THE PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY
SCHREYER HONORS COLLEGE

DEPARTMENT OF CHINESE

TAIWAN AND THE CATALYSTS OF NATIONAL IDENTITY FORMATION

ASHLYN MCKEE
SPRING 2018

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements
for baccalaureate degrees
in Chinese and International Relations
with honors in Chinese

Reviewed and approved* by the following:

Erica Brindley
Professor of Asian Studies, History and Philosophy
Thesis Supervisor

Nicolai Volland
Assistant Professor in Asian Studies and Comparative Literature
Honors Adviser

* Signatures are on file in the Schreyer Honors College.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to shed light on an emerging and unique Taiwanese identity and its implications regarding cross-Strait relations. Taiwan has a tumultuous history, which has included invasion and occupation by both the Japanese and the Dutch. Now, and since the Cultural Revolution occurred in mainland China, Taiwan has been a country split between two identities. The first, is the ideal that Taiwan is Chinese— politically, culturally, and ethnically. The opposing idea holds that while China and its culture has been a large influence, Taiwan has developed separately from China and has experienced a history distinct from China's own history; as such, Taiwanese identity is simply not Chinese. First, my thesis will discuss identity formation in general terms in order to set the parameters of identity for the rest of the paper. Next, my thesis will attempt to analyze contemporary Taiwanese history, specifically from 1990 to the present, to divulge information about the recent spotlight on Taiwanese identity. Third, my thesis will discuss the rise to power of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP henceforth) in Taiwan and how its administration is shaping identity and relations with the mainland. Finally, my thesis will use my own survey data to gain a more personal and intimate insight into how average citizens of Taiwan feel about their identity and their country's relationship to the mainland. With the amalgamation of these four chapters, I hope to explore the catalysts which cast the controversy over Taiwanese identity onto the global stage. In addition, I want to gain insight into how this phenomenon has been influencing cross-Strait relations for the past 20 years.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Creating a thesis as an undergraduate student has easily been one of the most challenging, yet rewarding, experiences of my academic career thus far. As such, I would like acknowledge and appreciate those who provided me their expert guidance, motivation, wisdom and unbridled support.

Firstly, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my Thesis Director, Erica Brindley, who dedicated so much of her time to guiding me through this process. I am truly thankful to have had the opportunity to work with her, as her expertise, reassurance and enthusiasm toward my thesis helped to make it the best possible work I could create. I cannot fully express my appreciation towards Dr. Brindley or what a great experience it was to have her as a mentor to guide me through this process. I would also like to express many thanks to my Thesis Advisor, Nicolai Volland, who expertly guided me through all three years of my Schreyer career as well as through the thesis process. I have truly enjoyed these past three years working with him. Next, I would like to thank my incredible friends, Sarah, Nikki, Sam, Oliva, Carly, Miranda, Sandy, and Kevin, who listened to me talk about my thesis for nine months and provided me with laughter, memories and so much joy in between. Finally, I am infinitely thankful to my parents, Andrew and Shelia McKee, who provided more encouragement and support, during the thesis process and in life, than I could have ever asked for. During even my most discouraged moments of this process, they provided me the assurance and reinforcement I needed to persevere. Without the sacrifices they made in their lives for me, I would not be where I am or who I am today.

Chapter 1

An Analysis of Identity

Parameters of Identity

Who do we believe we are and why? What makes us who we are? How do we construct our identities? Do we erect identities on our own, with the influence of others in our lives, or perhaps with restrictions set by our society or government? On what criteria do we establish our sense of self? Identity is a concept which has long been studied and yet, is still considered a rather large mystery. There are different types of identity—ethnic identity, national identity, independent identity, and more—which are intertwined, yet also separate. As humans, we might identify with a variety of groups and communities, which in turn create our own unique individual identity. Anthropologists, political scientists, and sociologists have strived for decades to find a comprehensive definition of identity and several parameters have become largely accepted.

Identity in General Terms

Identity can be defined in many different ways. To define identity in general terms, I will be examining the works of several scholars. Lauren Leve, an anthropologist from the University of North Carolina, defined identity as a "sense of belonging—to ethnic, national, religious, racial, indigenous, sexual, or any of a range of otherwise affectively charged, socially

recognizable corporate groups…"[1] She aptly states that "In every call for the protection of indigenous cultures or the recognition of minority rights…and underneath every dispute over the ownership and control of culture property lies the conviction that people have identities and that these are vital aspects of social personhood."[2] Leve hones in on the rights of indigenous cultures and peoples who have been marginalized at the nation-state level, while simultaneously recognizing the various ways in which people distinguish themselves from some and lump themselves with others. In the coming chapters of this thesis, I will discuss how the ever-growing importance of identity in Taiwan and its resistance to mainland China not only reflect, but support, Leve's nation-state definition of identity. James D. Fearon, in his article "What Is Identity (As We Now Use the Word)?" used multiple definitions, listed below, to include: Hogg and Abrams, who took a more informal approach, and thought identity to be "…people's concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others."[3] Francis Deng describes identity as "the way individuals and groups define themselves and are defined by others on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language and culture."[4] Richard Jenkins refers to identity as "the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities"[5] On a more national, rather than individual level, William Bloom claims identity as the "condition in which a mass of people have made the same identification with national symbols—have internalized the symbols of the

---

[1] Lauren Leve, ""Identity"," Current Anthropology 52, no. 4, 2011, http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/660999

[2] Leve, 513

[3] Michael A. Hogg and Dominic Abrams, *Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes,* (Routledge, 1988), 2 and James D. Fearon, "What Is Identity (As We Now Use the Word)?", Stanford University (1999), 4

[4] Francis Deng, *War of Visions: Conflict of Identities in the Sudan,* (Washington DC: Routledge, 1995), 1 and Fearon, 4

[5] Richard Jenkins, *Social Identity,* (London: Routledge, 1996), 4 and Fearon, 4

nation…"[6] In some analyses, scholars believe that identity is stable while others view identity as fluid. Alexander Wendt states that identities are "relatively stable, role-specific understandings and expectations about the self".[7]

For the purpose of my thesis, however, I will understand identity using a combination of Lowell Dittmer's definition and Lauren Leve's definition. Dittmer describes national identity in two ways. The first way is at the individual level, which includes a common "language culture, and [sometimes] ethnicity", which allows individuals to identify with one another.[8] The second way is at the group or state level, which is a common sense of "founding, a narrative history, and a role in international society, leading to a sense of shared interest in the fate of the whole."[9] As mentioned above, Leve understood identity as a "sense of belonging" and that conviction of identity was found in outcry for ethnic and minority groups, as well as in disputes over ownership of culture and even land. These two definitions work well in regards to Taiwanese identity for several reasons. First, this thesis will seek to examine how recent political activity in Taiwan has influenced identity; here, Dittmer's definition regarding the national level of identity will be used. Next, Leve's theory regarding identity in terms of "sense of belonging" and cultural dispute relate to Taiwan's current struggle with mainland China. Finally, both Leve and Dittmer's thoughts on individual identity will come to play in the final chapter of this thesis where individual Taiwanese citizens were surveyed about their perception of identity. These

---

[6] William Bloom, *Personal Identity, National Identity, and International Relations,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 52 and Fearon, 4

[7] Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy is What States Make of It", *International Organization,* 1992, 397 and Fearon, 5

[8] Dittmer, Lowell. "Taiwan and the Issue of National Identity." *Asian Survey* 44, no. 4 (2004): 475-83. doi:10.1525/as.2004.44.4.475. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/as.2004.44.4.475, 476

[9] Dittmer, 476

definitions of identity are supported by two well-known frameworks: the primordial framework and the constructivist framework. The primordial framework emphasizes ethnic ties, while the constructivist framework accentuates cultural and political attachment. Traditionally, the two frameworks have been viewed as separate and recently, the primordialist approach to identity is no longer viewed as legitimate among academics.

Frameworks of Identity in Ethnic Terms

Jonathan Hall is a respected anthropologist who largely looks at identity on the ethnic level. In his book, *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture*, Hall observes the "becoming" of the Greeks, and how and when they established a common ethnic identity. Hall uses a variety of scholarly work to define ethnicity. First, using Barth's definition, Hall explains that ethnicity "refers to a common descent" and is based on "origin and background".[10] Then, he goes on to consider the "polythetic definition" of ethnicity "which regards a myth of common descent as simply one of the ingredients [to ethnicity], alongside physical features, language, religion and culture, that may define the ethnic group but is, singly, neither a necessary nor sufficient criterion."[11] Hall also points out the widely accepted view that "race" is obsolete, as biological genetic variation among humans is almost non-existent. Rather, Hall argues that ethnic identity revolves around an idea or feeling of kinship. He uses Walker Connor's idea of the "ethnonational community" or "a group of people within a state who believe they are ancestrally

[10] Jonathan Hall, *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture*, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 11
[11] Hall, 11

related as 'the largest group that can command a person's loyalty because of the felt kinship ties'"[12] To further explain his concept of identity, Hall states:

> "I am certainly not suggesting that ethnic groups and cultural groups are mutually exclusive categories, but neither are they homologous. If cultural identity can be defined as the conscious reification of ideas, beliefs, values, attitudes and practices, selectively extracted from the totality of social existence and endowed with a particular symbolic signification for the purposes of creating exclusionary distinctiveness, then ethnicity is a *specific type* of culture identity, alongside other subvarieties such as linguistic identity, religious identity, occupation identity, and so forth."[13]

He then goes on to explain that what sets ethnic identity apart from these "other cultural [identities]" is the idea of a common kinship bond and descent, as well as a "common history and a specific homeland".[14]

Ultimately, Hall's idea of an ethnic identity relates to my thesis in that the majority of Taiwanese share an ethnic identity with mainland China. Globally, "'ethnicity' refers to a community whose members share some common characteristics such as, ancestry, religion, language, culture and living space and have a strong and powerful collective identity…", but in Taiwan, ethnicity is also the belief that "only the establishment of a common country can protect their well-being. 「基本上，「民族」指涉一個共同體，其成員在客觀上具有某些共同特徵，例如血統、宗教、語言、文化、或生活空間，在主觀上則凝聚了強而有力的集體認

[12] Hall, 12
[13] Hall, 17
[14] Hall, 17

同，並相信只有建立一個共同的國家才能保障他們的福祉。」”[15] Due to the mass-migration of Chinese to Taiwan during the Cultural Revolution, many Taiwanese consider themselves ethnically Chinese as per Hall's idea of a kinship tie and common descent. This satisfies Hall's definition of ethnicity as constructed kinship ties or a myth of common descent. This of course, however, does not apply to aboriginal Taiwanese who were on the island long before the migration of Chinese Kuomintang (KMT henceforth) supporters during the Cultural Revolution.

Identity construction has traditionally been described by two frameworks: primordialism and constructivism. Primordialism is the idea that identity is constructed by a common affiliation or blood connection, this is similar to an idea of ethnic identity. Constructivism, on the other hand, understands identity to be constructed by culture and politics, as well as other social aspects of human life. In addition, constructivism holds that identity can be constructed and reconstructed depending on varying circumstances. Constructivists tend to see identity as malleable and fluid, while supporters of primordialism believe identity to be fixed and given by birth. The two frameworks tend to be considered completely separate from each other. In my thesis, I hold that identity is primarily associated with the constructivist framework.

Fredrik Barth, a respected sociologist, in his journal "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries", explains that boundaries, both culturally and geographically, "persist despite a flow of personnel across them. In other words, categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of

---

[15] 彭鳳貞, 周陽山 and 劉阿榮. "臺灣客家族群政策建構研究 ----國際視野下之發展策略." (中國文化大學中山與中國大陸研究所 博士論文, June 2012.), 10

mobility, contact and information but do entail social processes of exclusion…"[16] Barth grasps at the idea that identity is constructed through both ethnic affiliation but primarily, political and culture values—these keep varying identities separate.

In addition, James Fearon, a political scientist at Stanford University, has argued identity is constructed via two "linked senses", which are "personal" and "social".[17] Fearon explains that the "social" aspect of identity construction is that "…a set of persons [are] marked by a label and distinguished by rules deciding membership and (alleged) characteristic features or attributes."[18] This "social aspect" which Fearon mentions holds true to the constructivist framework in that this facet of identity is constructed socially, culturally or politically and *can* be changed. On the other hand, Fearon describes the "personal" aspect of identity as "some distinguishing characteristic (or characteristics) that a person takes special pride in or views as socially consequential but more-or-less unchangeable."[19] This aspect of identity that Fearon describes parallels the primordial framework because ethnic affiliation is a characteristic of identity which is unchangeable.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) also adheres to the idea that national identity is a mixture of the two frameworks. In a 2005 publishing by Juan Díez Medrano and Matthias Koenig, the terms "civic" nationalism and "ethnic" nationalism are used to parallel constructivism and primordialism. The journal explains a case study of Israel, Spain and the United Kingdom, which are all multinational states. With the goal of "[determining] the applicability of an ethnic/civic distinction in conceptions on

---

[16] Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, (Waveland Press, Inc., 1969), 9
[17] Fearon, 2
[18] Fearon, 2
[19] Fearon, 2

nationhood to the population…", the study looks for explanations of citizenship, acceptance of immigrants, and "modes of regulation of immigrant groups' cultures in host societies…"[20] According to the case study, the United Kingdom and Spain are "officially non-ethnic states" while Israel is an ethnic state. Ultimately, the study concluded that the three states showed no clear differences between civic and ethnic methods of constructing their national identity, supporting the idea that constructivist frameworks are used when creating our national identities.[21]

Chen Rou-Lan, of Sun-Yat Sen University, also defines identity as an amalgamation of primordialism and constructivism, describing identity as a balance between what she calls the "primordial dimension", the "affiliation and solidarity with one's own ethnic community" and the "political dimension", under the umbrella of constructivism that is the "loyalty to a political unit in terms of citizenship and boundaries."[22] She believes many societies looking to create a new identity search for a balance between the two in what she refers to as a "dual attachment"[23] Chen's focus on the intertwining of the two frameworks is supported by her analysis of the collapse of the Soviet Union. Chen explains that the collapse of the Soviet Union provided the opportunity for many nations to construct their own unique identities. For example, Estonia created its own unique identity based on political values and "state boundaries"; however, the "Russian-speaking people did not completely replace their Soviet identity with a new one.

---

[20] Juan Díez-Medrano and Matthias Koenig, "Nationalism, Citizenship and Immigration in Social Science Research" last modified 2005. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001425/142588E.pdf, 87

[21] Medrano, 88

[22] Rou-Lan Chen, "Beyond National Identity in Taiwan: A Multidimensional and Evolutionary Conceptualization," *Asian Survey* 52, no. 5 (2012): 845-71. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/as.2012.52.5845, 847

[23] Chen, 848

Instead, they produced a dual identity that serves to propel integration into the civic society of Estonia while acting as a counterweight to assimilation into Estonian culture."[24] In other words, Estonians, according to Chen, relied on primordial identity affiliation to maintain some aspects of their Russian roots, while also using constructivist ideals to create new a political and cultural identity.

The Role of Language in Identity

Another aspect to identity formation, which will be addressed at various other points in this thesis, is the significance of language in regards to identity. Prominent scholar, Patricia Baquedano-López, is a linguistic anthropologist at UC Berkeley known for her work regarding the relationship between language and identity. According to Baquedano-López "the study of language lies in its construction as an inherently social phenomenon, even when constructing language, and one-self as a member of a community, might be purely acts of identity affiliation."[25] Language is used by humans to serve as a sense of identity. In the case of Taiwan, their primary common language with mainland China, Mandarin, provides a common bond between the two countries. On the other hand, Taiwanese language or 台語 is also rooted somewhat in Chinese language.

An Amalgamation: Taiwanese Ethnic and National Identity

[24] Chen, 848

[25] Patricia Baquedano-López, "Language, Literacy and Community." in *Handbook of Early Childhood Literacy,* ed. Nigel Hall, Joanne Larson and Jackie Marsh (London: SAGE, 2003), 67

In discussing Taiwanese identity, there is a natural tendency to use the primordial framework—that is, Taiwanese are "Chinese" by ethnic standards— but ultimately, constructivism is needed to fully understand the unique Taiwanese identity.[26] Here, I will discuss the primordial framework of identity to highlight how people, those in Taiwan, might accept such a notion of identity and think of ethnicity in primordial terms. In many instances, the Kuomintang political party, which supports strong ties and even potential reunification with China, has used ethnic identity as a foundation for their views. There are four parameters to the primordial framework of identity: ethnic identity, ethnic difference, ethnic pride, and shared fate.

Ethnic identity is the first parameter used to explain the primordial framework. Primordialist concepts of ethnic identity holds that a group of people are bound by a belief of shared roots or ancestry—kinship affiliation, which is dubbed "ethnic" identity. During the rule of the KMT party, before the 1990's, the authoritarian government of Taiwan required all citizens to declare their ancestral home as mainland China.[27] "Ethnic registration", as it was called, "successfully imposed…a belief in ancestral links with China, which forged a common tie among different ethnic groups in Taiwan.[28] This clearly instigated many Taiwanese to ethnically identify as "Chinese", especially "Han Chinese", which was the specific affiliation encouraged by the government. In other words, the KMT encouraged ethnic identity and so adhered to the primordial framework of identity construction. That being said, after Lee Teng Hui began the process of democratization, the Taiwanese government began to de-emphasize Chinese ancestral links. Former-president Lee's government rationalized that "blood ties had long ago diverged from the Han tribes originating from China" and that the "genealogical reality

[26] Chen, 847
[27] Chen, 847
[28] Chen, 847

of mixed blood has been treated as the primary source of Taiwanese identity."[29] This, in effect, allowed Taiwanese citizens to erect their own identities without the pressure of adhering to ethnic restrictions. Rather, political democratization and cultural liberation allowed Taiwanese citizens to construct a unique national identity without the pressure of adhering to ethnic restrictions. Much like Chen's analysis of Estonia's decision to keep Russian aspects of their national identity, both of Taiwan's major political parties have openly shown their intention to preserve aspects of their Chinese ethnic bonds, all while fashioning a mixture of old and new— a unique Taiwanese identity.

Ethnic difference is the second parameter in the primordial framework. Ethnic difference holds that differences between two ethnicities are just as important as what is in common. Ethnic difference illustrates what makes one different from another. While the KMT strove to emphasize that all Taiwanese had ties to the mainland, utilizing the primordial framework as a structure to national identity, they still allowed room for perceived differences between "Taiwanese" and "Chinese" in order to allow privileges. Those with stronger ties to the mainland experienced privileges "Taiwanese" or indigenous populations did not. Mainlanders received government subsidies for education, medical care and occupations. As a result, mainlanders tended to support the KMT and unification due to their economic dependence on the KMT.[30] "For local Taiwanese, socioeconomic unfairness based on ethnic differences eventually bred resistance to the KMT, which has finally led to a rising Taiwanese identity."[31] These social cleavages inundated Taiwanese society and everyday life, ultimately creating an "us versus them" mentality. Taiwanese who were dissatisfied with the preferential treatment towards those

[29] Chen, 852
[30] Chen, 852
[31] Chen, 852

more strongly connected to the mainland were eventually able to voice their discontent as democratization occurred. The perceived ethnic differences that the KMT had put into place actually led to a rise in the foundation constructivist national identity. While the ethnic characteristics were unchangeable, the varying attitudes and treatments towards difference ethnicities were.

Next, ethnic pride is the third parameter of the primordial dimension. Ethnic pride is an intense feeling of national pride and often found in small underdog nations, like the Netherlands, Singapore, and Taiwan. Politically and culturally, the KMT sought to establish an "intense feeling of national pride about Chinese roots."[32] They also attempted to emphasize the glory of mainland China and its extensive and rich history. However, as Taiwan began to democratize in the 1990's, the government began "deconstructing Chinese pride" and began "[promoting] Taiwanese dialects and new high school curriculum to 'resuscitate Taiwan's colonial past, which served as a symbolic rallying call for Taiwanese identity.'"[33] "Language acted to rekindle Taiwanese self-esteem that had been lost in the period of [KMT] authoritarian rule".[34] In this way, the primordial sense of identity that the KMT had imposed onto the Taiwanese began to dissolve. As Taiwan's unique fusion of dialects, culture and history rose to the consciousness of the population, the constructivist framework began to take hold. Citizens began creating their own sense of what it meant to be "Taiwanese", not ethnically, but culturally and politically.

Shared fate is the final parameter to primordial formation of identity. Shared fate refers to the belief of a common external threat. Throughout the rule of the KMT, the party portrayed the mainland as a threat to Taiwan's security, particularly if they did not adhere to Beijing's

[32] Chen, 853
[33] Chen, 853
[34] Chen, 853

demands, while still encouraging strong ties to the mainland. Ultimately the "legitimacy of the government was built on the authoritarian KMT's resistance to China's political and military menace…"[35] The KMT used this campaign to "[unite] people under a national destiny of liberating China from the communists."[36] This changed, however, as democracy took root in Taiwan. The KMT had always depicted Taiwan's survival as threatened by the mainland, and while accurate, democratization lead to a new version of a Taiwanese shared fate. The mainland's aggressive tactics towards Taiwan, particularly during the democratization process, led to an "upsurge in Taiwanese identity as a defense against China."[37] Rather, than coming together as an ethnic group and, in a sense, diminishing the mainland's intimidation, democracy liberated Taiwanese from this shared fate.

This Thesis

In the remainder of this thesis, I will utilize the aforementioned definition of identity (see Dittmer and Leve, page 2), as well as, the constructivist, or circumstantialist, framework of identity. I will analyze how this framework contributes to recent historical events, contemporary political shifts, and the opinions of average Taiwanese citizens. I hope to understand how recent political activity, events, and circumstances influence a nation's identity, both on the group and individual level. How might this activity shape Taiwan's concept of identity and ethnicity? Another question I hope to gain furthering understanding of, by way of this thesis, is to what extent is Taiwan's identity ethnic? Is it more shaped by politics, geography and culture? Or do Taiwanese find that their sense of identity is largely tied to ethnic ties found in mainland China?

---

[35] Chen, 853
[36] Chen, 853
[37] Chen, 853

This thesis will also delve into the political use of identity—that is, how the Taiwanese government used the primordialist approach to establish a sense of identity useful to their own political agenda.

Chapter 2

Recent Historical Catalysts of a Taiwanese Identity

Introduction

The emergence of a unique and exclusive Taiwanese identity is not new and has been in development for decades; however, I argue that the most significant catalysts of Taiwanese identity began in the early 1990's. In this chapter, I will analyze three contemporary historical events that shaped Taiwan's notion of its identity: the 1992 Consensus, the 1996 democratic elections, and finally, the 2016 democratic elections. Each of these events, in their own way, spurred Taiwanese identity to the forefront of Taiwanese consciousness and politics. The 1992 Consensus began a tectonic shift that provided the language for future cross-Strait relations to this day. The 1996 popular election in Taiwan solidified the beginnings of democratic, liberal ideals and a fear of communist ideals. Finally, the 2016 presidential elections solidified Taiwan's budding democracy and illuminated, more than ever before, Taiwanese identity.

1992 Consensus

Leading up to 1992, in the 1980's to the 1990's, Taiwan saw "…the vigorous development of the political opposition movement…The distribution of power in ethnic politics [in Taiwan] triggered a series of political struggles… 「第二階段指 1980 年代至 1990 年代中期，臺灣政治反對運動蓬勃發展，族群政治的權力分配隨省籍政治鬥爭引發一連串

討…」" largely between Taiwan and the mainland.[38] In 1992, during the non-democratically elected rule of KMT party leader, Lee Teng-Hui, Taiwan and mainland China reached a supposed consensus that has set the tone for Cross-Strait relations to the present day, though its acceptance has been acknowledged or ignored depending on the presidency and political climate. Largely secretive, there is debate over whether or not the consensus even truly exists. In 1992, Taiwan created the Strait Exchange Foundation (SEF) to negotiate relations with mainland China's Association for the Relations Across the Taiwan Strait (ARATS). The goal of the negotiations was to reach a mutual understanding about the relationship and potential future cooperation between Taiwan and the mainland and as such, these negotiations gave birth to the consensus. The KMT's Timothy Yang, a former Foreign Minister under Ma Ying-Jeou, calls the 1992 Consensus "a masterpiece of ambiguity". Yang says the consensus allowed the KMT to move forward on bilateral trade, transport, and tourism without being forced to address whether One China is the China imagined by Beijing or by Taipei."[39] The consensus ultimately symbolizes Taiwan's first contemporary political push away from the mainland as it began to establish and develop its own exclusive identity.

The SEF proposed that Taiwan and the mainland agree to a "One China, Respective Interpretations" (一中，各表 *: yi zhong, ge biao)* principle in order to alleviate growing tensions between the two states.[40] This meant that while both sides would agree that both states fell under "China", they could maintain different opinions on what "China" meant and who was its rightful

---

[38] **彭鳳貞**, 22

[39] Emily Rauhala, "Breakfast with Taiwan's Tsai Ing-wen," Time, June 18, 2015.

[40] Maeve Whelan-Wuest, "Former Taiwan President Ma on One China," The 1992 Consensus and Taiwan's Future, Brookings, March 16, 2017.

ruler. Taiwan's KMT party was the spearhead for the interpretation which held that "One China" referred to a China inclusive of both Taiwan and the mainland under the Republic of China (ROC or ROCT henceforth). Taiwanese officials of the KMT also understood "One China" to recognize Taiwanese sovereignty. Similarly, mainland China acknowledged that "One China" included both Taiwan and the mainland, however, mainland Chinese officials argued that "One China" was represented by the People's Republic of China (PRC) and refused to acknowledge Taiwanese sovereignty.

During this time, the issue of Taiwanese identity was making its way to the forefront of Taiwan's politics and people who identified themselves as "Taiwanese" or 台灣人 seemed increasingly unhappy with China's hegemonic grasp. As the KMT pushed for the mainland's acceptance of the 1992 Consensus, they argued to Beijing that "Taipei had boosted Taiwanese consciousness…and that Beijing's Taiwan policy had…[alienated] the Taiwanese people and that the island would drift further away from the Chinese continent if Beijing did not moderate its Taiwan policy".[41] In one meeting between Vice President Lien and President Hu, Lien urged the mainland to understand "the Taiwanese experience of colonization by such foreign regimes as the Dutch and Japanese.".[42] Lien explained that history "…had motivated the Taiwanese people to govern themselves without foreign intervention" and asked mainland authorities to recognize that individuals who supported a Taiwanese identity "did not necessarily support Taiwan independence".[43] In this way, the KMT party was able to convince "…Beijing that its coercive approaches had alienated the Taiwanese people and that a conciliatory approach might

[41] Chihung Wei, "China-Taiwan Relations and the 1992 Consensus, 2000-2008," Princeton University, May 30, 2016.
[42] Wei
[43] Wei

win their hearts and minds...".[44] In response to these discussions, Beijing chose not to challenge the Taiwanese interpretation of "One China", but also never explicitly accepted the Taiwanese interpretation.

The 1992 Consensus has generally played a role in Taiwanese politics and Cross-Strait relations since its creation, though its influence grows and ebbs as political change occurs. From its establishment in 1992 and throughout the presidency of Lee Teng-Hui, the 1992 Consensus helped to mitigate crises between Taiwan and the mainland and helped to improve negotiations. Then, political turnover from Lee Teng-Hui of the KMT to Chen Shui-Bian of the DPP in 2000 changed the dynamic. To Chen Shui-Bian "accepting the 1992 Consensus would sell out Taiwan and hollow out Taiwanese sovereignty…"[45] As Chen Shui-Bian's government made provocative moves interpreted by China and the US as a push for independence, the mainland government used the ambiguity of the "One China, Respective Interpretations" principle as a source of appeasement towards the DPP government. As Chen Shui-Bian's government continued to imply movement for independence however, the mainland's government became increasingly wary and cut all ties with Taiwan as punishment. At this point in history, it is generally felt that relations between Taiwan and the mainland were at an all-time low, with the fear of impending cross-strait war.

In 2006, a new KMT leader, Ma Ying-Jeou, feverishly acknowledged the 1992 Consensus and was able to restore ties with the mainland. During a speech in 2016, former president Ma explained "The two sides of the Taiwan strait insist on the One China principle, but the meaning they assign to it differs. The Chinese Communist authority considers One China as

[44] Wei
[45] Wei

the PRC, while our side regards One China as the ROC established since 1912. Taiwan is part of China, so is the Chinese mainland."[46] In a statement released by the ARATS, one official said "While I will not agree with Taiwan's understanding of the meaning of "One China", we advocate peaceful unity, and 'one country, two systems'…"「我會不同意台灣有關方面對"一個中國"涵義的理解。我們主張"和平統一，一國兩制。」[47]

Today, the 1992 Consensus continues to influence the political climate in the Cross-Straits as well as globally. Mainland China uses its substantial economic and military power to pressure the international community into recognizing "One China" as the PRC. While Taiwan as the ROC has few official political allies, according to former-President Jeou's speech at the Brookings Institute, the PRC has only 173 official relations. 137 countries have joint relations while 52 countries "recognize PRC sovereignty over Taiwan". Another 29 countries, like the United States, use "ambiguous language" and 56 countries completely avoid any mention of Taiwan.[48] Historically, the United States has used ambiguous language to placate the mainland. For example, the United States does not have an embassy in Taiwan, but rather an "American Institute of Taiwan". In addition, Japan and Taiwan have amicable relation, despite Japan's former colonial rule of Taiwan. According the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan, Japan has official recognized the PRC definition of One China since 1972, yet maintains stable trade with

[46] Whelan-Wuest

[47] "为历史留下公正的注脚──1992 年 11 月两会共识始末." *中共中央台办、国务院台办　版权所有* (August 8, 1999): http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/zt/92/201101/t20110110_1686391.htm

[48] Whelan-Wuest

Taiwan.[49] Among other world powers, the UK also refuses to acknowledge Taiwan as an independent country, stating so on its foreign travel website.[50] This shows that, globally, there is a wide range of acceptance regarding the legitimacy of the "One China" policy. Whether or not countries truly agree with the PRC's definition of One China, they tend to support it in order to placate the powerful mainland.

The most interesting dynamic, however, occurs not between Taiwan and the mainland, but between the various Taiwanese political parties and the mainland communist party. Historically, the KMT, the oldest political party in Taiwan, has identified and sided with the mainland. The KMT tends to recognize itself and Taiwan as "Chinese". Other parties that emerged later in Taiwan's history, such as the DPP, arose in opposition to the KMT's stance on One China and Chinese identity. The DPP has continuously sought autonomy and even made political moves often interpreted by the mainland as moves towards independence. Much of the DPP also identifies as "Taiwanese" rather than "Chinese".

Due to these differences in how political parties perceive and relate to the mainland, there is a strong dispute between the KMT and the DPP about the validity of the 1992 Consensus. The KMT, who put together the 1992 Consensus with the mainland, have used the consensus in two ways throughout their various presidencies. First, as a way to attempt to establish ROC dominance over One China, which the KMT knew China would not accept. Second, to acknowledge One China and thereby reaffirm to the mainland the pervasiveness of Chinese

---

[49] "Recent Japan- Taiwan Relations and the Taiwan Situation." *Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan.* Last modified July 2013. http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/taiwan/pdfs/japan-taiwan_relations.pdf

[50] "Foreign Travel Advice Taiwan." *Gov.UK.* Last modified February 27 2018. https://www.gov.uk/foreign-travel-advice/taiwan

identity in Taiwan. KMT officials had hoped that if Chinese identity was at least declared in Taiwan, then China would be willing to overlook or simply never challenge the KMT's declaration of ROC governance. As the DPP developed, and China's insistence on PRC governance continued, Taiwanese citizens moved towards supporting the DPP's Taiwanese identity and ROC governance. Some extreme DPP views held that the 1992 Consensus was simply "… a term invented and promoted by a group of [KMT] actors after 2000 [which] constituted China's concessions...[KMT] actors promoted the term 1992 Consensus referring to the spirit of moderation and accommodation that had preexisted [during KMT rule]…"[51]

The 1992 Consensus marks a first step in a movement away from China and towards a sense of exclusive Taiwanese identity. It was Taiwan's first discernible pull away from the mainland and towards independency. While Taiwan still agreed it was a part of "China", it refused to secede from its position that "China" is the ROC. From 1992 until the present, the consensus has been a consistent, and albeit unwanted, reminder to the mainland authority that Taiwan will continue to resist the mainland's influence, particularly regarding the rightful PRC/ROC dispute.

1996 Presidential Election

The 1996 presidential election was the first of its kind in Taiwan and the first clear indication to the international community that democracy was taking root in Taiwan. The KMT leadership had a hegemonic grip on the Taiwanese political scene from Sun Yat Sen's presidency at the establishment of Taiwan in 1912 to the end of Lee Teng Hui's first presidency in 1996. Though Lee Teng Hui won the free democratic election in 1996, continuing the KMT's long

[51] Wei

existing leadership, Taiwan had independently created a "homegrown democracy". [52] A homegrown democracy is one that was not influenced, or enforced, by outsiders. For example, in many instances, democracy is forced upon a country via occupying power such as Germany or Japan.[53] The election was not only a great feat for democratic and liberal ideology globally, but also a stunning blow to the communist mainland. Taiwan's first step towards establishing a stable democracy marked a distinctive ideological shift from its previous tolerance of the mainland's attempt at imposing communist ideals on the island territory. As Richard C. Bush says, "it is worth nothing that Taiwan is the only ethnic Chinese society in the world in which genuinely competitive elections…" take place. The governments of China, Hong Kong and Singapore "all seek to preservice control over the outcomes of their leadership selection system."[54]

As soon as free and popular democratic election became even a slight possibility in Taiwan, the mainland began its interference. Refusing to even acknowledge the elections and instead referring to them as "activities to change leadership" the mainland government began a series of blatant, aggressive military displays of disgruntlement.[55] Chinese Communist Party (CCP from henceforth) authorities perceived the election as a Taiwanese attempt at independence, however their justification for military exercises differed. Hard-line Communist leaders wanted to use military exercises to capture Taiwan's smaller surrounding islands, while more moderate authorities encouraged the use of military drills to warn Taiwan governance that movement towards independence was unacceptable. In total, the mainland conducted four

---

[52] Thomas J. Bellows, "The March 1996 Elections in the Republic of China on Taiwan," (*American Journal of Chinese Studies* 3, no. 2, 1996), 235
[53] Bellows, 235
[54] Richard C. Bush, "Taiwan's Election Results, Explained," Brookings, July 29 2016.
[55] Bellows, 247

military exercises which "dominated much of the day-to-day tenor of the campaign…"[56] On 8 March 1996, the mainland began with three unarmed missile launches, one of which landed approximately 22 miles from Taiwan's major port Keelung while the other two hit 33 miles from Kaohsiung. On March 14 1996, a fourth missile hit near Kaohsiung. From the 12th to the 20th of March, the mainland's air force and navy conducted exercises using live ammunition on the southeast coast of mainland China. Finally, from the 18th of March to the 25th of March, the People's Republic of China (PRC from henceforth) army, navy and air force held a variety of live ammunition drills— some within 11 miles of Taiwanese islands. Some of these exercises took place during the 23 March election day.[57]

As the mainland continued to act aggressively throughout the campaign and post-election, Taiwan's primary political parties had a variety of reactions. The DPP candidate, Peng Ming-Min declared China "a bully" and "uncivilized barbarian" and attempted to utilize the mainland's offensive as justification to cut off all "cultural and educational exchanges" between Taiwan and the mainland.[58] He also used the military exercises as an excuse to point fingers at KMT President Lee's policies, who was running for re-election. The Independent Party, or New Party, also blamed President Lee "…as the sole reason for the mainland's military exercises and asserted that these exercises would continue until President Lee was out of power…"[59] In addition, the ROCT Foreign Ministry spokesman at the time "…criticized the PRC for intimidating the people of Taiwan…"[60] While the various political parties verbally criticized the mainland's offensive, the government made no move to deter the mainland's activities nor any

[56] Bellows, 237
[57] Bellows, 238
[58] Bellows, 239
[59] Bellows, 239
[60] Bellows, 246

effort to halt the election. Not only was the election itself a pull away from China, but Taiwan's refusal to halt the election despite the mainland's aggression was a tangible show of resistance towards the mainland.

As the election neared, the DPP had already realized they could not democratically win the popular election if they declared independence. Peng Ming-Min "stated he would not declare Taiwan's independence if elected, since Taiwan in reality had been independent for more than four decades…" Peng's platform insisted they did not want to "provoke Beijing and wanted to make friends with the mainland…" while simultaneously provoking Beijing by insisting it recognize Taiwan's sovereignty.[61] Peng's insistence that Taiwan was "already independent" immensely irritated the mainland and was considered provocative to even most Taiwanese, which ultimately affected his popularity during the election.

Ultimately, despite the mainland's aggression, Taiwan successfully held its first popular election on 23 March 1996. The election met global democratic standards as it was free, fair, was minimally influenced by corruption, and allowed both citizens, organizations and the media to freely criticize parties and candidates. Lee Teng Hui and his running-mate Lien Chan of the KMT received 54 percent of the vote with ¾'s of eligible Taiwanese voting. Though Lee Teng Hui had previously been president since 1988, it was the first time he and the KMT party were democratically elected. The election revealed that despite the emergence of democracy in Taiwan, as well as the emergence of Taiwanese identity, much of Taiwan was still reluctant to completely separate from mainland China.

Throughout the campaign, the concept of Taiwanese identity began making its way to the forefront of politics. As Taiwanese identity became more prominent throughout the election

---

[61] Bellows, 240

campaign, with the added resounding ideals of democracy, the mainland became increasingly worried that Taiwan was slipping away. An opinion in the New York Times after the 1996 election, stated "Yesterday's presidential election in Taiwan was an affirmation of democracy, but not a declaration of independence."[62] The election helped to solidified the fact that Taiwan was becoming more and more independent from the mainland "…gradually resisting and rejecting [them], and ultimately abandoning the history of mainland China as well as its ties of blood, culture, feelings, etcetera in order to break the Chinese connection. 「逐漸抗拒、排斥,以致摒棄和大陸的歷史,血緣、文化、感情等關係,尋求脫離和中國的連繫」"[63] To the mainland, "A politically free and economically prosperous Taiwan [would be] a constant reminder to Beijing's leaders of their shortfalls and the reforms they may be compelled to adopt…" resulting in Beijing's determination to disrupt the election at any cost.[64] The PRC relentlessly held that the popular elections in Taiwan were meant to establish a unique local identity "as a betrayal of the Chinese culturalism"[65] Beijing argued that "the overarching framework for Chinese nationalism on the mainland has been premised on a tradition sense of 'Chinese culturalism'" as a means to "distinguish a mainstream Confucian image of China as a culturally defined community…" which included Taiwan.[66] Ultimately, the Taiwanese desire for a government that was not the CCP was both a product of and a further instigator for identity.

---

[62] "Taiwan's Democratic Election." *New York Times* online. Last modified March 24 1996. https://www.nytimes.com/1996/03/24/opinion/taiwan-s-democratic-election.html

[63] 绍霖鲍, *「台獨」幕後: 美國人的倡議與政策*. (香港: 中華書局有限公司, 1992), 101

[64] Bellows, 236

[65] Hans Stockton, "National Identity on Taiwan: Causes and Consequences for Political Reunification," (*American Journal of Chinese Studies* 9, no. 2, 2002), 159

[66] Stockton, 159

The democratic election of 1996 acted as an appendage of Taiwanese identity, catalyzing a later, deeper concern for democratic sovereignty. Curiously, Lee Teng Hui began introducing an idea of "Taiwanese consciousness" though the KMT had completely ruled out any movement towards independence in order to appease the mainland. Lee Teng Hui famously said in a speech "I felt the Taiwan people must truly possess sovereignty before they can develop their will for freedom and create their own future.".[67] In an attempt to maintain peace between the straits, yet still emphasize an exclusive Taiwanese identity, the KMT argued that "Taipei doesn't see a Taiwanese national identity as a threat to 'Chineseness' but as a compliment to it…"[68] In addition, during the campaign, Lee Teng Hui took a more aggressive stance on Taiwanese identity:

> "Everyone knows that Taiwan is a society of immigrants. Except for the aboriginal compatriots in the earliest period, most came from China in the various historical periods. And even though this a difference between coming earlier or later, whether born here or growing up here, early on this piece of land was irrigated by several generations of people's perspiration and blood which has enabled today's prosperity…One only needs those who identify with Taiwan and sympathize with Taiwan, who are willing to strive and struggle for Taiwan, it is they who are Taiwanese. We must encourage a concept of 'New Taiwanese'. At the same time, those who cherish nationalist feelings, uphold Chinese culture and do not forget the ideals of China's unification, they are Chinese."[69]

---

[67] Bruce J. Jacobs and I-hao Ben Liu, "Lee Teng-Hui and the Idea of "Taiwan," (The China Quarterly, no. 190, June 2007), 385
[68] Stockton, 159
[69] Jacobs, 385

This was a precarious move for the KMT, who still wanted favorable relations with the mainland, yet shows the determination of Taiwanese, despite differing political opinion, to establish an exclusive Taiwanese identity that was completely separate from the mainland's identity. Lee used his speech to build a sense of community amongst all different types of Taiwanese citizens, uniting them under a common sense of belonging and "Taiwanese-ness" but maintained a Chinese aspect to the Taiwanese identity he talked about. Lee's KMT party surely remained cautious regarding their statements on identity to ensure they would not further strain relations with the mainland after already causing tension from the election itself.

The democratic election not only symbolized a disagreement of the communist ideals of the mainland, but was also a clear catalyst for the emergence of the concept of Taiwanese identity. Before the election, identity in Taiwanese politics was not focused on as a political movement or campaign. Yet suddenly, the materialization of popular election encouraged an interesting thought—Taiwan was different from the mainland, not just ideologically, but also culturally.

2016 Presidential Election

2016 marked Taiwan's third popular, democratic election, as well as a tangible, if not forceful, shift in Taiwanese identity and politics. Yen Chen-Shen of the Institute of International Relations at Taipei's National ChengChi University called the victory a win for Taiwanese identity and noted the growing generation of pro-independence youth.[70] The election of the DPP's Tsai Ing-Wen has been the latest demonstration of pushback from China by Taiwanese

[70] Jeremy Page, Jenny W. Hsu and Eva Dou, "Taiwan Elects Tsai Ing-wen as First Female President," (*The Wall Street Journal* online, January 16, 2016)

citizens. The KMT party not only lost its presidency and continuation of KMT-backed, pro-China policy, but for the first time in Taiwan's history, it also lost its majority in the Legislative Yuan. The most recent presidential election in Taiwan clearly illustrates the stronghold of Taiwanese identity on the island nation.

In March of 2016, Taiwan elected its first female president—and the first female president of any culturally Chinese nation in the world: China, Hong Kong, and Singapore. According to the Central Election Commission's website, Tsai won the election with 6.9 million votes or 56 percent of the total.[71] In contrast, in 2008, the KMT's Ma Ying-Jeou won with 58 percent of the vote; the 2016 candidate, Eric Chu received only 3.8 million votes or a mere 31 percent.[72] The numbers reveal a population disgruntled with the KMT leadership and willing to punish the KMT for it.

Tsai Ing-Wen fostered support amongst the population during the Sunflower Movement of 2014, when student activists rallied in Taipei to protest "a bilateral agreement that would have given Chinese commercial interests access to key areas of Taiwan's economy" in areas such as banking, media and education.[73] The DPP, unlike the KMT, was able to appeal to Taiwanese, who sympathized with the student activists, feeling as though the mainland was developing "undue influence over Taiwan's social and culture life" and that average Taiwanese were not benefiting enough from business relations with the PRC.[74] Ultimately, the movement was backed by the DPP as well as the New People's Party and became so large that many KMT members stepped down from their positions. Many high-level officials such as KMT backed

---

[71] Page
[72] Richard C. Bush, "Taiwan's Election Results, Explained," Brookings, July 29 2016. and Page
[73] Mark Harrison, "PURIFYING THE BODY POLITIC IN TAIWAN," In *Pollution*, 2016, 254
[74] Harrison, 254

mayors, as well as other cabinet members resigned. The Sunflower Movement "bestowed formal democratic legitimacy on the position of anti-KMT activists…[and] enabled the DPP to capitalize on voter sentiment…".[75] Because of this, Tsai garnered considerable support from Southern Taiwan, the millennial generation, those "who [identified] as Taiwanese and those who [were] not a part of the elite that [came] from China after the Chinese Communist Party victory in 1949…"[76]

Tsai's platform was also unique to past campaigns. While previous elections have spotlighted cross-Strait relations, Tsai focused primarily on domestic issues "noting in particular the poor state of Taiwan's economy, wage stagnation, and housing affordability. She also called for better environmental protection and a culture of innovation."[77] Her strength, however, lay largely in her "Taiwan-centric" views. As Taiwanese citizens "see an increasingly repressive mainland government across the strait…[they] want no part of it. …[the] crackdown on dissent and nationalist appeals to the glory of Chinese culture are uncomfortable reminders of Taiwan's own experiences under martial law…"[78] Polls show that less and less islanders are identifying as Chinese and rather, an "increasingly assertive youth" are beginning to absorb an "indigenous identity and attachment to the liberal civic values…"[79] In 1994, 26.2 percent surveyed identified as Chinese, while 20.2 percent said they were Taiwanese, and 44.6 percent identified as both Chinese and Taiwanese. In 2014, only 3.5 percent said they were Chinese, 60.6 percent said

---

[75] Harrison, 254
[76] Rauhala
[77] Rauhala
[78] 尼克弗里希,"回不去了：蔡英文与她的台湾的不归路," The New York Times, February 3 2016.
[79] 尼克弗里希

they were Taiwanese and 32.5 percent said they identified as both.[80] In this way, Tsai's campaign benefitted enormously as the DPP has built a strong platform supporting autonomy from the mainland. Despite this, Tsai did give some extremely ambiguous dialogue regarding the cross-Strait relations. "Tsai said she would maintain the political status quo across the strait with China…", which many believe is in regards to the 1992 Consensus.[81] While Tsai refused to spend much of the campaign discussing relations with the mainland, she argued that "[Taiwan's] democratic system, national identity and international space must be fully respected…[and] Any suppression [of those would] harm the stability [of cross-Strait] relations…"[82]

Mainland authorities and policy have never been amenable to any form of DPP government in the past, but as Xi Jinping's nationalist tendencies become more pervasive in the mainland, it can be expected that Beijing will only become more uncooperative with Tsai's budding government. Upon announcing the election results, Beijing released a statement saying it would "continue to oppose Taiwan independence through its promised 'conditional cooperation'" and that it was "willing to strengthen contacts and exchanges with any political party or group that [recognized] that both sides of the strait belong to One China."[83] The last time a DPP president ruled in Taiwan was from 2000 to 2008 under popularly elected Chen Shui-Bian. During that time, Chen Shui-Bian "pushed policies that tested the limits of Beijing's tolerance on independence, while China focused a military building on forces needed to invade the island…"[84] According to scholar Syaru Shirley Lin, there is an ever-widening gap between

[80] Richard Bush, "Taiwan's January 2016 Elections and Their Implications for Relations with China and the United States," Asia Working Group, December 2015.
[81] Rauhala
[82] Page
[83] Page
[84] Page

the identity the PRC pushes Taiwan to adopt and the identity Taiwan is coming to assume, much of which is "based on democracy, rule of law and freedom of speech and assembly"[85] Domestically, mainland China itself is currently struggling to contain pro-democracy advocates, as well as in Hong Kong, ultimately causing the communist party in the mainland to crack down even harder. "To the ruling Chinese Communist Party, Taiwan is the province that got away, a living, breathing, voting reminder of what could happen to China if the CCP loosens its grip on its periphery, from Tibet to Xinjiang to Hong Kong."[86]

Needless to say, Tsai's 2016 victory was a major stepping stone forward for Taiwanese identity and has given Beijing a good scare. It marks a new era for Taiwanese identity moving forward. Not only has stable democracy separated Taiwan identity from the communist mainland, but also the election of a female president shows a serious deviation in ideology between the island nation and the mainland. These differences, among others such as, rightful ROC governance, liberalism regarding the privatization of the economy and progressive ideals such as homosexual rights and marriage, have started to create an even larger schism between Taiwan and the mainland ideologically. While these issues were not completely new to the 2016 election, their importance and recognition culminated with Tsai's campaign. Consciousness of an exclusive Taiwanese identity "had been suppressed during the first four decades of KMT authoritarian rule, but it flowered as the democratic system took root…" and has ultimately fostered a friendly, popular environment for DPP rule.[87] During the campaign season in Taiwan, Tsai was able to tap into, and appeal to, these ideals regarding Taiwanese identity. The policies

[85] Paul Mozur, "Fore Taiwan, a Dilemma Over Identity, Economy and China," *The New York Times* online, December 14 2016.
[86] Rauhala
[87] Bush

regarding cross-Strait relations as well as domestic issues that Tsai could put into place in the coming four years, and potentially eight years, will make or break relations with China. Tsai must be able to manage a balance between the expectations of her assertive youth supporters and an uncompromising mainland—which is not an easy feat, and there are certainly no easy solutions. The mainland will always see Tsai as a threat to One China, as they have with previous DPP governments, and will continue to more aggressively squash any semblance of independence movements made by the government.

Chapter 3

The Effect of Tsai Ing-Wen's Presidency on Taiwanese Identity

Introduction

Contemporary historical events dramatically influenced a non-Chinese, Taiwanese identity into the conscious of Taiwanese citizens; however, more recent political events have spurred the movement even further along. With the election of DPP member and first female president, Tsai Ing-Wen, Taiwanese identity became implicit in policy and daily Taiwanese life. Tsai's campaign fueled its domestic and international policy proposals based on an identity it claimed as "Taiwanese", and therefore, separate from Chinese identity. As though thxe past decades of an emerging Taiwanese identity weren't enough, Tsai's popular election to president was the first real blow to mainland China that Taiwan had silently been slipping away. Now, Taiwanese identity seems, in some ways, linked to Tsai's political and economic reforms. In this chapter, I will discuss Tsai's campaign, various policies, and her presidency's influence on social change in order to further explore how each of these aided in the recent development of Taiwanese identity.

Tsai's Campaign

Tsai's campaign had to hurdle extreme obstacles leading to the election—mainly difficulties that had been created by her own party. First, in 2008, President Chen Shui-Bian of the DPP was involved in a political scandal which resulted in 44.9 percent of the population

regarding the DPP party as corrupt.[88] Second, previously, the DPP party had been largely supported by young Taiwanese citizens but lost much of its support due to the scandal. Third, former-President Chen announced in 2007 the "Resolution for a Normal Country", "which indicated that the nation should 'accomplish rectification of the name "Taiwan"'…and write a new constitution."[89] This announcement greatly polarized citizens of Taiwan and thereby negatively influenced DPP presidential candidate Hsieh's campaign.

"Rectification of names" or, *cheng ming,* is a phrase rooted in Confucianism. In the Confucian Analects Chapter 13, Tsze-lu asks Confucius what needs to be done:

> The Master replied, "What is necessary is to rectify names."
>
> "So! Indeed!" said Tsze-lu. "You are wide of the mark! Why must there be such rectification?"
>
> The Master said, "How uncultivated you are, Yu! A superior man, in regard to what he does not know, shows a cautious reserve. If names be not correct, language is not in accordance with the truth of things. If language be not in accordance with the truth of things, affairs cannot be carried on to success. When affairs cannot be carried on to success, proprieties and music do not flourish. When proprieties and music do not flourish, punishments will not be properly awarded. When punishments are not properly awarded, the people do not know how to move hand or foot. Therefore a superior man considers it necessary that

[88] Austin Horng-En Wang, "The Emergence of Tsai Ing-Wen and the Presidentializiation of DPP, 2008-2016", Duke University, last modified March 9, 2017. https://sites.duke.edu/austinwang/files/2017/03/DPP_Austin-Wang.pdf
[89] Wang

> the names he uses may be spoken appropriately, and also that what he speaks may be carried out appropriately."[90]

Using Confucian values, former-President Chen sought to allude to the independence of Taiwan. He felt that when Taiwan was not thought of, or spoken of, as its own sovereign nation, that this was a misuse of its name, and thereby the name of Taiwan needed to be reclaimed, or purified to its proper use.

Despite these obstacles, Tsai's campaign triumphed; particularly, the DPP's use of Taiwanese identity as an anchor point for their campaign paved the way for success. Though unwilling to completely dismiss mainland China, Tsai and the DPP party were clear that Taiwan would become self-sufficient from the mainland under DPP rule. This "ideological moderation" allowed the DPP's message to reach more Taiwanese.[91] Upon her inauguration as president of Taiwan, Tsai subtly referred to the 1992 Consensus while still maintaining a message of an autonomous, self-sufficient Taiwan:

> "Since 1992, over twenty years of interaction across the Strait have enabled and accumulated outcomes which both sides must collectively cherish and sustain. It is based on such existing realities and political foundations that the stable and peaceful development of the cross-Strait relationship must be continuously promoted…The new government will conduct cross-Strait affairs in accordance with the Republic of China constitution, the Act Governing Relations between

---

[90] Lao Zi, *The Analects Attributed to Confucius,* trans. James Legge (University of Southern California: US-China Institute, 1901)
[91] Wang

> the People of Taiwan Area and the Mainland Area, and other relevant legislation"[92]

Here, Tsai does not explicitly state "The 1992 Consensus", but rather nods her head to the year 1992, marking it as an important start to China-Taiwan diplomatic interaction. In addition, Tsai uses the phrase "People of the Taiwan Area", to soften the idea of Taiwan as a country. This not only sends a subtle message to the people of Taiwan that she is trying to maintain their autonomy, but also doesn't give Beijing an explicit reason to assume she will attempt to free Taiwan from China's grasp. Tsai was also sure to note that "the democratic principle and prevalent will of the people of Taiwan..." would nurture the success of the country throughout the DPP rule.[93]. Whether the conversation is centered around economic dependence, domestic or international economy, the policy making process, or minority rights, Tsai consistently put identity at the forefront of the conversation.

This moderate stance, however, contributed to some hesitation from hardline independence supporters in Taiwan, who believed the DPP needed to be represented by someone pursuing independence from the mainland more aggressively, rather than someone simply seeking to pacify the mainland. Despite this, Tsai is "generally regarded as a careful but uncompromising advocate of the independence cause."[94]

---

[92] Ing-Wen Tsai, "2016 Inaugural Address," video, May 20, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GCUMzqPtacI&feature=youtu.be and Ing-Wen Tsai, *2016 Inaugural Address,"* speech, May 20, 2016, https://www.taiwanembassy.org/uploads/sites/70/2016/05/160520-President-Tsai-Ing-wen-inaugural-speech2.pdf

[93] David G. Brown, "Governing Taiwan is Not Easy: President Tsai Ing-wen's First Year," last modified May 17, 2017. https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/governing-taiwan-is-not-easy-president-tsai-ing-wens-first-year/

[94] Yi-huah Jiang, "Taiwan's National Identity and Cross-Strait Relations," in *Taiwan and China: Fitful Embrace,* ed. Lowell Dittmer, 19-41, (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2017), http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1w76wpm.5., 20

Developing Domestic Economy

Taiwan greatly depends on China economically—according to Brookings Institute, mainland China accounts for 40 percent of all of Taiwan's exports.[95] In order to reduce Taiwan's economic dependence on China, the DPP claimed it would develop key industries and diversify the economy. In addition, Tsai campaigned to end the employment and wage stagnation that has plagued Taiwan's domestic economy as of late. To do this, Tsai planned to link specific industries to specific locations: green energy development would take place in Tainan, "smart machinery" development would be located in Taichung, the so-called "Internet of Things" (IoT) would develop in Taoyuan.[96] In addition, Tsai claimed that the biomedicine and defense industries would be further developed if the DPP party won the presidential election.[97] By developing these policies of economic development, Tsai and her government hoped to not only reduce economic dependence on mainland China, but also proclaim to the world that Taiwan can be independent and a leading economic factor in the global arena without the aid of the mainland.

In Tsai's 2017 Year-End address, she cited the changes the economy had seen, as well as the policy changes that had been implemented. In the DPP's move to develop the green industry, Tsai claimed in her end of year speech that by 2020 "Taiwan's green energy sector will have more than 250 billion Taiwan dollars in both foreign and direct investment.「2020 年以前，臺灣的綠能市場，將獲得超過兩千五百億元的國內外投資。臺灣正在變成全世界綠能企業的

[95] Brown
[96] Brown
[97] Brown

投資對象」”[98] She also commented that the Smart Machinery Development Program, was rapidly transforming traditional industries in Taiwan, citing that “many traditional factories have started to introduce smart manufacturing. As a result, the quality of products has improved and the demand for professionals has also increased. That is how high-paying jobs are created. 「除了綠能之外，透過「智慧機械產業推動方案」，臺灣的傳統產業也在轉型。許多傳統的工廠，開始導入智慧製造。產品品質提高了，對於專業人才的需求也提高了。高薪的工作，就是這樣被創造出來的。」”[99] During the address, Tsai heavily emphasized the policy change that effected young people—her primary source of support and those most assertive of a separate Taiwanese identity. Tsai claimed that the government would raise minimum wage to above the current monthly wage of NT$22,000. She highlighted the government’s responsibility in providing career counseling, job training and incentives to young people. She also hinted that the government would begin promoting “social housing, public education and pre-school education” to help families “carry the heavy education loans. 「社會住宅、公共化托育及幼教」”[100]

---

[98] 蔡, 英文. *2017 總統府年終媒體茶敘中華民國*. Speech. Office of the President Republic of China (Taiwan). 106 年 12 月 29 日. https://www.president.gov.tw/NEWS/21895

[99] 蔡, 英文. *2017 總統府年終媒體茶敘中華民國*. Speech. Office of the President Republic of China (Taiwan). 106 年 12 月 29 日. https://www.president.gov.tw/NEWS/21895

[100] 蔡, 英文. *2017 總統府年終媒體茶敘中華民國*. Speech. Office of the President Republic of China (Taiwan). 106 年 12 月 29 日. https://www.president.gov.tw/NEWS/21895

Tsai's desperate attempt to revive young Taiwanese spirits, as well as the domestic economy in Taiwan, which has been stagnant for years, is intended as a means to relieve some dependency on the mainland. If Taiwanese can be convinced, through tangible change, that their economy can survive on its own, Taiwanese identity can further develop independent from China.

Developing Global Relations

Tsai's most ambitious policy regarding the development of Taiwan's international economy is titled the "New Southbound Policy" (NSP). Like many of Tsai's political actions, the NSP's goal is to reduce economic dependence on China, but in this case, by fostering ties with ASEAN countries, as well as, Australia, New Zealand, India and others. In order to foster such ties, Tsai's government hopes to "expand educational, cultural, tourist, and economic ties…"[101] Unfortunately for Tsai's government, the administration's "ability to assist Taiwan companies in ASEAN is severely limited by Beijing's diplomatic leverage."[102] Although Tsai has repeatedly, and explicitly, stated her goal is to maintain cross-Strait peace and stability, the mainland sees her government as a threat to its own ideal cross-Strait ties.

With regard to tourism through the NSP, Taiwan is walking a thin line. In retaliation to Tsai's election, the mainland restricted Chinese tourism to Taiwan—knowing it would severely impact Taiwan's economy. The NSP "expanded [tourism] in these [ASEAN] countries [compensating] for the decline in tourism from China…"[103] By the end of 2017, the NSP policy

[101] Brown
[102] Brown
[103] Brown

increased tourism from participating countries by 30 percent.[104] In addition, the NSP's movement to increase educational opportunities to foreign students resulted in over 30,000 exchange students in Taiwan.[105] In her Year-End Speech, Tsai claimed that the NSP expanded bilateral trade nearly 20 percent.[106]

While the NSP is helping develop Taiwan's relations with some countries, since the start of Tsai's presidency, relations with the United States have proven tumultuous and thrown severe obstacles in front of the DPP. In the infant months of Donald Trump's presidency, a phone call with Tsai sparked serious controversy and was anathemas to Beijing. Afterwards, President Trump's acknowledgement of One-China created confusion for both Taiwan and the rest of the world as to whether he supported Taiwan or the mainland. It is clear that relations between the PRC and the United States have plummeted "as many traditional pro-China voices in corporate America [have fallen] silent in the face of Beijing's mercantilism…"[107] That being said, the United States is hardly doing enough to maintain its friendship with, and defend, Taiwan. After President Trump's phone call with Taiwan, and a hollow promise to end the United States' long-standing agreement to honor One-China, Trump met with President Xi and immediately backed

---

[104] 蔡, 英文. *2017 總統府年終媒體茶敘中華民國*. Speech. Office of the President Republic of China (Taiwan). 106 年 12 月 29 日. https://www.president.gov.tw/NEWS/21895

[105] 蔡, 英文. *2017 總統府年終媒體茶敘中華民國*. Speech. Office of the President Republic of China (Taiwan). 106 年 12 月 29 日. https://www.president.gov.tw/NEWS/21895

[106] 蔡, 英文. *2017 總統府年終媒體茶敘中華民國*. Speech. Office of the President Republic of China (Taiwan). 106 年 12 月 29 日. https://www.president.gov.tw/NEWS/21895

[107] Walter R. Mead, "Left and Right Agree: Get Tough on China," *The Wall Street Journal* (January 18, 2018): https://www.wsj.com/articles/left-and-right-agree-get-tough-on-china-1515458432

down.[108] This act showed a huge lack of respect and disregard by the United States towards Taiwan. Unfortunately, Trump's indecisiveness is causing more problems for Tsai and the DPP by prompting more tension between the mainland and Taiwan.

As Taiwan continues to attempt to develop its relations within the international arena, mainland China's menace continues to grow. In an effort to increase Taiwan's dependence on the mainland, the PRC uses its economic and political influence to block other countries from establishing and maintaining diplomatic relations with Taiwan in order to inflict damage on Taiwan's economy. For instance, very few countries currently officially recognize Taiwan as a sovereign country or hold official ties with Taiwan. According to the Wall Street Journal, as few as 20 countries, many of which are also small nations "mainly small nations in the Pacific and the Caribbean…", recognize Taiwan formally.[109] In June of 2017, under Tsai's presidency, Panama officially cut ties with Taiwan in preference of establishing diplomatic relations with the PRC.[110] Obviously, Panama's decision to cut ties with the island nation came largely as backlash from the mainland over the DPP's presidency. Taiwan responded to the news by "[condemning] Beijing for 'tempting' Panama to cut off relations with Taipei, saying China's continual effort to marginalize the island is provocative and endangers the stability in the region."[111] Panama hasn't

[108] Carol E. Lee and Te-Ping Chen, "U.S., China Coordinated Policy Reversal," *The Wall Street Journal* (February 11, 2017): https://www.wsj.com/articles/beijings-patience-pays-off-with-trumps-reaffirmation-of-one-china-policy-1486737397

[109] Eva Dou and Jenny W. Hsu, "Panama Cuts Diplomatic Ties With Taiwan in Favor of China," *The Wall Street Journal* (June 13, 2017 https://www.wsj.com/articles/panama-cuts-diplomatic-ties-with-taiwan-in-favor-of-china-1497322495

[110] Dou and Hsu

[111] Dou and Hsu

been the only country to recently cut formal ties with Taiwan, only adding its self to the list of others such as, Gambia and Sao Tome and Principe.[112]

Tsai's presidency has certainly come at a cost to Taiwan in regards to its economy and place in the international arena—though largely due to China's constant attempts to undermine and isolate the island. However, Taiwan elected Tsai in a flurry of nationalistic pride, and inevitably, rebellion against brooding China knowing fully the potential risks and consequences a DPP victory might pose.

It is still too early to truly see whether the NSP will be a success or not. According to the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), in "…the first three quarters of 2017, trade, investment and financial activity between Taiwan and the region has risen, with inbound investment from NSP target countries up almost 25 percent by value..." from the previous year.[113] However, this could simply be due to economic growth in the Asian region rather than the success of the NSP. In addition, Taiwan will need to compete with and resist aggressive tactics by mainland China, who is "…now the top trading partner of every country in [the Asian region]."[114]

Creating New Values through Policy

While Tsai's government has consistently recoiled from implementation—or even any discussion—of independence from the mainland, it has begun paving the way towards a greatly

---

[112] Dou and Hsu
[113] Bonnie Glaser et al. "The New Southbound Policy: Deepening Taiwan's Regional Integration," *Center for Strategic & International Studies* (2018): https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/180113_Glaser_NewSouthboundPolicy_Web.pdf?F5YmxgSJTjWxHCHQr3J88zE.KkzVK5cv, 21
[114] Glaser, 23

different China-Taiwan dynamic. Though in the past year of Tsai's presidency relations between China and Taiwan have gotten seemingly worse, Tsai's government has started creating social change. Before any political reform can be truly supported, a social or cultural change must first take place. In the case of Taiwan, identity and politics go hand-in-hand—before Taiwan will be ready for independence, or even just full autonomy, from China it must first ensure it is culturally ready for such a leap. Tsai's government has been introducing more democratic policies than any other Taiwanese presidency. The more democratic, progressive and liberal Taiwanese become, the more of a chasm it will form between itself and Communist China.

Tsai has begun opening the minds of Taiwanese citizens since her inauguration through progressive political reform in various contexts. Most notably, she has changed the policy making process to improve transparency, worked to create inclusive policy for minorities, and created policy to reform labor laws amongst other things.

With issues concerning transparency, Tsai campaigned on the premise of rapid reform. Since Taiwan's first democratic, free election in 1996, the spirit and culture of democracy has spread throughout Taiwan. Taiwanese have since then used democracy as one of the many puzzle pieces to its identity—democracy has, in a sense, acted as one of Taiwan's key pieces in a separate sense of identity from the mainland.

According to the Taipei Times, in July 2017, Tsai addressed several key reforms. First, Tsai explained that transparency means accessibility. "Courtroom transparency" could be aided by "writing legal documents and reference books in modern, accessible Chinese", commented Lin Feng-jeng, the Deputy Executive Secretary.[115] In addition, courts have been ordered to make

[115] Chin, Jonathan. "Tsai Highlights Targets for Judicial Reform." *The Taipei* Times (July 11, 2017): http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2017/07/11/2003674315

"detailed proposals and clear timetables for implementation" accessible to the public.[116] Brookings Institute noted that "the debate of legislation now occurs regularly in LY committees whose proceedings are broadcast on live television."[117]

By proving to Taiwanese citizens that their democracy is stable, just, fair, and transparent, Tsai will bolster a Taiwanese identity that has proved itself rooted in democracy, while simultaneously proving its superiority to that of communist China. If Tsai were to fail to continue judicial reform that results in further acceleration of transparency, identity in Taiwan could wane.

In regards to inclusivity, Tsai Ing-wen is not only notable for her status as the first female president of Taiwan- she is also the first Taiwanese president of aboriginal descent.[118] As a result of her heritage, Tsai deeply understands the struggle of the aboriginal residents of Taiwan and has steadily worked to restore the aboriginal population's faith in the government. In August of 2016, Tsai became the first president in Taiwan to formally apologize to the aboriginal population of Taiwan. According to the Unrepresented Nations & Peoples Organization, of Taiwan's population of 23 million, about 540,000 or two percent are members of aboriginal communities.[119] Those of the earliest residents on the island have faced centuries of oppression and adversity from the Dutch, Japanese, and mainland China, as well as those who fled China during the Cultural Revolution. The identity created by these aboriginal populations has

---

[116] Chin
[117] Brown
[118] Umaima Ghori, "Tsai Ing-wen: The New Leader of Taiwan," *The NATO Association of Canada* (February 15, 2016): http://natoassociation.ca/tsai-ing-wen-the-new-leader-of-taiwan/
[119] Austin Ramzy, "Taiwan's President Apologizes to Aborigines for Centuries of Injustice," *The New York Times* (August 1, 2016): https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/02/world/asia/taiwan-aborigines-tsai-apology.html

consistently conflicted with the identity mainland Chinese brought to the island during the flee from Mao Zedong, as well as the identity the PRC has attempted to instill for decades.

In her apology, Tsai addressed the representatives of the 16 officially recognized indigenous groups of Taiwan.[120] "For 400 years, every regime that has come to Taiwan has brutally violated the rights of indigenous peoples through armed invasion and land seizure…", she offered.[121] "Another group of people arrived on these shores, and in the course of history, took everything from the first inhabitants who, on the land they have known most intimately, became displaced, foreign, non-mainstream and marginalized."[122] In 1945, the ROC "implemented assimilation policies that banned tribal languages…" and in 1982, the government attempted to store nuclear waste on an island inhabited by an aboriginal tribe, the Yami.[123] In addition to her official apology, Tsai has introduced several policies and institutions with the goal of restoring aboriginal faith in the government, including the introduction of an Indigenous Historical Justice and Transitional Justice Commission, an indigenous Legal Service Center, and government compensation to several aboriginal tribes for the injustices of the past.[124] This commission is meant to provide the indigenous peoples of Taiwan with a resource that can aid them in political and law-related issues. Tsai worked with leaders of indigenous tribes in order to craft this commission.

Tsai's interest in righting wrongs toward the aboriginal community is a genuine sign of her goal to create a Taiwanese identity separate from that of a Chinese identity. This is because,

---

[120] Ramzy
[121] Rosalie Chan, "Taiwan's President Apologizes to Indigenous People for Centuries of Abuse," *Times* (August 1, 2016): http://time.com/4433719/taiwan-president-tsai-ing-wen-apologizes-to-indigenous-people/
[122] Ramzy
[123] Chan
[124] Chan and Ramzy

previously, the aboriginal identity was overshadowed by an overwhelming Chinese identity. Minority identities in mainland China, such as the Uighurs, Mongolians, and Tibetans among others, are systematically oppressed and overshadowed by the Han Chinese majority. While the mainland continues this trend, Taiwan's progressive movement to include aboriginal populations in its identity and culture set it apart from China. Unfortunately, these is still skepticism regarding whether or not Tsai will continue to create progressive and inclusive policy.

President Tsai's focus on inclusivity doesn't stop short, however. Under her presidency, she has also focused increasingly on LGBTQA rights within Taiwan. In May of 2017, Taiwan's highest court "ruled that current law defining marriage as exclusively between a man and a woman was unconstitutional, paving the way for the first same-sex marriage law in Asia."[125] The court ruled that legislation was to "permit gay civil unions within two years." If it did not, then "same-sex couples could register to marry in any case."[126]

This is a huge movement as Asian countries such as the Philippines are majority Catholic and countries such as Indonesia and Malaysia have high populations of Muslims. More so, communist China's official China Netcasting Services Association released new regulation related to internet monitoring in 2017 which "lumps homosexuality in with sexual abuse and sexual violence as constituting an 'abnormal sexual relationship'."[127] Though the regulation sparked outrage both outside and within the country, Chinese officials "increasingly use new

---

[125] Te-Ping Chen, "Taiwan Sets Path to First Gay Marriage Law in Asia," *The Wall Street Journal* (May 24, 2017): https://www.wsj.com/articles/taiwan-sets-path-to-first-gay-marriage-law-in-asia-1495621735

[126] Chen

[127] Cheng Li and Xinyue Zhang, "Online Regulations and LGBT Rights: A Test for China's Legal System," Brookings Institute, last modified September 1, 2017. https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/online-regulations-and-lgbt-rights-a-test-for-chinas-legal-system/

laws and regulations to legitimize political control…".[128] According to Brookings Institute, "homosexuality was decriminalized…" in 1997 and removed from the Chinese Psychiatric Association's list of mental disorders in 2001.[129]

Unfortunately, this only furthers the identity gap already so present between Taiwan and the mainland. The tendency of democratic nations to pull towards human rights discourse effectively demonstrates Taiwan's growth in identity politics. As Taiwan becomes progressively liberal and the mainland seems to become increasingly authoritarian, it only separates the two further.

Tsai's Successes and Failures

So far, Tsai has used her presidency not to pursue independence from the PRC, but to create a semblance of balance between independence, autonomy, and unification. Rather than pursuing any concrete solution to the One China issue, her main goal, seems to be the development of Taiwanese identity as a tool for the future. Some experts believe "Tsai is pursuing Taiwanese independence under the (temporary) cover of the ROC, a strategy that may satisfy the United States but cannot win the trust of China."[130]

Despite Tsai's moderate approach, polls prove her to be highly unpopular. And despite her focus on Taiwanese identity, Tsai's other success have been overshadowed by perceived poor government performance, in part, stemming from political pressure by Beijing. In August of 2017, Tsai's overall approval rating sank below 30 percent, according to the Taipei Times, who cited the Taiwanese Public Opinion Foundation's poll. With regard to Tsai's other reforms

[128] Li
[129] Li
[130] Jiang

and policy, 54 percent were satisfied with the government's pension reform policy, 38.9 percent were satisfied with the Forward-looking Infrastructure Development program, 28.7 percent were satisfied with the judicial reform.[131] It would seem as though Tsai's approval rating relates back to her failures in her presidency. However, her unpopularity, in some respects may also influence the issue of Taiwanese identity. For example, could Tsai's failures to implement progressive policy revert Taiwanese popular opinion back to more conservative, and perhaps, more "mainland Chinese" values? Could the Taiwanese see success in CCP policy in light of the failure of Tsai's policy?

Although clearly Tsai's approval ratings are dismal and citizens are rather dissatisfied with her policy reform, that does not mean she has had no effect on the unleashing of identity in Taiwan. Her campaign originally sparked a new hope for the One China issue and brought Taiwanese identity to the forefront of Taiwanese consciousness. Despite Tsai's unpopularity regarding her government's policy reform and handling of Cross-strait relations, it could be said that while Tsai may not be the president Taiwan had hoped for—one who stabilized relations with the mainland, stood their ground for Taiwan, and brought formal recognition to the country's sovereignty— simply her election to president alone shows that Taiwanese are hemorrhaging national pride and unique identity and that they are willing to elect someone who they hope can provide. It is possible that her failures as president could encumber further development of Taiwanese identity. Unfortunately for Tsai, as within any democracy, popular support ebbs and flows almost daily and often expectations are high while patience is ruthlessly low. In addition, "her achievements will be measured in the short term by an increasingly

[131] Wei-han Chen, "Tsai's Approval Rating Sinks to new Low," *The Taipei Times* (August 15, 2017): http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2017/08/15/2003676552

belligerent Beijing and an increasingly disenfranchised electorate.".[132] It would seem Tsai's unpopularity, as well as increasing tension and hardships concerning cross-Strait relations—which have resulted from her cross-Strait policy— have undermined the strength and credibility of independence movements in Taiwan.

[132] Sheryn Lee, "Tsai's Mid-Term Blues," *East Asia Forum* (October 26, 2017): http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2017/10/26/tsais-mid-term-blues/

Chapter 4

Taiwanese Identity Survey

This chapter examines and explains the data collected from an English/Mandarin, fifteen-question survey that I created and sent exclusively to Taiwanese citizens. My goal was to try to understand Taiwanese identity from a more individual and personal perspective. The anonymous survey, which was sent out on 1 January 2018, received 100 responses from Taiwanese citizens by 28 January 2018. The data shows the participants were of various ages, backgrounds, and education levels.

Questions, Reasoning and Logistics

The survey contained 15 questions in total, both in English and Mandarin. I limited the survey to 15 questions in order to encourage participants to complete it. In addition, I translated the survey questions from English to Chinese to ensure all participants could understand the questions without language barriers. Anonymity was also key. Some of the questions concerned personal beliefs that participants might not feel comfortable to share freely. For this reason, I kept the survey anonymous to ensure all participants comfort, safety and ability to speak freely. The first five questions aim to establish demographic information, while the remaining ten questions will delve into the participant's beliefs regarding identity and cross-strait relations. Some questions are relatively similar in meaning but worded differently as a method to see how question wording can affect the participant's response and interpretation of the question. Finally,

this survey is meant to determine whether or not my hypothesis that Taiwanese identity has affected cross-strait relations.

Question 1: Were you born in Taiwan? / 請問你是在台灣出生的嗎？

This question was demographics based. How many participants were born in Taiwan compared to how many were not could severely affect the data results. Participants were only able to answer "Yes / 是" or "No / 否" to this question.

Question 2: Did you grow up most of your childhood in Taiwan? / 請問你是在台灣長大的嗎？ If not, where did you grow up? / 如果你不是在台灣長大，請問你是在哪裡長大？

This demographics-based question is one of the most interesting because it could play a huge role in a participant's responses. For example, if a participant were Taiwanese but grew up overseas most of their life, they might not be fully immersed and in-tune with the issues occurring in Taiwan. In addition, they might offer a unique, outsider perspective to the survey data—identifying with Taiwan as their home, but understanding the issues Taiwan faces in a more distanced manner. Participants were able to answer only "Yes / 是" or "No / 否". If the participant answered "No", they were asked to list the country/countries they grew up in. Could growing up outside of Taiwan soften a participant's view regarding their personal identity and cross-strait relations?

Question 3: What type of school did you attend? / 請問你曾經就讀的學校是屬於哪一種學校？

This question was also aimed towards collecting demographic information. Education could be a potential factor in establishing beliefs. Participants could choose between "Local public school in Taiwan / 公立學校在台灣.", "Local private school in Taiwan /私立學校在台灣", "International school in Taiwan / 國際在台灣" or "Other / 其他的". They were able to select all that applied to their individual background. How might a Taiwanese public school teach subjects like Taiwanese history or politics differently than a Taiwanese private school or even an international school located outside of Taiwan? Could a certain type of education influence a person's opinions and views differently than another type of education?

Question 4: What age range are you in? / 請問你的年齡符合下列哪一個選項？

This question was meant to help with understanding generational changes in beliefs. Older Taiwanese participants of the survey might have different views regarding identity than younger participants. The survey answers grouped ages as "17-21 years old", "22-30 years old", "30-50 years old", or "51+". Participants could only select one age group. Could older Taiwanese identify more with China and have a higher regard for relations with China than younger participants?

Question 5: How do you identify politically? / 請問你的政治傾向是屬於下列哪個選項？

This question was the final demographics based question on the survey. Political values can drastically influence a participant's views on identity on cross-strait relations. As noted throughout the previous chapters, the KMT party tends to take a more pro-China stance while the DPP party does not. In addition, there are other smaller, under-represented political parties that might also affect political and cultural values. Participants were allowed to only select one

answer, with the choice of “DPP / 民進黨”, “KMT / 國民黨”, “None / 皆否 ”, “Prefer not to say / 不想說”, and “Other / 其他”. And what about those Taiwanese who don’t find satisfaction in any political party’s ideals? How might political affiliation affect a person’s view on their identity and Taiwan’s relationship with China?

Question 6: How would you say relations are between China and Taiwan currently? / 請問你覺得台灣和中國的關係為何？

Participants were asked here to give a numerical value to how they believed relations between the mainland and Taiwan were currently. Participants used a scale from 1 to 10, with 1 being “Extremely poor / 極差” and 10 being “Extremely good / 極好”, to rate relations. This question on its own is important, but when filtered using demographic information it can lead to clues about how background affect Taiwanese citizen’s views on identity and cross-strait relations. Do KMT sympathizers, who generally prefer closer ties with the mainland feel that cross-strait relations are currently more poor than DPP sympathizers?

Question 7: How would you identify yourself? / 請問你認定自己為下列哪一個選項？

Of central relevance to this thesis, this question reveals vital information between a person’s self-proclaimed identity and their other demographic and political data. Participants could select only one answer between “Chinese only / 中國人”, “Taiwanese only / 台灣人”, “Both Chinese and Taiwanese / 同時為中國人和台灣人”, or “Other / 其他 （ 請列出 ）”. Without any demographic filters, the responses could reveal how Taiwanese generally feel.

With demographic filters, could age or political affiliation show a relationship with how Taiwanese identify?

Question 8: Which of the following do you support? / 請問你同意下列哪一個選項？

In this question, participants were asked to choose whether they support "Unification with China / 台灣與中國統一", "Independence from China / 台灣獨立", or "Autonomy from China / 台灣為自治區". This question is closely tied to political views but could also be interesting to view in tangent with Question 6 regarding how the individual feels about current relations between the mainland and Taiwan. Do individual's answers for this question line up with their political affiliation? Does a person's identity affect their answer to this question?

Question 9: Please briefly explain your answer to Question 8. /请解释问题 8 的答案（为什么选择你选择的答案？）.

This question aims to collect more intimate insight into why the individual supports the answer they chose in the previous question.

Question 10: Do you support Tsai Ing-Wen's presidency? / 請問你支持蔡英文當總統嗎？

Another question meant to get into how identity and political affiliation are intertwined and if they truly affect a person's views on cross-Strait relations. Participants were asked to place a numerical value from 1 to 10 on their support for Tsai Ing-Wen. 1 represented "Do not support at all / 完全不支持" while 10 represented "Completely support / 完全支持". Two years

into Tsai's presidency, do Taiwanese citizens still support their elected president? Does the survey data support Chapter 3 in regards to Tsai's dismal approval ratings?

Question 11: How do you generally feel toward Tsai Ing-Wen's policy regarding China? / 請問你支不支持蔡英文的兩岸政策？

This question relates to both Question 10, Question 8, and Question 6. The respondents were asked to rate their feelings toward Tsai's policy towards the mainland on a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being "Strongly disagree /完全不支持" and 10 being "Completely support /完全支持".

Are the respondents answers consistent with the previous questions inquiring as to their political affiliation, standing and values? Are there any inconsistencies? What might the similarities between each of these questions reveal?

Question 12: Would you prefer closer ties with China? / 請問你更希望中國與台灣有親近關係嗎？

Another question aimed at revealing any inconsistences or correlations in the participant's responses. Participants were able to answer only "Yes /是" or "No / 否" to ensure clarity and "choosing a side", so to speak. The issue, in reality, is colluded in gray area and not necessarily a clear-cut answer; however, the importance of this question is that when given a black-and-white answer choice, where do Taiwanese stand?

Question 13: Can you speak Taiwanese? /請問你會講閩南語（台語）嗎？

This question, as well as the next two, attempt to expose any potential connections between language and identity. Participants were able to choose from one of the three following

answers: “Yes /會說台語”, “No /不會說台語” or “A little / 一點點”. Do Taiwanese citizens feel an implicit connect between Taiwanese language and identity? How intertwined are the two? Do the participants who support Taiwanese independence or even autonomy speak Taiwanese? Even more interestingly, what is the correlation between those who support the reunification of Taiwan and China who speak Taiwanese?

Question 14: Where do you speak Taiwanese? / 請選擇下列任何符合你說台語的情況？

In relation to the previous question, this question was meant to understand how Taiwanese is used among Taiwanese citizens in order to further grasp how Taiwanese language connects to identity. Participants were able to select any of the following answers that applied to them: “At home / 在家說台語”, “At work /工作場合說台語”, “In public /在公眾場合說台語”, “I do not speak Taiwanese / 我不會說台語”, or “I choose not to speak Taiwanese /我選擇不說台語”. Do Taiwanese citizens use Taiwanese language in all aspects of life? Or only in some?

Question 15: Should all Taiwanese citizens be able to speak Taiwanese fluently? /請問你覺得台灣人應不應該要會說流利的閩南語（台語）？

This was the final question of the survey. Again, this question was closely related to the last two in order to understand whether or not there is a connection between Taiwanese and Taiwan identity. Participants were only able to answer “Yes /是” or “No /否”. When used in tangent with the demographic questions, such as age or political affiliation, this question might

be useful in understanding how demographic can affect the connection between language and identity.

Demographics of the Responders

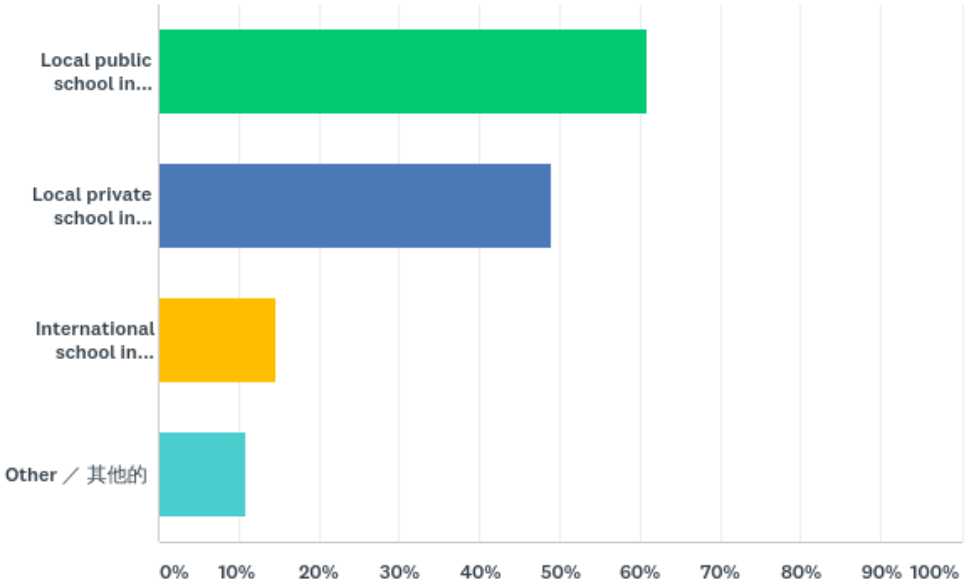
The survey received 102 responses from Taiwanese nationals within a one month period. The respondents were of various ages, upbringing and educational background which allowed for a comprehensive demographic review.

Of the 102 responses, 90.2 percent were born in Taiwan. Only ten participants were born outside of Taiwan. 89.22 percent of the respondents were raised solely in Taiwan. The other eleven participants, who were not raised solely in Taiwan, were then asked to specify the places they grew up. Overwhelmingly, the respondents who grew up outside of Taiwan still were raised in an Asian country. One respondent grew up in Dubai, one in Vietnam, one in mainland China, two participants grew up in Singapore, four participants grew up in Hong Kong, and finally, two participants grew up in the United States. From this sample of participants, I hope to distinguish if there are any differences in opinion regarding identity and politics of Taiwanese who grew up within and out of Taiwan.

Next, participants were asked about their general educational background. Of the 102 participants, 60.78 percent, or 62 respondents attended a local public school located in Taiwan. Nearly half the participants, 49.02 percent, attended a local private school in Taiwan. A small, but significant portion of the responders, 14.71 percent, attended an international school located in Taiwan. Finally, almost 11 percent, or 11 respondents, of the survey participants selected "Other / 其他的" as their schooling. These respondents were asked to specify the type of school they attended and in what country, if outside of Taiwan. These participants all attended private

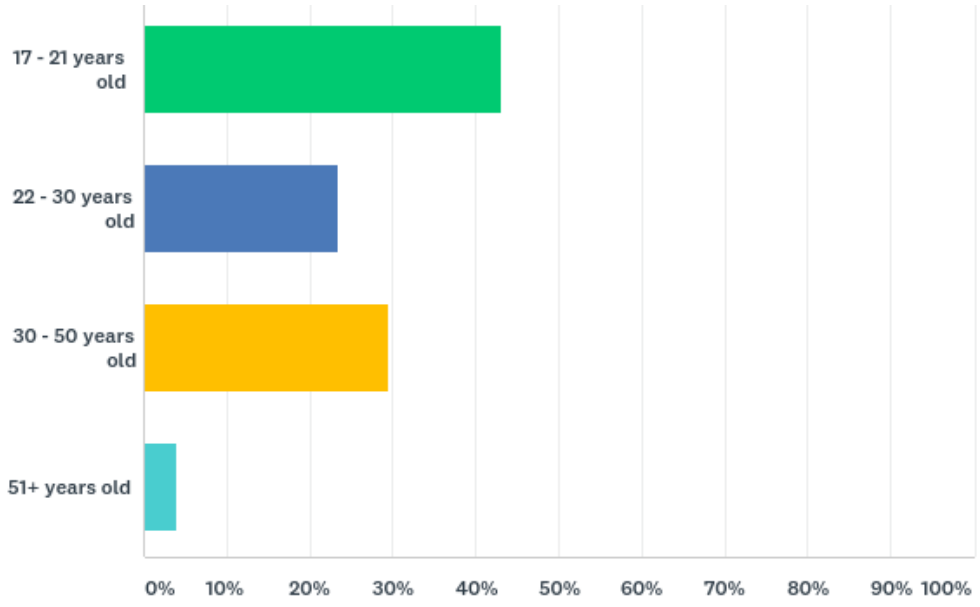
schools in various countries. Because 11 participants specified they grew up outside of Taiwan, and 11 respondents specified they attended a different school than the answer possibilities in the survey, it can be assumed that these are the same respondents.

Figure 1: Education Background of Participants



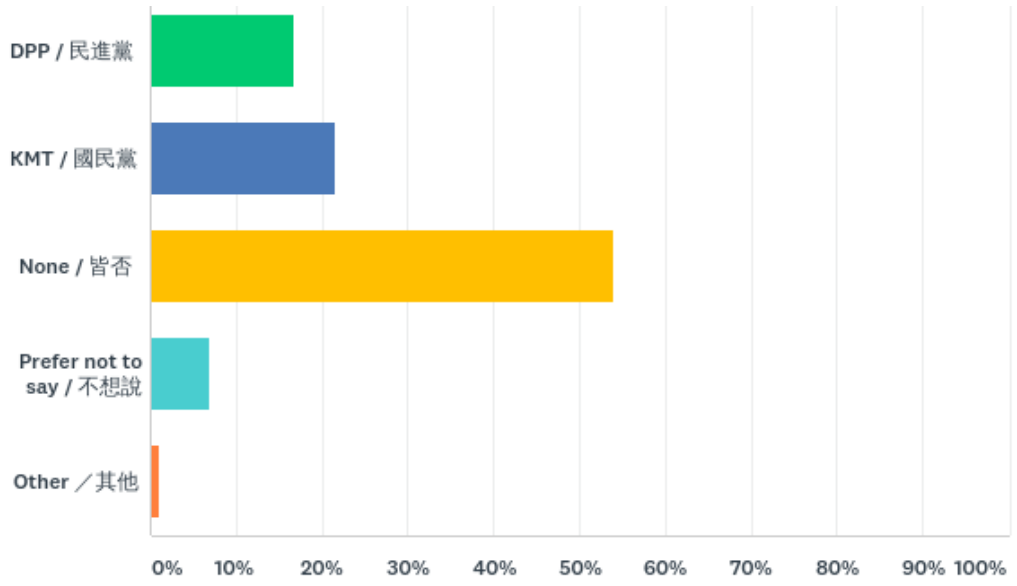
The survey revealed that 43.14 percent, 44 participants, of the survey participants were in the age group 17 – 21. This is understandable in regards to the fact that the survey was largely sent directly to university-aged Taiwanese citizens, who were then asked to forward the survey on to family members from different age ranges. The next largest demographic of responders was the 30 – 50 year-old age range. This demographic took 29.41 percent, 30 contributors, of the total survey respondents. The third largest demographic was the 22 – 30 year-old age range, which accounted for 23.53 percent or 24 of the respondents. A mere 3.92 percent, four participants, were over the age of 51.

Figure 2: Age Dispersion of Participants



The final demographic question was regarding political affiliation. Of the 102 participants, the majority somewhat surprisingly identified with no political party. 53.92 percent, 55 contributors, of the survey population chose "None / 皆否" when asked to choose a political identity. The next majority, again somewhat surprisingly, was the 21.57 percent, 22 participants, who identified as KMT supporters. Next, 16.67 percent, or 17 respondents, identified as DPP sympathizers. A small percentage, 6.86, selected the option "Prefer not to say /不想說". Only one respondent selected the "Other / 其他的" option, and specified their political affiliation as "中立偏保守派" or the "Neutral Conservatives".

Figure 3: Political Affiliation of Participants



Overall, the participant sample pool was relatively diverse and the population size relatively large given the minimal amount of time the survey was able to percolate. The average time each participant took to fill out the survey was a mere three minutes and 58 seconds.

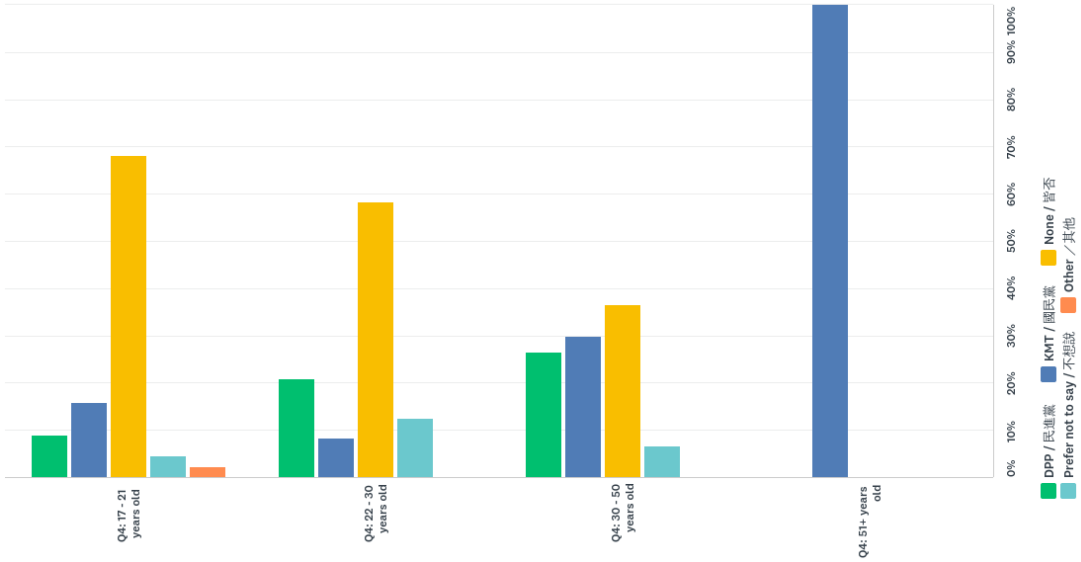
Responses by Age

As mentioned in the demographic section of this chapter, the majority of participants, 44, were in the 17 – 21 year old age range. This was not only the largest age group, but also the youngest. For the purpose of this thesis, the 17 -21 age group will be referred to as Age Group 1 The next age group, the 22 – 30 age group, had only 24 participants and from here on will be referred to as Age Group 2. The next age group were those respondents who were 30 – 50 years old, while the final age group was those who were 51 and over. These will be referred to as Age Group 3 and Age Group 4 respectively.

Political Identity

Interestingly, both Age Group 1 and 2 selected they had no political affiliations. 30 of the 44 respondents in Age Group 1 did not affiliate with any political party located in Taiwan, while 14 of 22 participants in Age Group 2 answered in the same way. Four participants of Age Group 1 identified as DPP supports, while seven identified as supporters of the KMT party. On the other hand, five participants of Age Group 2 identified as DPP supporters and only two identified as KMT supporters. This is an interesting occurrence in the data because during the 2016 Tsai presidential campaign, the younger generation primarily supported Tsai and the DPP party. This survey was sent during January of 2018 and as such could give insight to shifting political views since Tsai's election. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Tsai's approval ratings now almost two years into her presidency are dismal at best and as such the thesis could simply be reflecting the shift from hopeful support, to the reality of political views and democracy. Only two participants of Age Group 1 preferred not to disclose their political affiliation in the survey, while Age Group 2 was more conservative in their disclosure with 3 respondents preferring not to say. The singular respondent of the entire 102 sample pool of Age Group 1 who responded with the "Other / 其他的" option as Neutral Conservative was in this age.

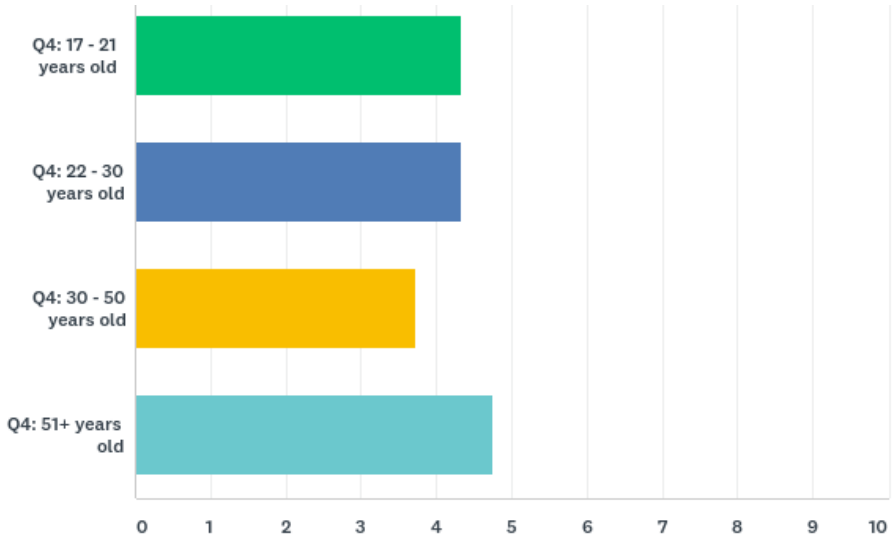
Figure 4: Political Affiliation by Age Group



Political Views: Relations with the Mainland

When Age Group 1 was asked to give a rating of current relations between Taiwan and the mainland, they responded overall unfavorably with the average rating on a scale of 1 to 10 coming out to 4.34. Much like Age Group 1, Age Group 2 responded "poorly" with an average of 4.33. In Age Group 2, the highest rating on the number scale was a 7, with only 3 of the 44 respondents choosing this option. In Age Group 2, the highest rating was a 6, with 3 respondents choosing this option. In Age Group 1, the highest percentage of respondents, 38.6 percent, voted relations were at a 5, or simply "Okay". Similarly, 41.67 percent of respondents believed relations were "Okay".

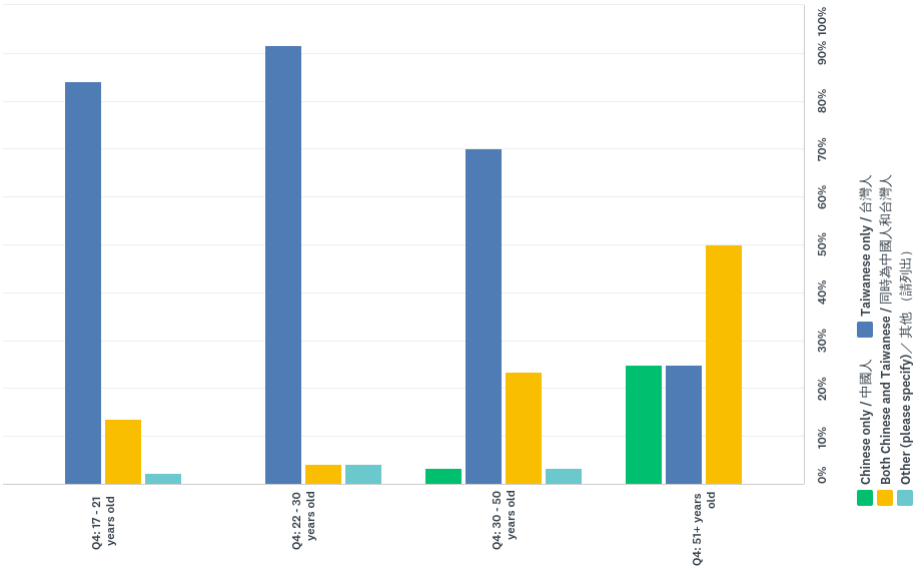
Figure 5: Relations with China by Age Group



Identity Politics: Taiwanese vs. Chinese

Of the 102 respondents Age Group 1, 84 percent identified as Taiwanese only and 13.64 percent, identified as both Taiwanese and Chinese. Similarly, in Age Group 2, 91.67 percent of respondents said they identified as Taiwanese only, while only one respondent identified as both. This is highly supportive of the idea that younger generations feel more strongly about their identity as Taiwanese. It also interestingly relates to ideas of increasing nationalism amongst nations in the democratic world.

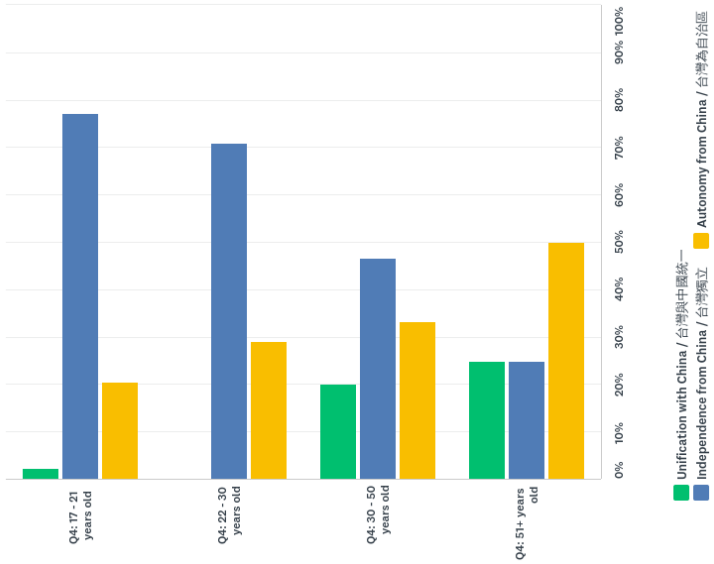
Figure 6: Personal Identity by Age Group



Political Views: The Presidency and Policy

Most importantly, of Age Group 1, 77 percent of respondents supported full independence from China, 20 percent supported autonomy from China and only 2 percent or a single respondent supported unification with the mainland. Similarly, Age Group 2 responded with a 70.83 percent support of full independence from the mainland, while 29.17 percent supported autonomy from the mainland. No respondents in Age Group 2 supported unification with China.

Figure 7: Supported Action Towards China by Age Group



Overall, Age Group 1, stayed consistent in their responses to the various political questions. Their average rating of Tsai's presidency is a mere 4.27 while their general feelings of support for her policy averaged out to 4.14 approval. Interestingly, while Age Group 2 believed relations with the mainland were at a 4.34, their average approval rating for Tsai and her policy was slightly higher than Age Group 1's at 5.08 for both. 72 percent of Age Group 1 would prefer closer ties with the mainland. Even more interestingly, Age Group 2 was split exactly 50 percent as to whether or not they would prefer closer ties with the mainland. Unfortunately, these ratings simply bring to light the already existing flaws and problems Taiwanese people feel their country is experiencing rather than providing constructive solution.

Figure 8: Support for Tsai's Presidency by Age Group

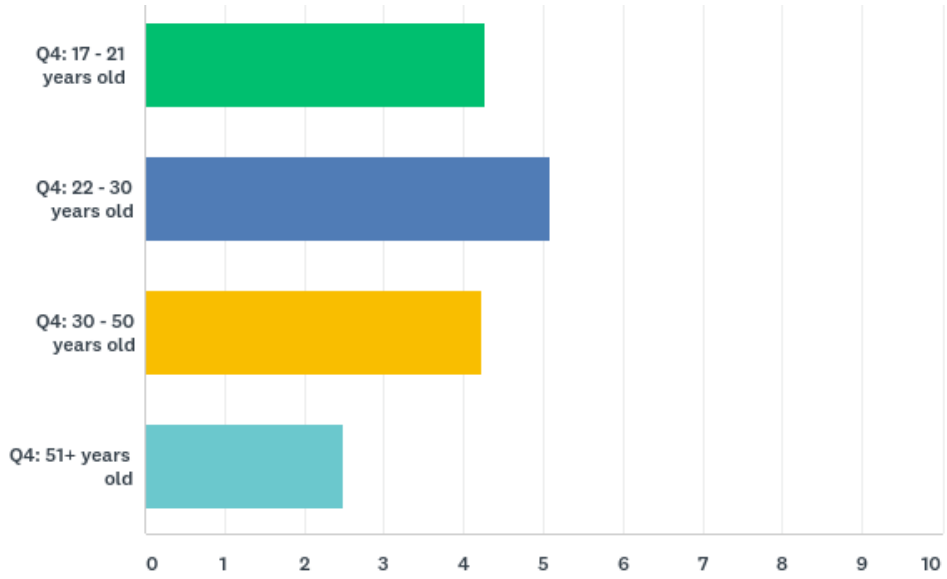
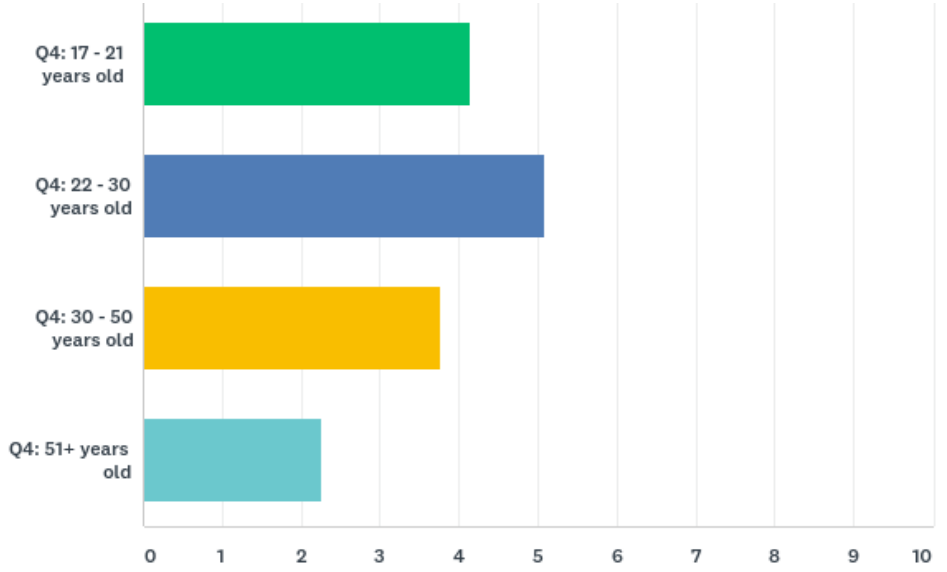


Figure 9: Support for Tsai's Policy Regarding China by Age Group

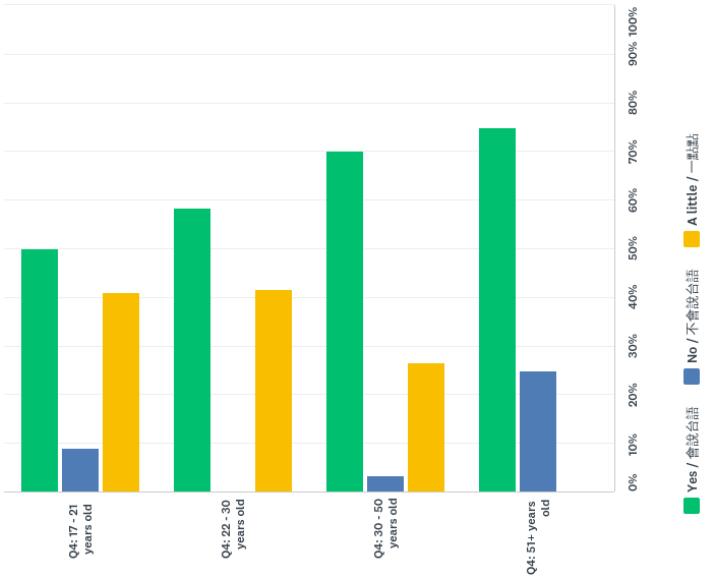


Language Politics: Taiwanese vs. Mandarin

Regarding Taiwanese identity and its connection to language, of the youngest age group exactly 50 percent could speak Taiwanese fluently, while 40 percent said they could speak only a little Taiwanese. Four participants of Age Group 1, or 9.09 percent could not speak any Taiwanese. In Age Group 2, 58.33 percent said they could speak Taiwanese, while 41.67

percent said they spoke only a little. Every respondent in this group was able to speak Taiwanese.

Figure 10: Able to Speak Taiwanese by Age Group

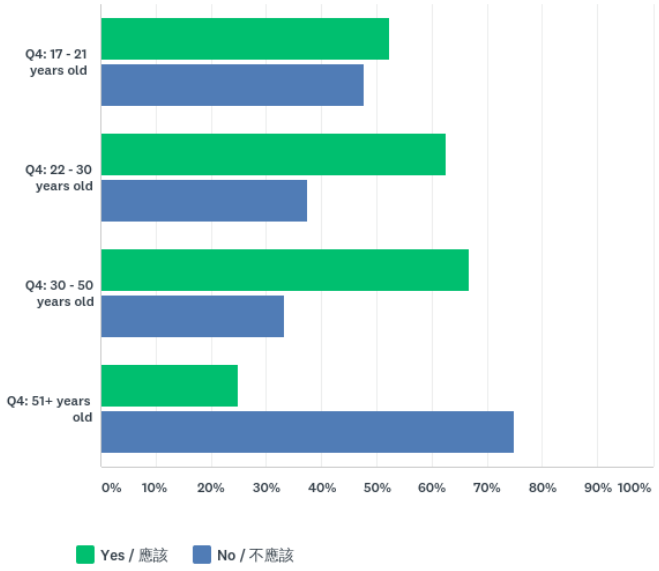


The majority of Age Group 1, 63.64 percent admitted to speaking Taiwanese primarily in the home. Comparatively, Age Group 2 spoke Taiwanese at home 58.33 percent of the time, less than that of Age Group 1. 9.09 percent of Age Group 1 respondents admitted they choose not to speak Taiwanese, preferring Mandarin Chinese or English over Taiwanese. 40 percent of the respondents in Age Group 1 speak Chinese in public and only 20 percent said they used Taiwanese in their work place. This could be a slight anomaly however, because this age group is in fact the youngest and may not be working. Age Group 2 spoke Taiwanese at work at a percentage of 29.17, while only 4.17 said they chose not to speak Taiwanese.

With regard to whether or not Taiwanese citizens should be able to speak Taiwanese, Age Group 1 was rather evenly split with 52.27 percent saying they should speak Taiwanese fluently and 47.73 percent believing Taiwanese do not need to be able to speak Taiwanese

language. On the other hand, Age Group 2 seemed more definitive in that 62.5 percent of respondents thought all Taiwanese should be able to speak Taiwanese.

Figure 11: Feelings Towards Fluency in Taiwanese by Age Group



Politics and Taiwan-Mainland Relationships

The next demographic responses I will be analyzing from the survey is political affiliation. As mentioned in the demographic section of this chapter, respondents were asked to choose one of a variety of answers regarding political affiliation, to include: DPP, KMT, None, Prefer Not to Say, and Other.

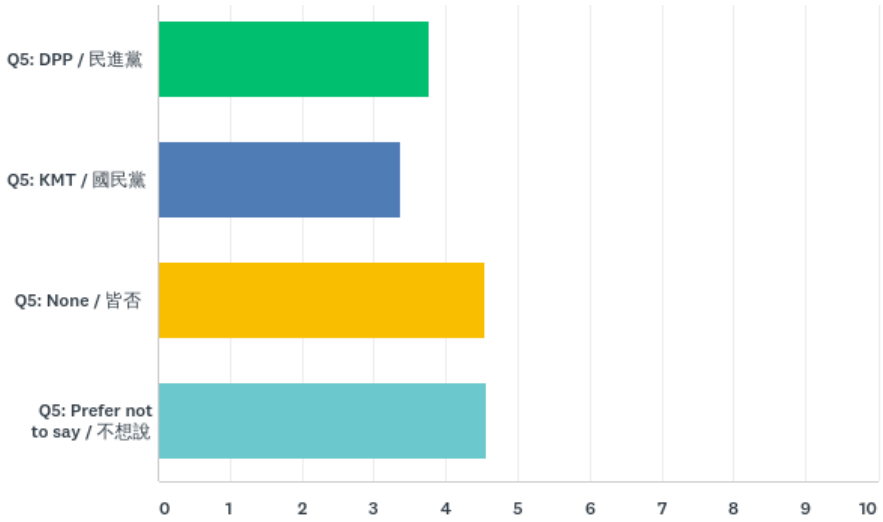
Starting with the minority, seven of the 100 respondents answered that they prefer not to divulge their political preferences. This option was provided to respondents in hopes to ensure all participants felt comfortable throughout the survey. Unfortunately, this does not provide much insight into how political affiliation may or may not influence identity. Interestingly, however, the respondents who preferred not to discuss their political affiliation did not belong to a specific age group. Rather, they spanned from the youngest age group, 17-21, to the second

oldest age group, 30-50. Next, 17 respondents of the 102 identified as DPP respondents, this was relatively surprising since the 2016 election saw the victory of Tsai and the DPP party. The KMT party saw slightly more support in the survey participants with 22 participants noting they supported the KMT, who traditionally have held much of the political power in Taiwan. Finally, and most interestingly, over half of the survey participants—55 – said they did not consider themselves to be a supporter of any Taiwanese political party.

Political Views: Relations with the Mainland

In regards to the current standing of relations between Taiwan and China, the KMT supporters had the most dismal opinion at 3.36 out of 10. Next, DPP supporters rated relations as only slightly higher at 3.76 of 10. Those who identified with no political party in Taiwan said, on average, relations were at a 4.53 of 10. The highest rating came from those who said they preferred not to say their political affiliation with a rating of 4.57 of 10. Needless to say, this data is interesting in regard to the fact that both KMT and DPP viewed relations as poor between Taiwan and China. Potentially, the KMT supporters could view relations as poor because of the current DPP administration's policies regarding China. On the other hand, DPP supporters might view relations as poor due to disagreement with the Tsai administration's policy or lack of change since Tsai's election in January of 2016.

Figure 12: Relations by Political Affiliation

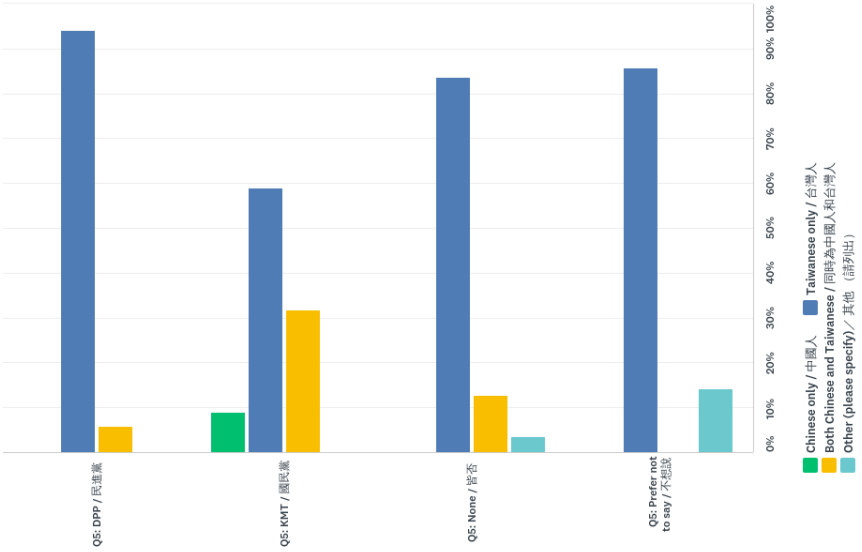


Identity Politics: Taiwanese vs. Chinese

The question regarding how participants identified offered an interesting insight into political affiliation and identity. Of the seven respondents in the demographic that preferred not to disclose their political views, six identified as Taiwanese only. The single respondent answered they identified as "Chinese American". Not surprisingly, the vast majority of those who identified as DPP supporters identified as only Taiwanese. In addition, 46 of the 55 respondents who did not identify with any political party identified as Taiwanese only. Seven of those 55 identified as both Taiwanese and Chinese. Overall, as seen in Figure 13, those who identified as DPP, No Political Affiliation, or Prefer Not to Say were nearly even in their averages of those who regarded themselves to be Taiwanese only. Also, of those who described themselves as having no political affiliation, they seemed to be the most neutral regarding their national identity as they had the highest rate of answering "Both Chinese and Taiwanese". Those who regarded themselves as KMT supporters had the highest number of those who felt

they were both Chinese and Taiwanese and they were the only group to have any who felt they were only Chinese.

Figure 13: Personal Identity by Political Affiliation

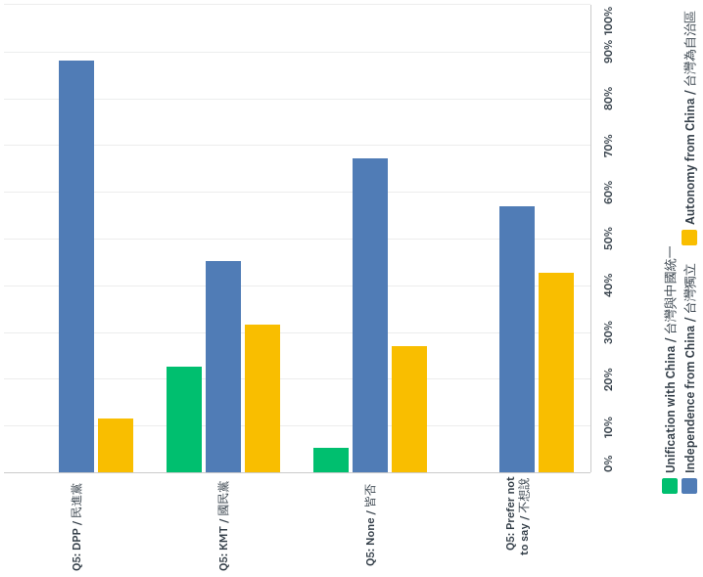


Political Support: The Presidency and Policy

Next, the data revealed that political affiliation influenced participant's opinions on policy and course of action regarding China. Of the 17 total DPP supporters, 15, or 88.24 percent, wanted complete independence from the mainland, while only two participants thought autonomy from China was an appropriate course of action. No DPP supporters wanted reunification with China. The 22 KMT affiliates were more split over what they felt was appropriate. Five of the 22, or 22.73 percent, supported reunification with the mainland, an obvious difference compared to the DPP supporters. The slight majority of KMT supporters, or 10 of 22, still supported full independence from China. However, seven of 22 KMT supporters believed that autonomy from the mainland would be best. This is a marked difference from the DPP supporters who nearly all supported total independence. Of the 55 participants who identified with no particular political party, 37, or 67.27 percent, supported full independence

from the mainland. Comparatively, 88.24 percent of DPP sympathizers supported independence from the mainland. 15 of the 55 non-affiliated participants chose autonomy from China as their preferred course of action, and finally, only 3 participants chose they supported reunification. The last group, those who preferred not to disclose their political affiliation, were split almost evenly between independence and autonomy from the mainland. Four of the seven answered that they preferred independence, while three said they supported autonomy.

Figure 14: Supported Action Towards China by Political Affiliation



The data also stayed relatively consistent through the questions regarding support towards Tsai's presidency and Tsai's policy regarding China. Feelings regarding Tsai's policy towards China nearly matched political affiliation and support rating for Tsai, though most felt slightly less supportive of Tsai's policy than of her presidency. Overall, supporters of the DPP, Tsai's political party, had the highest ratings of approval for both Tsai's presidency as well as her policy regarding the mainland. When asked to rate their support of Tsai's presidency on a scale of 1 to 10, DPP affiliated participants rated their support for Tsai's presidency at an average of 7.59 of 10. DPP supporters were slightly less supportive of Tsai's policy with a full

one-point drop in support from 7.59 (support for presidency) to 6.59 (support for policy). On the other hand, KMT participants spared little feeling regarding their support for Tsai with an extremely poor approval rating of 2.23. KMT supporters felt even less impressed with Tsai's policy regarding the mainland, rating their support for her policy at a mere average of 1.95 out of 10. Those who did not identify with any political party— the majority— averaged out at a support rating of 4.29 of 10, with the majority of participants, 29 of 55, describing their feelings for Tsai's presidency at a 5 out of 10. Interestingly, this was the only group who rated their support for Tsai's presidency as lower than their support for her China policy. Their approval rating of her policy averaged out to 4.38 of 10, just a .09 difference from their 4.29 approval rating of her presidency. Those participants who preferred not to disclose their political preferences gave Tsai an average support rating of 4.0 of 10 while their approval rating of her China policy was slightly lower at 3.71.

Figure 15: Support for Tsai's Presidency by Political Affiliation

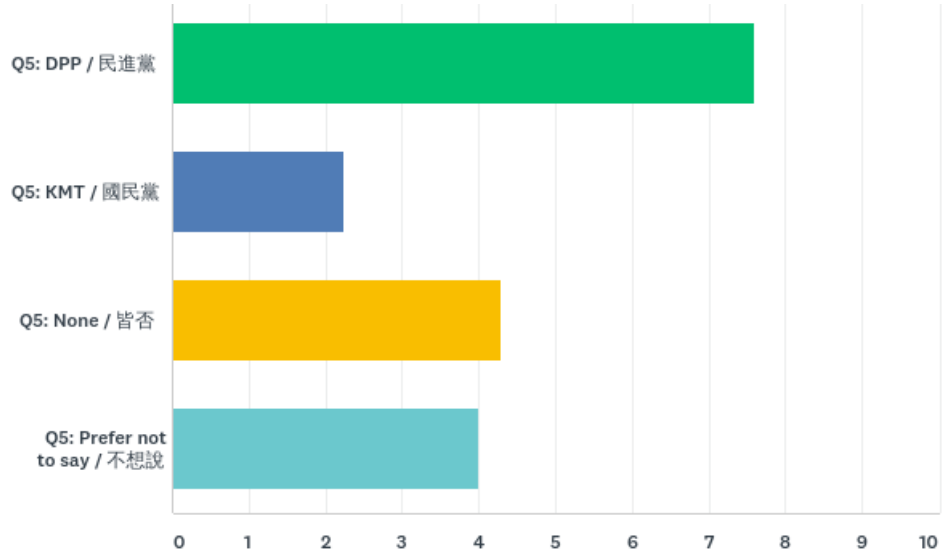
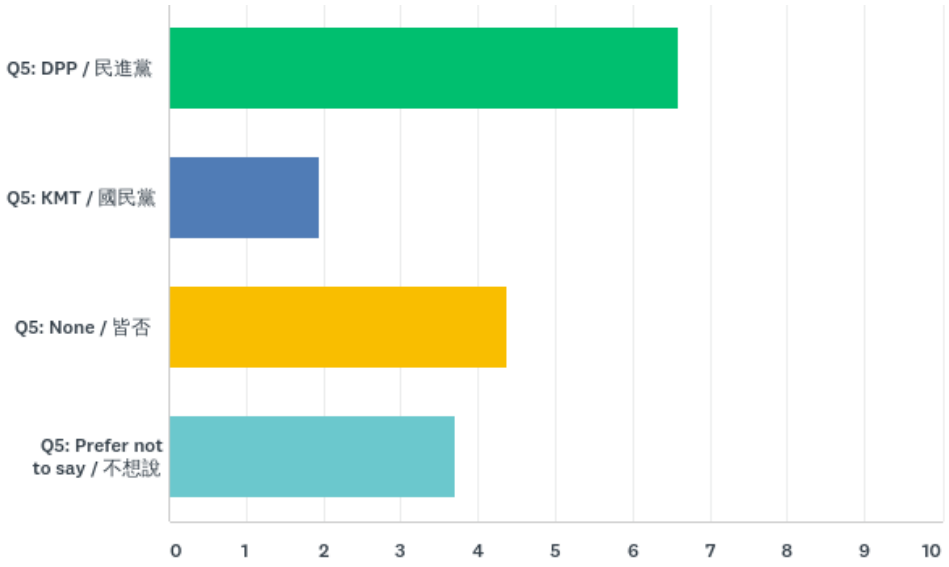


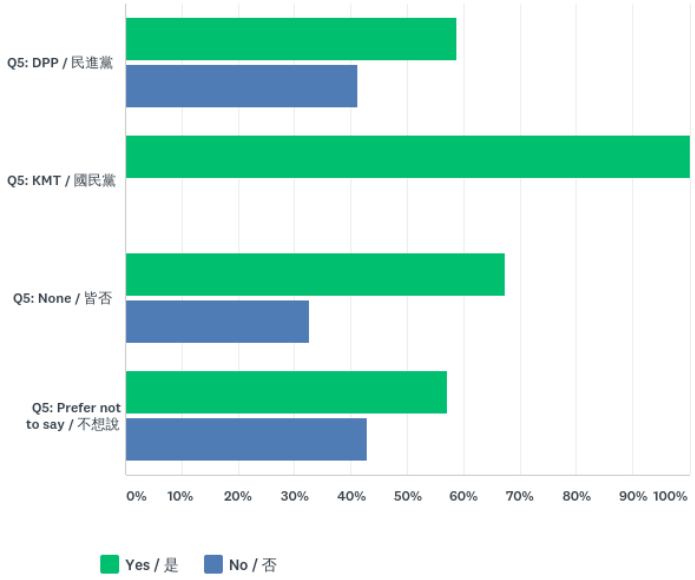
Figure 16: Support for Tsai's Policy Regarding China by Political Affiliation



Relations with the Mainland

When participants were asked if they would prefer closer ties with the mainland, the results reflected ideas mentioned earlier in this thesis. While Taiwanese identity is developing and many Taiwanese would prefer complete independence from China, Taiwanese still would prefer to keep close and positive ties with the mainland. Many Taiwanese fear poor ties with the mainland might result in economic devastation. 10 of the 17 participants who identified as DPP supporters said they would prefer closer ties with the mainland, while the other seven said they would not. 100 percent of the 22 KMT supporters said they would prefer closer ties with the mainland, reflecting their party's general ideology. Next, of those who did not affiliate with any political party, 37 of 55 said they would prefer closer ties with the mainland while only 18 said they would not. Finally, those who did not disclose their political preference were nearly evenly split with four of seven saying they would like closer ties with China, while three of the seven would not.

Figure 17: Prefer Closer Ties with Mainland by Political Affiliation

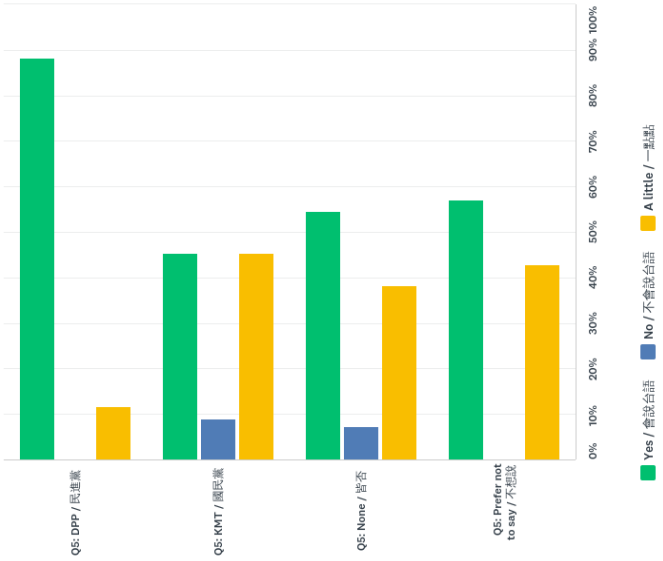


Language Politics: Taiwanese vs. Mandarin

As in the age demographic analysis, language can be closely tied with identity and as such I will be using the political affiliation demographic to analyze how each group feels regarding 台語*: taiyu*, or the Taiwanese language. The DPP affiliated group had the highest percentage of Taiwanese speakers at 88.24 percent, or 15 of 17 DPP supporters. The other two participants said they spoke only a little. The KMT supporters had the lowest percentage of those who could speak Taiwanese at just 45.45 percent, or 10 of 22. Two KMT supporters admitted they could not speak any Taiwanese and the last 10 of the 22 said they could speak only a little Taiwanese. Of those who reported no political affiliation, 30 of 55 said they could speak Taiwanese, while 21 said they could speak a little and only four reported they could speak no Taiwanese. Once again, the group of survey participants who did not divulge their political preferences were split four and three of seven. Four answered they could speak Taiwanese and

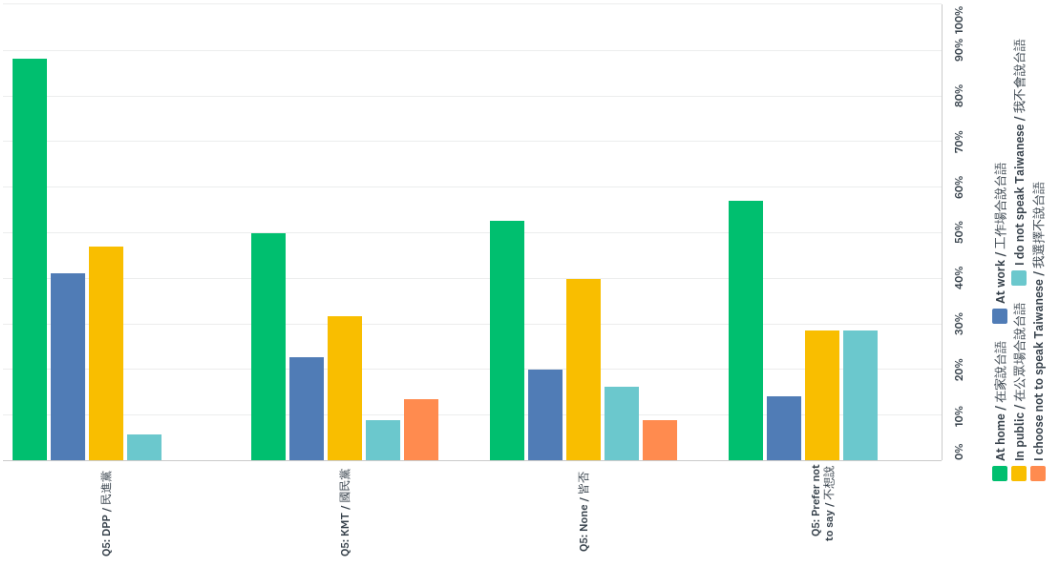
three answered they could speak only a little. Overall, these results could reflect the DPP's close sense of nationality as Taiwanese and their language.

Figure 18: Able to Speak Taiwanese by Political Affiliation



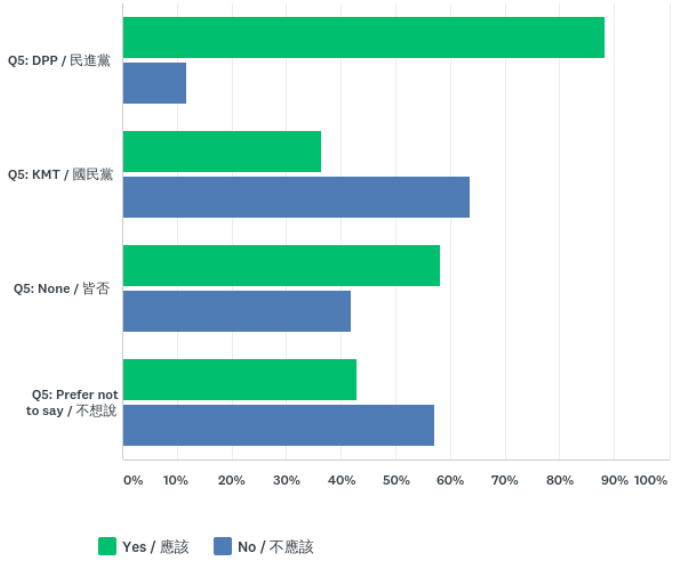
Another interesting trend that occurred in the data when filtered by political affiliation was those who answered they chose not to speak Taiwanese. Not one of the 17 DPP supporters said that they *chose* not to speak Taiwanese. However, of the 22 KMT supporters, three survey participants noted that they chose not to speak Taiwanese. In addition, of the 55 participants who preferred no political party, five also said they chose not to speak Taiwanese. Once again, it seems that the strong sense of "Taiwanese-ness" attached to the DPP party's political values is reflected in terms of identity throughout the survey. In the figure below, note the orange column, which depicts those who chose not to speak Taiwanese.

Figure 19: Where Taiwanese is Spoken by Political Affiliation



The final question filtered by political identity that saw interesting trends was whether or not Taiwanese citizens should be able to fluently speak 台語. Once again, DPP values were evident in the survey data as 15 of the 17 DPP affiliates said they felt all Taiwanese citizens should be able to speak Taiwanese fluently. Surprisingly, 14 of the 22 KMT supporters felt Taiwanese citizens should not be expected to speak Taiwanese fluently. Only eight of the KMT supporters felt Taiwanese should speak 台語 fluently. Those who did not identify with any political party were split, with 58.18 percent answering yes and 41.82 percent saying they felt it was unnecessary for Taiwanese to be expected to speak Taiwanese fluently.

Figure 20: Feelings Towards Fluency in Taiwanese by Political Affiliation



Potential Weaknesses

While the questions in my survey were intended to extract as much genuine truth as possible regarding Taiwanese identity and Taiwanese citizens' feelings regarding the mainland, there was still potential for error. I will recognize and discuss, in this portion of the chapter, four potential weaknesses in the survey and data. First, the questions were created in English and then translated from English to Chinese by myself. The English and Mandarin translations were then checked by a native Mandarin and English as a Second Language speaker to ensure as much accuracy as possible. Unfortunately, English to Mandarin translations are not always perfect translations in regard to meaning. The meaning of a particular question in English might be able to be translated into Mandarin in multiple ways with their implicit meanings slightly varied, yet this subtlety may not be noticed by non-native speakers. For example, in Question 7 of the survey, the English question was worded as: "How would you identify yourself?", while the Mandarin version was worded as: "請問你認定自己為下列哪一個選項?" which is more like

"Which of the following options do you find yourself in?" in English. Though the difference is subtle, it could allow for potential misunderstandings. Second, the wording of some of the questions in English and Chinese might have been too vague and allowed for multiple interpretations of the question. For example, Question 12 was "Would you prefer closer ties with the mainland?"; however, this is relatively vague. Does the question refer to closer ties economically or culturally or politically? Each participant could have interpreted this question differently and therefore misunderstood the question in regards to the context I was hoping to learn about. The third, and probably most significant, weakness in my data is within the sample pool. Due to time constraints and limited resources, I aimed to receive 50 to 100 participants. Fortunately, the survey garnered 100 responses, however this is still an extremely small sample size and therefore limits the reliability of responses as a gage for opinions of the entire nation of Taiwan. Finally, my survey allows for a relatively simplistic and surface-level view into Taiwanese citizens' feelings on identity and cross-Strait relations. With the aim to encourage people to participate, I wanted to keep the survey as brief as possible. Unfortunately, that lead to many "why?" questions when looking at the results. For example, in Question 6 "How would you say relations are between China and Taiwan currently?" the DPP supporters rated relations at a 3.76 of 10 while KMT supporters rated relations as only slightly lower at 3.36 of 10. Did DPP supporters rate relations as poor because Tsai hasn't moved much ground in regards to a viable China policy? Did KMT supports rate relations as almost just as poor because they don't support Tsai and her China policy? These are questions which, unfortunately, my data cannot account for.

Conclusions and Overall Analysis

In conclusion, the data I collected from my survey indicated several trends in Taiwanese identity, as well as Taiwanese citizens' feelings towards cross-strait relations. As expected, older generations tended to support the KMT party and closer ties with the mainland; they also tended to view themselves as either Chinese or both Chinese and Taiwanese at higher rates. In addition, older generations felt that speaking Taiwanese was less important than the younger generations did. On the other hand, younger generations exhibited stronger feelings towards Taiwanese identity. Supporting the idea that a Taiwanese identity that is unique from Chinese identity is a relatively recent development. Generally, the younger generations identified as Taiwanese only and felt that being able to speak Taiwanese was more important than their elder counterparts. Interestingly, however, the younger generations were split between generations. In general, those around the age of 30 tended to support the DPP party, but those who were younger did not agree with any political party's values. Neither age nor political affiliation proved to hold any significance with regards to Taiwanese wanting closer relations with mainland China and the majority of participants felt that relations with the mainland are very poor. From the data, it would seem that though the majority of Taiwanese citizens want to be recognized as a sovereign nation with their own culture and values, they would like to maintain civil and diplomatic ties with the mainland.

Conclusion

Taiwanese identity is not a novel concept. It has been in the works for decades and has bolstered itself through a chain-reaction of various governments, presidencies, policies, and circumstances.

Leve's framework, which understands identity as a "sense of belonging" and conviction of a common identity found within a population, help us to understand Taiwan's struggle. Her argument that identity may cause disputes over ownership of culture and land is the situation which Taiwan has faced for decades. On the other hand, Dittmer's framework— that identity includes common language, culture and ethnicity— provides us with an explanation as to why Taiwan shares a sense of identity with the mainland. Taiwan, throughout modern history, has exhibited characteristics of these two frameworks.

Starting in the 1990's, Taiwan used the controversial and ambiguous 1992 Consensus to create its own definition of "One China" and its rightful government. This allowed for Taiwanese citizens to begin to see themselves as a separate entity from the mainland and was supported by their belief that the consensus referred to the ROCT as true government of "One China". From there, Taiwan experienced "home-grown" democratization in 1996. Through the establishment of fair, free and democratic political elections, Taiwan furthered the divide between itself and China politically. The first democratic election in Taiwan was symbolic of Taiwan's qualms with the communist party in China and allowed future politicians to campaign on the idea that Taiwan was inherently *unlike* China. The continuation of democratic elections led to the victory of Tsai Ing-Wen in 2016—the first female president of Taiwan. The election of a DPP party candidate was a significant blow to mainland China, who, in the previous

presidency, had been working to recreate amicable ties between the two countries in the hopes of reunification. Tsai's presidency has revolved around a shared sense of Taiwanese identity and her government has utilized liberal values to create policies and to reduce economic dependency on mainland China. Tsai's NSP policy has worked to create diplomatic ties with other countries to establish Taiwan's identity in the global arena. Tsai has also worked to reform transparency within the government, apologized to the injustice faced by those of aboriginal descent in Taiwan, and has taken steps to legalize same-sex marriage. Each of these events within the past three decades have ultimately furthered the identity gap between Taiwan and mainland China.

The data from the survey in Chapter 4, though not without its weaknesses, helped to support the concept of the emergence of identity in Taiwan. The younger survey participants felt less cultural and political relation to mainland China and tended to value Taiwanese identity more than their older counterparts. The majority of survey participants, however, wanted to be recognized as a sovereign nation from mainland China while still maintaining diplomatic and friendly relations. The data ultimately supported the idea that relatively recent events in history have spurred Taiwanese identity to the forefront of consciousness in Taiwan and influenced the events which followed.

While Taiwanese identity has recently gripped the nation with more fervor than ever before, it is difficult to determine what the future holds for Taiwan. Although the emergence of a resilient and unique national identity in Taiwan is welcomed by both Taiwanese and international entities alike, an increasingly aggressive and truculent mainland has caused worry concerning the potential consequences Taiwanese identity could bring about. Currently, Taiwan and its current government have shown no signs of pursuing independence or autonomy from the

mainland. For now, it would seem Taiwan is focused on reducing its dependence on mainland China and furthering its rooted national identity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Baquedano-López, Patricia. “Language Literacy and Community.” In *Handbook of Early Childhood Literacy,* edited by Nigel Hall, Joanne Larson and Jackie Marsh. London: SAGE Publications (2003).

Barth, Fredrik. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference.* Waveland Press, Inc. 1969.

Bellows, Thomas J. "The March 1996 Elections in the Republic of China on Taiwan." *American Journal of Chinese Studies* 3, no. 2 (1996): 235-49. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44288523.

Bloom, William. *Personal Identity, National Identity, and International Relations.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1990.

Brown, David G. “Governing Taiwan is Not Easy: President Tsai Ing-wen’s First Year” last modified May 17, 2017. https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/governing-taiwan-is-not-easy-president-tsai-ing-wens-first-year/

Bush, Richard C. "Taiwan's Election Results, Explained." Brookings. July 29, 2016. Accessed March 17, 2018. https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2016/01/16/taiwans-election-results-explained/.

Bush, Richard C. "Taiwan's January 2016 Elections and Their Implications for Relations with China and the United States." Asia Working Group. December 2015. https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/taiwan-elections-china-us-implications-bush.pdf.

Chan, Rosalie. “Taiwan’s President Apologizes to Indigenous People for Centuries of Abuse.” *Times (*August 1, 2016): http://time.com/4433719/taiwan-president-tsai-ing-wen-apologizes-to-indigenous-people/

Chen, Rou-Lan. "Beyond National Identity in Taiwan: A Multidimensional and Evolutionary Conceptualization." *Asian Survey* 52, no. 5 (2012): 845-71. doi:10.1525/as.2012.52.5.845. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/as.2012.52.5.845

Chen, Te-Ping. “Taiwan Sets Path to First Gay Marriage Law in Asia.” *The Wall Street Journal* (May 24, 2017): https://www.wsj.com/articles/taiwan-sets-path-to-first-gay-marriage-law-in-asia-1495621735

Chen, Wei-han. “Tsai’s Approval Rating Sinks to New Low.” *The Taipei Times* (August 15, 2017): http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2017/08/15/2003676552

Chin, Jonathan. “Tsai Highlights Targets for Judicial Reform.” *The Taipei* Times (July 11, 2017): http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2017/07/11/2003674315

Deng, Francis. *War of Visions: Conflict of Identities in the Sudan.* Washington DC: Brookings, 1995.

Dittmer, Lowell. "Taiwan and the Issue of National Identity." *Asian Survey* 44, no. 4 (2004): 475-83. doi:10.1525/as.2004.44.4.475. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/as.2004.44.4.475

Dou, Eva and Jenny W. Hsu. “Panama Cuts Diplomatic Ties With Taiwan in Favor of China.” *The Wall Street Journal* (June 13, 2017): https://www.wsj.com/articles/panama-cuts-diplomatic-ties-with-taiwan-in-favor-of-china-1497322495

Fearon, James. “What Is Identity (As We Now Use the Word)?”. Stanford University (1999). https://web.stanford.edu/group/fearon-research/cgi-bin/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/What-is-Identity-as-we-now-use-the-word-.pdf

“Foreign Travel Advice Taiwan.” *Gov.UK.* Last modified February 27 2018. https://www.gov.uk/foreign-travel-advice/taiwan

Ghori, Umaima. “Tsai Ing-wen: The New Leader of Taiwan.” *The NATO Association of Canada* (February 15, 2016). http://natoassociation.ca/tsai-ing-wen-the-new-leader-of-taiwan/

Glaser, Bonnie S., Scott Kennedy and Derek Mitchell. “The New Southbound Policy: Deepening Taiwan’s Regional Integration.” *Center for Strategic & International Studies* (2018): https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/publication/180113_Glaser_NewSouthboundPolicy_Web.pdf?F5YmxgSJTjWxHCHQr3J88zE.KkzVK5cv

Hall, Jonathan. *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. 2002.

Harrison, Mark. "PURIFYING THE BODY POLITIC IN TAIWAN." In *Pollution*, edited by Davies Gloria, Goldkorn Jeremy, and Tomba Luigi, 253-62. Australia: ANU Press, 2016. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1rqc934.24.

Hogg, Michael A. and Dominic Abrams. *Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes.* Routledge, 1988.

Jacobs, J. Bruce, and I-hao Ben Liu. "Lee Teng-Hui and the Idea of "Taiwan"." *The China Quarterly*, no. 190 (2007): 375-93. http://www.jstor.org.ezaccess.libraries.psu.edu/stable/20192775.

Jiang, Yi-huah. "Taiwan's National Identity and Cross-Strait Relations." In *Taiwan and China: Fitful Embrace*, edited by Dittmer Lowell, 19-41. Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2017. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1w76wpm.5.

Lao Zi. *The Analects Attributed to Confucius.* Translated by James Legge. University of Southern California. USC US-China Institute, 1901. https://china.usc.edu/confucius-analects-13

Lee, Carol E. and Te-Ping Chen. "U.S., China Coordinated Policy Reversal." *The Wall Street Journal* (February 11, 2017): https://www.wsj.com/articles/beijings-patience-pays-off-with-trumps-reaffirmation-of-one-china-policy-1486737397

Lee, Sheryn. "Tsai's Mid-Term Blues." *East Asia Forum* (October 26, 2017): http://www.eastasiaforum.org/2017/10/26/tsais-mid-term-blues/

Leve, Lauren. "'Identity'." *Current Anthropology* 52, no. 4 (2011): 513-35. doi:10.1086/660999. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/660999

Li, Cheng and Xinyue Zhang. "Online Regulations and LGBT Rights: A Test for China's Legal System." Brookings Institute. Last modified September 1, 2017. https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/online-regulations-and-lgbt-rights-a-test-for-chinas-legal-system/

Mead, Walter R. "Left and Right Agree: Get Tough on China." *The Wall Street Journal* (January 8, 2018): https://www.wsj.com/articles/left-and-right-agree-get-tough-on-china-1515458432

Medrano, Juan-Díez and Matthias Koenig. "Nationalism, Citizenship and Immigration in Social Science Research – Editorial Introduction)" last modified 2005. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001425/142588E.pdf

Mozur, Paul. "For Taiwan, a Dilemma Over Identity, Economy and China." The New York Times. December 14, 2016. https://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/13/world/asia/china-taiwan-shirley-lin.html.

Page, Jeremy, Jenny W. Hsu, and Eva Dou. "Taiwan Elects Tsai Ing-wen as First Female President." *The Wall Street Journal* online. January 16, 2016. https://www.wsj.com/articles/taiwans-historic-election-set-to-test-china-ties-1452925430.

"Taiwan's Democratic Election." *New York Times* online. Last modified March 24 1996. https://www.nytimes.com/1996/03/24/opinion/taiwan-s-democratic-election.html

Tsai, Ing-Wen. *2016 Inaugural Address*. Speech. May 20, 2016. https://www.taiwanembassy.org/uploads/sites/70/2016/05/160520-President-Tsai-Ing-wen-inaugural-speech2.pdf

Tsai, Ing-Wen. “2016 Inaugural Address.” Video. May 20, 2016. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GCUMzqPtacI&feature=youtu.be

Ramzy, Austin. “Taiwan’s President Apologizes to Aborigines for Centuries of Injustice.” *The New York Times* (August 1, 2016): https://www.nytimes.com/2016/08/02/world/asia/taiwan-aborigines-tsai-apology.html

Rauhala, Emily. "Breakfast with Taiwan's Tsai Ing-wen." *Time* online. June 18, 2015. http://time.com/3926330/taiwan-tsai-ing-wen-china-reunificaiton-phone-call-donald-trump/.

“Recent Japan- Taiwan Relations and the Taiwan Situation.” *Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan.* Last modified July 2013. http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/taiwan/pdfs/japan-taiwan_relations.pdf

Stockton, Hans. "National Identity on Taiwan: Causes and Consequences for Political Reunification." *American Journal of Chinese Studies* 9, no. 2 (2002): 155-78. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44288704.

Wang, Austin Horng-En. “The Emergence of Tsai Ing-Wen and the Presidentialization of DPP, 2008-2016.” Duke University. Last modified March 9, 2017. https://sites.duke.edu/austinwang/files/2017/03/DPP_Austin-Wang.pdf

Wei, Chihung. "China-Taiwan Relations and the 1992 Consensus, 2000-2008." Princeton University. May 30, 2016. https://cwp.princeton.edu/news/china%E2%80%93taiwan-relations-and-1992-consensus-2000%E2%88%922008-cwp-alumni-chihung-wei.

Wendt, Alexander. “Anarchy is What States Make of It”. *International Organization.* 1992.

Whelan-Wuest, Maeve. "Former Taiwan President Ma on One China, the 1992 Consensus, and Taiwan's future." Brookings. March 16, 2017. https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2017/03/16/former-taiwan-president-ma-on-one-china-the-1992-consensus-and-taiwans-future/.

“为历史留下公正的注脚——1992 年 11 月两会共识始末.” *中共中央台办、国务院台办　版权所有* (August 8, 1999): http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/zt/92/201101/t20110110_1686391.htm

蔡, 英文. *2017 總統府年終媒體茶敘中華民國*. Speech. 106 年 12 月 29 日. https://www.president.gov.tw/NEWS/21895

弗里希, 尼克. "回不去了：蔡英文与她的台湾的不归路." The New York Times. February 03, 2016. https://cn.nytimes.com/opinion/20160203/c03iht-edfrisch/.

鮑绍霖. *「台獨」幕後: 美國人的倡議與政策*. 香港: 中華書局有限公司, 1992.

彭鳳貞, 周陽山 and 劉阿榮. “臺灣客家族群政策建構研究 ----國際視野下之發展策略.” 中國文化大學中山與中國大陸研究所 博士論文, June 2012. http://ir.lib.pccu.edu.tw/bitstream/987654321/23056/4/http___thesis.lib.pccu.edu.tw_cgi-bin_cdrfb3_gsweb.pdf

ACADEMIC VITA

Academic Vita of Ashlyn McKee
ashlyndmckee@icloud.com

Education
Mandarin Chinese and International Relations
Honors: Chinese

Thesis Title: Taiwan and the Catalysts of National Identity Formation
Thesis Supervisor: Erica Brindley

Education: The Pennsylvania State University | May 2018 | Schreyer Honors
Major: Bachelor of Arts in Political Science, International Relations Option
Major: Bachelor of Arts in Chinese

Experience:
Research Intern | Control Risks | May 2017 – August 2017

- Conducted comprehensive research into bribery trends in South East Asia
- Performed comprehensive background checks on firms and key principles in South East Asia, to include: civil litigation checks, blacklist / sanctions searches and public domain research

Orientation Leader | Penn State Global Programs Office | March 2017 – August 2017

- Co-lead groups of arriving Penn State international students through the orientation schedule and process
- Facilitated information sessions and workshops during the orientation

Treasurer | Penn State Women in Politics Organization | Fall 2014 – Spring 2018

- Co-lead groups of arriving Penn State international students through the orientation schedule and process
- Facilitated information sessions and workshops during the orientation

Grants Received:
Richard A. and Terry Hayes Support Fund | Department of Political Science | 2017
Virginia Todd Executive Internship Award | Chapel Executive Internship Program | 2016
Huayu Enrichment Scholarship | Taiwanese Ministry of Education | 2016

Community Service Involvement:
ESL Tutor | Pennsylvania Litcore | 2017 – 2018

International Education:
Student | National Chengchi University, Taipei Taiwan | Fall 2016

Language Proficiency: Proficient in Mandarin Chinese