06/03/2019)
- Central Election Commission. President Election Analysis. Retrieved from: db.cec.gov.tw/histMain.jsp (Last view: 11/24/2018)
- Chen, L. H., Chen, Y. N., & Wang, H. H. (2012). "Economic Interest and Symbolic Attitudes: Analyzing the Dynamics of Taiwan Identity." *Soochow Journal of Political Science*, 30(3), 1-51.
- Chuang, Y. C., & Liu, D. W. (2012). "The Nexus between Economic Integration and Political Conflicts: The Case of Taiwan and China". *National Chengchi University-China Research*, 55(1), pp. 24-39.
- Dai, Z. Y. (2013). The Research of Cross-Strait Economic Relationship in Past, Present and Future. Retrieved from: www.tri.org.tw/reasearch/impdf/1251.pdf (Last View: 06/03/2019).
- Danielsen, M. (2012). "On the Road to a Common Taiwan Identity". In Peter C. Y. (Ed.), *National Identity and Economic Interest- Taiwan's Competing Options and Their Implications for Regional Stability*, 135-151. New York: Palgrave Machillan.
- ECFA. Retrieved from: www.ecfa.org.tw (Last view: 11/20/2018). Bureau of Foreign Trade, ROC.
- Election Study Center National Chengchi University. 2018. Identity in Taiwan. Retrieved from: <https://ese.nccu.edu.tw/course/news.php?Sn=166> (Last view: 11/18/2018)
- Everett, J. A. C. (2013). Intergroup Contact Theory: Past, Present, and Future. Retrieved from: <http://www.in-mind.org/article/intergroup-contact-theory-past-present-and-future>
- Hogg, M. A. & Terry, D. J. (2001). *Social Identity Processes in Organizational Contexts*. Michingan: Sheridan Books.
- Hogg, M. A. (2006). "Social Identity Theory. Contemporary Social Psychological. Theories". *Stanford University Press*, pp. 111-121.
- Lai, Y. Z. (2012). "The Trade Triangle among the U.S., Taiwan and China". *Taiwan Institutional Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No.3, pp. 119-140.
- Lederach, J. P. (2003). *The Little Book of Conflict Transformation*. PA: GoodBooks.

- Liu, S. R. (2010). "An Assessment of ECFA Effects on Taiwan's Development". *Prospect and Exploration, Vol.8, No.7.*, pp.90-107.
- Ma, Z. Y. (2009). The Impact of ECFA to Cross-Strait Relationship: From Political Perspectives. 2009 Taiwan Political Science Association Annual Conference.
- Master-Insight.Com. (August 2016). Whether the economic dependence can reduce conflicts between or among countries. Retrieved: <https://www.master-insight.com/經濟上的互相依賴,會減少國家間的衝突嗎?/> (Last view: May 9th, 2019)
- Mainland Affairs Council Republic of China (Taiwan). (April 2009). MAC Public Opinion Survey: 70% Citizens thinking it is necessary to sign the ECFA. Retrieved from: https://www.mac.gov.tw/New_Content.aspx?n=B383123AEADEE52&sms=2B7F1AE4AC63A181&s=5CE3D7B7057FB38 (Last view: 05/10/2019)
- Muyard, F. (2012). "Taiwanese National Identity, Cross-Strait Economic Interaction, and the Integration Paradigm". In Peter C. Y. (Ed.), *National Identity and Economic Interest- Taiwan's Competing Options and Their Implications for Regional Stability*, 153-186. New York: Palgrave Machillan.
- Oneal, J. R., & Russett, B. (1999). "Assessing the Liberal Peace with Alternative Specifications: Trade Still Reduces Conflict". *Journal of Peace Research*, 36(4), pp. 423-442.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1998). "Intergroup Contact Theory". *Annual Review of Psychology, Vol. 49*, pp. 65-85. University of California.
- Redmond, B. (2009). Intergroup Theories (Integrated Threat, Social Identity, and Social Dominance). Retrieved from: <https://wikispaces.psu.edu/pages/viewpage.action?pagelId=41095610> (Last view: 05/10/2019)
- Taiwanese Public Opinion Foundation. (April 21, 2019). Taiwanese Citizens' view to the competition between Tsai and Lai. Retrieved from: <https://www.tpof.org/%E5%9C%96%E8%A1%A8%E5%88%86%E6%9E%90/%E5%8F%B0%E7%81%A3%E7%B8%BD%E7%B5%B1%E9%81%B8%E6%B0%91%E7%9C%8B%E8%94%A1%E8%B3%B4%E4%B9%8B%E7%88%AD%E%BC%882019%E5%B9%B4%E6%9C%8821%E6%97%A5%EF%BC%89/> (Last view: 05/10/2019)
- Tsai, D. C., Hong, M. D., & Lee, M. X. (2017). *Graphic Cross-Strait Relations*. Taipei: Wu Nan.
- Turner, J. C., & Tajfel, H. (1986). "The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behavior". *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, pp. 7-24.

- Wang, Y. K. (2013). "Taiwan Public Opinion on Cross-Strait Security Issues Implications for US Foreign Policy". *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, 7, 93-113.
- Wu, N. (2012). "Will Economic Integration Lead to Political Assimilation?" In Peter C. Y. (Ed.), *National Identity and Economic Interest- Taiwan's Competing Options and Their Implications for Regional Stability*, pp. 187-202, New York: Palgrave Machillan.
- Wu, P. Y. & Hsueh, J. H. (2012). "ECFA and Institutionalization of Cross-strait Relations Construction: Point of View of Neo-Liberal Institutionalism". *Lunghwa University of Science and Technology Academic News*, Vol. 32, pp. 143-159.
- Zeng, Y. R. (2013). *International Political Economy*. Taipei: San Min.