Reporting the Cross-Strait Relationship:
A Comparative Analysis of News Coverage of the CCP’s 19th Congress by Two Taiwan TV Stations

- AND -

Taiwanese Consciousness:
The Evolution of a Sociopolitical Construction

by
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B.A., National Central University, Chinese Literature, 2017

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Approval

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Degree: Master of Arts

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Taiwanese Consciousness: The Evolution of a Sociopolitical Construction

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Abstract

Essay 1: Due to unresolved cross-strait tension between China and Taiwan, Taiwanese media paid special attention to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)'s 19th Congress regarding China's cross-strait policy towards Taiwan. By comparing the news of Sanli-E Television (SET) and Chungtian Incorporation (CTI), this paper studies how and why these two TV stations reported CCP's 19th Congress differently, aiming to connect their different perspectives with the political economy of each station. This paper uses two metaphors to demonstrate CTI and SET’s different reporting stances: the former aims to reinforce a strong image of China, whereas the latter attempts to further articulate the idea of Taiwan being a separate entity from China. These two media's different coverages resulted from the different interests, it is shown that Chinese capital's influence on Taiwanese media has increased. Accordingly, this paper argues that China’s policy would surely transform Taiwanese media’s political position gradually.

Essay 2: The intertwined relationship between Taiwan and China has long impacted on Taiwanese society and led to a critical debate around the political identity of Taiwanese people for nearly forty years, and the issue has remained unresolved. By using integrative literature review as the methodology, this paper divides modern Taiwan history from Japanese colonialization period to present Taiwan into five time periods, and studies Taiwanese political consciousness through a social constructionist viewpoint to explore the social context and various factors that provoked the development of Taiwanese subjective identity and the different characteristics involved in each stage. In conclusion, this paper argues the influence of political circumstances informs the constant evolution of a socially-constructed Taiwanese political consciousness against the backdrop of a pervasive Chinese national and cultural hegemony. This research should help contextualize and historicize the existing debates around Taiwanese and Chinese identities and consciousness in the contemporary sociopolitical moment both on the island and beyond.

Keywords: The cross-strait relationship; Televised News; Taiwanese media; The Image of China and Taiwan; The CCP’s 19th Congress; Taiwanese political consciousness; Taiwanese identity; social constructionism
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<tr>
<td>CCP</td>
<td>Chinese Communist Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>CDA</td>
<td>Critical Discourse Analysis</td>
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<tr>
<td>CTI</td>
<td>Chungtien Television Inc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DPP</td>
<td>Democratic Progressive Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECFA</td>
<td>Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KMT</td>
<td>Koumintang; the Nationalist Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCCU</td>
<td>National Chengchi University</td>
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<tr>
<td>NCKU</td>
<td>National Cheng Kung University</td>
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<tr>
<td>NSP</td>
<td>New Southbound Policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRC</td>
<td>People’s Republic of China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROC</td>
<td>Republic of China</td>
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<tr>
<td>SET</td>
<td>Sanli E-television</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nation</td>
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<td>UNSC</td>
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Essay 1:

Reporting the Cross-Strait Relationship: A Comparative Analysis of News Coverage of the CCP’s 19th Congress by Two Taiwan TV Stations
Introduction

As a Taiwanese, the cross-strait issue has always been a major concern in different aspects of my life. Even now as I am studying in Canada, I cannot ignore this issue as it is one that still bothers me. I want to study this issue more deeply. Last year, China held a very important meeting, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)'s 19th National Congress, which aroused Taiwanese media’s high interest. But why is the CCP’s 19th Congress so special and why do the Taiwanese media put so much attention on it?

The CCP’s 19th Congress was held on October 18th, 2017 and lasted for a week. The session endorsed the membership list of the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection and elected the Central Committee, it then approved the members of the Politburo and its Standing Committee. In the opening ceremony of the 19th Congress, Xi Jinping spoke for about 3 and a half hours, in which he delivered a lengthy 30,000-character report of China’s achievements during his first term as the party chief to 2,300 delegates. The speech includes the country’s challenges ahead, as well as its policy direction in the next five years.

The opening speech not only charted what the CCP has achieved in the past and the country’s future course, but also unveiled China’s new policy for the cross-strait relationship, which is what Taiwanese media were concerned with the most. In the speech, some of the policy for the cross-strait relationship remained the same, such as one-China principle and the approach for anti-Taiwan independence; but the policy regarding China’s sharing of developing opportunities with the Taiwanese people is relatively new. Due to the new policy, Taiwanese media paid a high level of attention to the CCP’s 19th Congress.

It is because of the complex history between China and Taiwan that the CCP’s 19th Congress delivered such a cross-strait policy. In 1949, the Chinese Nationalist Party

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1 The one-China principle is the political foundation of cross-Strait relations. (China Daily)
2 We have the resolve, the confidence, and the ability to defeat separatist attempts for “Taiwan independence” in any form. (China Daily)
3 People on both sides of the Taiwan Straits are brothers and sisters; we share the bond of kinship. Guided by the conviction that we are all of the same family, we respect the current social system and way of life in Taiwan and are ready to share the development opportunities on the mainland with our Taiwan compatriots first. (China Daily)
(Kuomintang 國民黨; KMT), one of the current major political parties in Taiwan, retreated from the civil war with the CCP in China to Taiwan. Since then, Taiwan and China have developed into two different political systems, two different social vibes and maintained different territories. However, to some extent, these two areas originate from the same histories, sharing similar culture, and using the same language. For now, whether Taiwan is a sovereign country is the main issue in the cross-strait.

The CCP has regarded the 1992 Consensus\(^4\) as a principle of the cross-strait relationship, and the consensus was asserted by Xi Jinping again in the opening speech. However, according to the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (FAPA)\(^5\), the 1992 Consensus has three different meanings. Not only the CCP possesses a different version of the 1992 Consensus from Taiwan, the major two political parties of Taiwan also propose diverse explanations. It is because of these contradictions that the cross-strait relationship is complex, which in turn lead to a great impact on Taiwanese media.

To be more specific, in Taiwan, the main distinction between the two major political parties, the Democratic Progressive Party (民進黨; DPP) and the KMT, lies in their attitude toward China. This difference is reflected in the media. Consequently, it is important to study how different media report China and the cross-strait issue. In this paper, I focus on how different media outlets present their reports on the CCP’s 19\(^{th}\) Congress differently and explain the reasons behind their differences. By doing this, I hope to show a clearer picture of different media perspective on the cross-strait relationship in Taiwan.

\(^4\) The 1992 Consensus is a political term regarding the cross-strait relationship, which refers to an oral agreement between the non-governmental organization of Taiwan and China in 1992.

Literature Review

In this chapter, I will examine how Taiwanese media reports China through a historical perspective, from the authoritative period to a democratic era in Taiwan, and the domestic political conflict within Taiwan will also be revealed in the context. And then, I concentrate upon the political power that influences Taiwanese TV stations and present the research target in the end.

Political influence on Taiwanese media before and after the martial law

After World War II, the government of the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) led by Chiang K’ai-shek retreated to Taiwan from the civil war with the Chinese Communist Party in China. With the intention of fighting against the CCP, the KMT government broadcast the ideology of anti-communism and reclaiming China to Taiwanese through multiple ways, especially in the media.

There is no doubt that during the years of martial law (1949-1987) under the KMT governmental regime, the Taiwanese people had no freedom of speech and press. Therefore, before the dissolution of martial law, Taiwan’s media can only have the government’s voice. During the authoritarian regime, the news media was controlled by the KMT government. The government used media as a tool for propaganda to achieve its goal. Lin (2006) describes this special relationship between the KMT government and the media as the servant press (侍從報業; Shi cong bao ye), which means a media that serves the government.

During the marital law period, the KMT government possessed an oppositional attitude toward the CCP, the media under KMT’s control thus held this political stance. In other words, due to the government’s intention to strike back at mainland China and its anti-communist beliefs, the media’s image of China is negative. Hsu (2014, P73) indicates that Taiwanese newspapers used pejorative terms to label China in the past. For instance, Mao Zedong was called “Mao Bandit Zedong” (Mao fei Zedong 毛匪澤東 in Chinese) and the Chinese Communists were called “Gongfei” 共匪 meaning “communist bandits.”
Moreover, under the KMT regime, the government strictly limited the number of newspapers. Thus, newspapers that maintained a Chinese identity monopolized Taiwan’s newspaper market, while newspapers that advocated a Taiwanese identity were repressed. Between 1977-1986, the United Daily News (Lianhebao 聯合報; UDN) and the China Times (Zhongguo shibao 中國時報), two private newspapers that sustained a Chinese identity, had about two-thirds of the newspaper circulation in Taiwan and replaced the Central Daily News, the newspaper of the Chinese Nationalist Party’s central committee, as dominant newspapers in Taiwan (Hsu, 2014, P100).

Under the KMT government’s various political suppression during the martial law period, the local Taiwan identity awareness has also risen among the public. After World War II, the Japanese colonial regime in Taiwan had finally come to an end. With belief in the KMT government, Taiwanese people originally assumed that the KMT would allow them to administer Taiwan on their own, and thus numerous people of Taiwan were gratified to see the defeat of Japan in the Pacific War and anticipated to return to what many indeed viewed as the mother nation—China (Hsu, 2014, P48).

However, what they encountered was completely different. The KMT’s corruption, bureaucracy, and plundering depressed the Taiwanese people. Furthermore, the authority enforced martial law due to the burst of the 228 incident, an anti-government uprising that happened in 1947, Taiwan. The 228 incident not only severely affected the Taiwanese people and destroyed Taiwanese’s expectation of China, it also drew a sharp line of identity between Taiwanese and the Chinese Mainlanders. As a result, this phenomenon gradually developed into the “provincial complex” (shengji qingjie 省籍情結), which profoundly influenced Taiwanese society for several decades (Hsu, 2014, P50).

The 228 incident and how the government handled it consequently have firmly separated native Taiwanese from Chinese Mainlanders both politically and socially. The martial law had been enforced in Taiwan for thirty-eight years, and it had consolidated Kuomintang's authority. It was because of this system that there were resistance forces rising from the public, and thus triggered democratic development accelerated. Among all of the passionate but conflictual social movements, the Beautiful Formosa Event aroused
the most influential storm to Taiwan society, which also firmly grounded the establishment of the Democratic Progressive Party (Minzhu jinbu dang 民主進步黨; DPP) (Wang, 2002).

The KMT regime controlled almost all mass media in Taiwan before democratization. As, Hsu (2012, P100) demonstrates, only a few opposition magazines and the Independent Evening Post (Zili wanbao 自立晚報) displayed Taiwan consciousness and the concern for Taiwan during the martial law period.

The influence of political conflict on Taiwanese media in the democratic era

It was not until the first native Taiwanese president, Lee Teng-hui, came to power in 1988 that his policies led Taiwan into a new era of democratization and Taiwanization (Hsu, 2014, P94). Under his authoritative guidance and assistance, Taiwanese people finally obtained the legal right to advocate their own political voice and expressed their various opinions in either public media organization or private founded media agencies. Lee Teng-hui gave Taiwanese people the freedom to voice their opinions in different ways, including about the issue of national identity. As Taiwan identity grew under democratization, the national identity orientations of Taiwan's media also changed, which contributed to the rise of the Taiwan identity Liberty Times (Ziyou shibao 自由時報) in the 1990s. Hsu's (2014, P97) illustration about newspaper circulation of Taiwan shows a significant growth of Taiwan identity media, especially in the newspaper market.

According to Feng (1995, P304), KMT’s political domination of the press has remained and even become more severe after the lift of the press restriction in 1988. However, after the lift of the martial law in 1987, the relationship between the KMT and the CCP has shifted from non-interact to less tense. For example, in 1987, the Chinese people that came with the KMT from China had finally been allowed to visit their family members back in China. Since then, the KMT and the CCP have held several meetings to negotiate multiple interaction between Taiwan and China.

As the positive cooperation of the cross-strait increases, the negative and aggressive words towards the CCP were no longer seen in the pro-KMT press. What is demonstrated in the press instead is more liberate and objective coverages in general. Lin
(1993) indicates that the Taiwan newspaper’s report on China has transformed from deliberate vilification in line with the KMT government policies to a relatively balanced report after lifting the ban on newspaper publications in Taiwan.

The rivalry between the KMT and the DPP, along with the ebb and flow of two major opposite identities, China identity and Taiwan identity, have been demonstrated in media outlets completely. In 2000, after the first transition of administrative power, the DPP employed many means to promote Taiwan identity in state media. Hsu (2014, P115) argues that in democratized Taiwan, the ruling party cannot directly control the media, but the DPP and the KMT have attempted to affect the media and their coverage particularly in the area of national identity. Whether Taiwan is a sovereign country is still a controversial issue between Taiwan and China, as well as within Taiwan. Therefore, the main distinction between the two major political parties, the DPP and the KMT, lies in their attitude toward China and their awareness of national identity.

Hsiao and Chang (2014)’s research accentuates the particularity of Taiwan society and constructs the critical foundation for communication study. They conduct a research about citizens’ perceptions of the left-right ideology in Taiwan, which is based on Dalton (2008)’s party polarization index and yet find a gap between the study result and reality. The result shows that the degree of polarization of Taiwan’s political parties is relatively stable and modest; however, this is inconsistent with the political situation that Taiwan’s political parties are confronted with. The result is mainly because the left-right ideology is the essential political difference among the democratic countries in Europe and the United States, but it rarely appears in the political atmosphere in Taiwan.

Most Taiwan citizens are unfamiliar with the concept of left-right ideology, the primary difference between Taiwan’s political parties mainly exists on issues of Taiwan’s unification with China and the independence of Taiwan. By replacing left-right ideology with the unification-independence issue to measure Taiwan’s party polarization, Hsiao and Cheng (2014) identify the essence of Taiwan politics, it also explains why the research of how Taiwanese media reports China and how they report the cross-strait issue has always been a crucial study.

The media outlets in Taiwan and the political parties have intertwined and complicated relationships. A case in point, the coverage of Taiwanese media would be
influenced by political and economic power. It leads the Taiwanese media lack of independence and objectivity, which also been proved by Lo (2008) in the research of the relationship between news media and democracy in Taiwan. He examines the structural factors of why Taiwan’s media industry is not essentially liberal from the viewpoint of political economy through scrutinizing the history and theories and argues that in a strict sense, there are no political-independent media in Taiwan.

It is because of the peculiar political history that Taiwanese media organizations have diverse and extremely contrasting coverage, which is especially reflected in the report of the cross-strait issue. Taiwanese scholars have targeted print media for years in terms of studying how Taiwanese media reports China and the cross-strait issue.

One of the most significant and classic examples is their difference in addressing China in the news. China identity media in Taiwan tend to regard both the Republic of China (ROC, the official country name of Taiwan) and the People's Republic of China as parts of China. These medias refer to the People’s Republic of China as “the Mainland” (Dalu) 大陸 or “Mainland China” (Zhongguo Dalu 中國大陸) instead of China (Zhongguo 中國), the term which most countries use to call the People’s Republic of China (PRC) (Hsu, 2014).

The Taiwanese newspaper is the primary and only resource for the people of Taiwan to understand the China-related issue before the 1990s, scholars' studies are therefore focused on newspaper. These studies can be broadly divided into three categories.

The first is to study which type of Chinese incident is more valued by Taiwanese media. Li (1994) used the United Daily News and the China Times as samples to study how the two newspapers deal with Chinese news, showing both news media have attached importance to the political and economic news. Further, according to Ding’s (1998) study, the result exhibits that in term of the cross-strait issues, Taiwan newspapers tend to report political news.

The second kind of study examines the reporting trend about how Taiwanese media report China with the development of democratization in Taiwan and changes in cross-strait relations. As the paper mentioned above, after lifting the ban on newspaper
publications in Taiwan, Lin (1993) indicates that the Taiwan newspaper’s report on China has transformed from deliberate vilification in line with the KMT government policies to a relatively balanced report. Chang (1994) also argues that Taiwan press has become more liberate and objective after the democratization.

The last is to examine which Taiwanese media’s coverage of China characterizes positive or negative images and whether the newspaper’s position influences its media content. Although there are studies that deny the political position of the newspaper affects media coverage, most studies agree with this statement. To analyze the news coverage, some scholars choose specific Chinese figures, such as Jin-tao Hu and Ze-min Jiang, the former leaders of CCP, while others study significant cross-strait issues, such as the Qiandao Lake Incident (Qiandaohu shijian 千島湖事件) and the “Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement (CSSTA).” (Yang, 1995; Chen, 1996; Xie, 2015) In general, the previous research reveals that China Times and United Daily News portray positive images of China and support the cross-strait economic cooperation. On the contrary, the Liberty Times and the Central Daily News (Zhongyang ribao 中央日報) depict the negative image of China, and the Liberty Times interprets cross-strait economic cooperation as a harmful interaction (Hsieh, 2015). Furthermore, the China Times and the United Daily News set a special column for China news, while the Liberty Times does not, which discloses both China Times and the United Daily News accentuate China-related issues more than Liberty Times (He, 2008).

The above discussion corresponds to Hsieh (2015)’s classification of newspapers by political parties in his research. He classifies Taiwanese newspapers by their different political bias and attitude towards China then categorizes the United Daily News into pan-blue newspaper⁶, the Liberty Times into pan-green⁷ ones, and the China Times into pro-China newspapers. As he concludes,

the pan-blue newspapers tend to take up a positive attitude towards the CSSTA, recognizing it as an opportunity; the pan-green newspapers, on

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⁶ The party emblem of KMT is constituted of a white star in a blue circle, people therefore refer individuals and organizations that support KMT as pan-blue or pan-KMT coalition.

⁷ The party emblem of DPP is designed as a green Taiwan island on a white cross, so people would call those who promote similar ideas with DPP as the pro-green or pro-DPP coalition.
the other hand, assume a negative attitude towards the CSSTA, referring to it as a threat. (Hsieh, 2015, iv)

Feng (2012) points out this political influence on media is demonstrated more fiercely in televised media. Although compared to newspaper research, there are very few studies targeting on televised news in Taiwan, we still appreciate the valuable academic resource from the less-in-quantity but rich-in-quality research.

The Impact on Taiwanese Televised News

Both Tsai (2008) and Liu (2010) concentrate on the 2008 Presidential Election in Taiwan to see whether a partisan bias exists in the TV news. Tsai (2008) investigates the relations between language and political stances in the press and analyzes the political news reported by four TV stations. In the content analysis, it is found that a station's political inclination reflects its arrangement of political news regarding the news item, news duration, and news appearing order. In the micro-analysis of critical discourse analysis, it also shows that a cohesive device, including conjunction and lexical cohesion, are also manipulated by journalists to construct a world that best serves their ideologies and political stances. Results of the analyses uncover that Eastern Broadcasting Co (Dongsen dianshi 東森電視; EBC), CTI (Zhongtian dianshi 中天電視), and TVBS are prone to the KMT, while Formosa TV (Minshi 民視; FTV) and Sanlih E-Television (Sanli dianshi 三立電視; SET) are prone to the DPP.

Among all the studies on televised news, there are numerous research projects about Taiwanese political talk shows. As early as lifting the martial law, the embryonic form of political news program has existed in Taiwan already, such as 「新聞眼」(1985) and 「國際瞭望」(1985). In general, these programs were mostly communicating decrees of the government. The programs were more serious and tedious, and lacked an audience, which attributes to less attention (Huang, 2007). Shen (1999) points out that it wasn't until the “2100 All Peoples Talks”, the first Taiwanese political talk show, being established in 1994 that people had finally become intrigued. Being confident to attract the whole Taiwanese populous to not only watch but also to participate in the public discourse, the show embraced the ambition of letting 21 million people gather to speak. However, similar
to the situation in the United States, Taiwanese political talk shows have been criticized for obvious political bias (Hofstetter, Barker, Smith, Zari & Ingrassia, 1999).

Peng (2001) uncovers that many legislators and journalists criticize the hosts of political talk shows for being mostly biased and unfair. The content analysis result of Chang and Lo (2007) demonstrates that people could identify the political inclinations of most of the political talk show guests from their speech and personal background. Although political talk shows have been criticized for causing social chaos, it is an indispensable part of studying the characteristics of Taiwanese news. In Taiwan, it is common for people to watch political talk shows. According to the telephone survey result by Sheng (2005), the number of people who “often” or “occasionally” watch political talk shows is as high as 58%. After analyzing Taiwan’s political talk show and conducting a telephone survey, Chang and Lo (2007) find two things. That the main issue of the political talk show is current events and the main motivation for the audience to watch political talk shows is to gain knowledge, since the show always invites political commentators and academic scholars who can deliver more in-depth information and conversation.

In conclusion, owing to the long-standing complex political relation between Taiwan and China, the study of Taiwan media’s coverage of China can present how the Taiwanese media is manipulated by political forces. However, the previous scholars usually examine the coverage of newspaper instead of televised news report. Irrefutably, the printed media have developed longer than the visual media. Some may say the printed media are more objective. However, as Ludtke (2010) argues, visual news report is a contemporary approach to communicate news story to the audience in the internet era, and for the audience, the images and videos are also new access to information. Through viewing diverse static and dynamic visual information, people can understand the sequence and context of news events more comprehensively. Therefore, given the visual and auditory diversity of television news, as well as the special development of political news programs in Taiwan, I think it will be more valuable to study how Taiwanese TV news covers the CCP’s 19th Congress from both visual and audio dimension.

Taiwanese scholars have studied mostly one single TV program; nevertheless, even if the programs belong to the same TV station, the viewpoints toward a specific issue are different. That is, if a single program is used to represent a TV station, it may be biased. Hence, this research focuses on the entire TV station’s news report on the 19th National
Congress, including short news clips, investigative reports, and political talk shows. By integrating all the news outlet of a TV station, this paper anticipates to break the limited perspective of a single program and moderator and have a more complete reflection of the position of the TV station, which I believe could arrive at a more comprehensive result.

To choose the research subject, I refer to the fourth season Taiwan TV rating report of 2017 (table1), which is during the CCP’s 19th National Congress, and I first narrow the target down to the top four news stations: TVBS, EBC, SET, and CTI. Among the four TV stations, according to Hsu's empirical research classification, TVBS, EBC, and CTI are all biased towards the KMT and China consciousness, only SET leans toward Taiwan identity and the DPP. Due to limited research time, this study only uses two TV stations as representatives to explore the structural relationship between Taiwanese media and the society. After sorting out all the coverage of these TV stations, I discover that CTI has the most programs that reported the 19th National Congress, followed by SET, and then TVBS and EBS. Taking the diversity of news programs into account, this paper chooses CTI and SET as research objects. SET and CTI have maintained the high circulation degree in Taiwan and belong to the different political position respectively, which is why I choose to study these two TV stations.

Table 1. The fourth season Taiwan TV rating report of 2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>channels</th>
<th>Rating</th>
<th>Average reception (thousands of people)</th>
<th>Market share</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>FTV</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>174.7</td>
<td>6.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>SET</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>164.8</td>
<td>5.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>TVBS-N</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>115.5</td>
<td>4.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>EBS-N</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>103.9</td>
<td>3.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>CTI-N</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>100.8</td>
<td>3.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>SET-N</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td>97.3</td>
<td>3.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>FTV-N</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>84.8</td>
<td>2.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Taiwan Television (TTV)</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>72.1</td>
<td>2.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>China Television (CTV)</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>70.6</td>
<td>2.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Unique Satellite TV</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>62.4</td>
<td>2.18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Hartley (2013, P47) points out, to understand why different television news treats the same topic in different ways, people have to view the news organizations as social agencies within the larger world of social relations, but not separate forces outside the social relations. Therefore, this paper considers the awareness of the influencing factor on the TV station’s political bias as an important part of this paper.
In the pro-DPP media, I choose SET TV station. Despite most people in Taiwan considering SET as a Taiwan identity or pan-green coalition media, the political position of SET is not consistent. SET hesitated to support DPP because of SET’s intention of expanding its service to the Chinese market. A case in point, according to Hsu (2014, P204) SET produced a news program "Eastern Money Tide" (Dongfang daqianchao 東方大錢潮) to displace one of SET's Taiwan identity program, "Formosa Story" (Fu’ermosa shijianbu 福爾摩沙事件簿). Based on Hsu’s interview with SET's senior employee, at least one source believes that the Eastern Money Tide program acquires Chinese funds. However, SET ended up realizing its support for DPP and Taiwan identity helps SET earn a significant profit, so it maintains its pro-DPP position. That is, SET’s support for Taiwan identity is likely a marketing targeting strategy, the priority is the TV station's interests.

On the pro-KMT side, I choose CTI TV station, which was originally a Hong Kong-based company but was purchased by the China Times Group in 2002. In addition, Eng-meng Tsai, the tycoon of the Want Want Group, took over the China Times Group in November 2008. The title of the corporation became “Want China Times Group” accordingly. So before 1997, CTI’s political position was related to Hong Kong ownership. But after 2008, the ownership of the China Times, Eng-meng Tsai’s political position has undoubtedly impacted CTI’s reporting preference (Hsieh, 2015, P64). Some have questioned if Eng-meng Tsai’s purchase of the China Times Group is related to the Chinese government. Hsu (2014) and Hsieh (2015) both provide numerous indications to prove that there is a close relationship between Tsai and the PRC government. For instance, as stated in his interview with a former senior editor from the China Times, Eng-meng Tsai revealed the same viewpoint as the PRC government that the Tiananmen Square "Massacre" was simply an approach of propaganda from Western countries. Also, according to Hsu's informant, during the negotiation of ECFA, Tsai ordered that the China Times could not report or publish any news or comment against either ECFA or the 1992 Consensus. Hsu's demonstration not only proves Tsai’s (2008) argument that CTI’s report is prone to KMT but also connects CTI with the PRC government, which thus confirms CTI's recognition of China identity.

In sum, SET places business as its priority, while CTI's reports are heavily influenced by its owner. As Herman and Chomsky (1988, P3) express, the primary
function of the mass media in democratic countries is to mobilize public support for the special interests that dominate the government and the private sector. China Times’s purchase of the CTI TV station represents a concentrated ownership. SET's attempt to broaden its business to the Chinese market and the inconsistent political preference both present the profit-oriented characteristic of SET. These are both corresponding to the critical elements of the propaganda model proposed by Herman and Chomsky (1988).

To conclude, this paper studies the historical background of SET and CTI and examines why these two TV programs cover different viewpoints regarding the reports of China. The main body of this paper in the finding section will compare and explore how these two TV stations reported CCP’s 19th Congress differently.
Methodology

TV news is mainly divided into two categories: short news clips and news programs. Political talk shows account for the largest proportion of Taiwanese news programs. The dialogue style of these programs is based on the discussion of the invited legislators, scholars, and various experts about social as well as political affairs. Although Sisy's World News is a news magazine program, Lin (2013) points out that one of the features of this program is the host's comment on the news event, which conveys the hidden representation of the program. News objectivity is not applicable to this program. Therefore, this paper classifies Sisy's World News as a political news program. Political news programs are composed of comments by presenters and guests on current events, they are usually not subject to objective principles; therefore, the short news clips and political programs will be discussed separately, and then they would be analyzed within the TV station.

I target the entire TV station's news report on the Congress of CTI and SET, including short news clips, investigative reports, and political talk shows. By doing this, I believe the result would reflect a more complete position of the TV station. The sampling standard of the short news clips and political news program is different. For the short clips news, I collect all the coverage about the 19th Congress ranging from two weeks before and after the Congress and find that the reporting number of October 18th is the most abundant, which is exactly the opening day of the Congress. As for the political news programs, I choose to include the first episodes of each program that aired after the opening ceremony, considering the first show would present what they consider as the most newsworthy, which makes the material more representative.

Table 2. The lists of TV news programs from CTI and SET

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CTI</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>《Late-Night Punch》(夜問打拳)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>《Political Gossip》(大政治大爆卦)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>《Deep Throat News》(新聞深喉嚨)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>《Sisy's World News》(文茜的世界週報)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SET</td>
<td>《54 New ideas》(54 新觀點)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>《New Taiwan refueling》(新台灣加油)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>《For A New Taiwan》(前進新台灣)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As mentioned above, this paper has summarized the political as well as social structural influence on Taiwanese media. The focus of the following research is to discover how Taiwanese news programs present the 19th Congress through various details to be consistent with the intention of media organizations. This paper chooses to use critical discourse analysis (CDA) as the research method. Different from discourse analysis, CDA brings text analysis to the social context and combines with social situations beyond the language (Ni, 2011). However, if this paper only analyzes the news's verbal expression, the visual performance of TV news could be ignored. As Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) argue, the meaning of vision that can be understood in language and in visual expression may overlap, but both verbal and visual communication can be independent of each other, conveying a divergent message. Therefore, this research uses CDA combined with visual analysis to analyze the reports of televised news programs.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis is an important method to conduct transdisciplinary social research, and it is especially applicable to media research. Many scholars have combined CDA with linguistics such as Fowler (1991), but for Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995), it is hard to interpret social structures simply from linguistic context. Instead, only in the domain of interpretation, that is, in the way in which the audience interprets a text, can social meanings and ideologies be fully explored and discussed. This research targets how different Taiwanese televised news covers the CCP’s 19th Congress, interpreting the media content to see how the media production is influenced by political power. The analysis of text alone is inadequate for an ideological study. The concepts of discourse, text with context, and society are needed if a more consolidated theory on language and ideology is to be advanced, which is why Norman Fairclough's CDA theory is the priority.

Concerning the interface between language and society, critical linguists center on how language as a social practice reproduces existing ideologies and social values in a unidirectional way, whereas Fairclough takes the position that language is both socially shaped and socially shaping. That is, language can not only reproduce and thus help maintain social norms and conventions, but the challenge and further transform social values and beliefs when used creatively.
In Fairclough’s conception, critical studies should not be delimited at the textual level but extended to the discourse level; it should not be pursued purely in the linguistic domain, but rather within a social perspective. Fairclough is the key figure to transit studies on language and ideology form text analysis to discourse analysis and precursor in the critical discourse analysis framework, in which he proposed a three-dimensional framework to analyze a discourse as text, discourse practice, and sociocultural practice.

![A framework for critical discourse analysis of a communicative event (Fairclough, 1995, p.59)](image)

**Figure 1. A framework for critical discourse analysis of a communicative event (Fairclough, 1995, p.59)**

Text, the product of discourse practice, may be written (newspaper), spoken (broadcast), or spoken with visual (TV news). It is analyzed under four headings: vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and text structure. Vocabulary and grammar deal with individual words and how they are combined into clauses and sentences. Cohesion manages the linkage between clauses and sentences (Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Halliday, 1985) and text structure organizes the global structure of the whole text.

Discourse practice is how a text is produced and consumed. As we have pointed out earlier that news organizations are not self-contained bodies but social institutions, news production is always conditioned by other factors of society and involves complex institutional routines of a collective nature. In consumption, social member is at the premium in the sense that a text will not mean anything or carry any ideological significance until it is interpreted by a social member. Both processes of production and consumption are constrained by sociocultural practice. They are constrained by members’
available resources, which are internalized in social structures, and by the nature of specific communicative events involved.

In the discourse practice dimension, three aspects of analysis are brought up: the force of utterances, the coherence of texts, and the intertextuality of texts. The forces of utterances, i.e. speech acts, are actual components of any communicative event (Searle, 1969). A coherent text requires that constituents of a text be meaningfully connected so that the text as a whole conveys an intelligible idea. Intertextuality, coping with the interdependence among discourses (Foucault, 1972), looks at traces of discourse practice in the target discourse and strives to interpret social and cultural meanings hidden beneath. News reports, which represent and transform utterances and happenings of other discourses, are thus always intertextual (Waugh, 1995).

In illustration of intertextuality, Fairclough (1992) studies how a committee report on drug trafficking was transformed into a news report in a British tabloid, the Sun. In the news report, it was found that the informal, colloquial language of private life was used to win readership, and meanwhile part of official discourse remained to preserve the legitimacy and authority of the report. The heterogeneity of the language revealed the newspaper’s contradictory positions and identities.

Sociocultural practice is the last dimension, in which ideologies and power negotiation has a material existence in practices. Ideologies built into conventions are more or less naturalized, and most people are never aware of the fact that their automatic practices contain ideological functions. However, what Fairclough wants to emphasize is that people’s practices, on the other hand, are socially constitutive: they possess the potential to either reproduce or restructure social norms. Social struggles can be undertaken, and social changes can be achieved through creation and negotiation of discourse practices.

For Fairclough, text is what is there to be described, but society is what is there to be explained. As for discourse, it functions as a mediator between text and society in the sense that:

properties of sociocultural practice shape texts, but by way of shaping the nature of the discourse practice, i.e. the ways in which texts are produced and consumed, which is realized in features of texts (Fairclough 1995, P60).
The three dimensions, though focusing on separate facets of a discourse, are indispensable for a more holistic critical discourse analysis framework.

**The Combined Model of Visual Analysis and CDA**

Although one could argue that some images are "just how things are," no sign merely reflects reality. However, every decision, even the choice to use something like naturalistic photography is a decision which will ultimately affect the sign's visual grammar. In *Reading images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (1996), Kress and van Leeuwen explore the field of visual communication to examine image without text, and argue that signs can create narratives, classifications, and analytical processes. For instance, circles can be found in nature and are perceived as organic growth. Squares are mechanical and stack-able, they thus represent self-containment. Triangles are seen as dynamic, representing a sense of purpose of progress.

Partly based on Kress and van Leeuwen’s (1996) theory, Chiang (2014) establishes a three-dimension analytical model, which includes: (1) the verbal mode news interviewers and interviewees employ; (2) the multimodal analysis of television interview images, captions, and news footage; and (3) the audiovisual rhythm. Aiming to analyze Taiwan TV news in visual aspect, I modify Fairclough's CDA model and combine Chiang’s visual analytical framework as an alternative form of text to practice this text into a social context.
First, from what the host and interviewees deliver in the news outlet, one might know their position. However, by exploring the linguistic modality, people could realize the deeper intent. Second, televised discourse is communicating not only through the oral conversation of both the host and interviewees but also the tone of speech, facial expressions, and body movement. What appears on the TV screen, such as the text headlines and interstitial news videos, are also ways to understand the news content. More importantly, according to Kress & van Leeuwen (1996), different 'size of frames' shows the diverse meanings of images. For instance, the decision between close-up, medium shot, and long shot relates to different social distance and meanings. Finally, Chiang adjusts Lauerbach (2010)'s audiovisual rhythm concept and argues that scholars could focus on the verbal discourse and television images as mentioned above and count the shooting numbers in per speech of the host or guests to analyze the distinction of rhythm. A case in point, slower rhythm allows the audiences to concentrate on verbal expression. But the further social messages still need to be described, which is why this paper is based on critical discourse analysis as the main methodology.
In summary, this study first separates the short news clips of October 18th and the first episode political news program after the 19th National Congress to observe the verbal expression and visual images as well as captions, supplemented analyzing by rhythm differences. Then integrating the entire short news clips and the political news programs into one TV station, the overall reporting position of the TV station with its political background is explored. Through Fairclough's CDA, which is a modified version of Chiang's visual analysis model, this paper could explore the reports on the CCP's 19th Congress of two representative Taiwanese TV stations, SET and CTI, and analyze how these two TV station report the 19th Congress differently and how the coverages reflect its political stance.
Findings

This chapter examines how SET and CTI report the 19th Congress differently in several aspects, including time frame, news resource, and media content. Also, this paper further proposes a metaphor to compare different representation of the cross-strait relationship in the two TV station.

Time Proportion and News Frame of the Reports

First, I measure how much time is dedicated to the coverage of the 19th congress of both short news clips and political news program from the two TV stations. In the short news clips, SET and CTI have similar reporting numbers and times. The number of short news clips in CTI is more than that of SET, but in terms of the total time, SET is three minutes more than CTI.

But in the political news program, as what shows in Figure 3 and 4, their time lengths vary. The three shows from above are from SET TV station. The proportion of the 19th congress in these programs is all below 50%. In CTI, the time proportion is more than 60%. Sisy’s World News even has a full cover of the 19th Congress. Therefore, given the number and time length of news releases and the proportion of discussions on political news programs, CTI is higher than SET.

![Time length of CTI political news program](image.png)

**Figure 3.** The Time Length of CTI’s Political News Program
Previous studies (Li, 2008) have demonstrated how news organizations quantitatively bias news coverage based on their underlying ideologies and political stances. Tsai (2007) also argues that the more and longer reports a certain incident receive, the more attention it is given. Thus, CTI’s higher reporting number and degree of the 19th Congress reveals its intention to highlight the importance of the Congress to Taiwan audience.

Regarding news sources, I separate general news from political news programs, because the reports on political programs are mainly based on the opinions and discussions of the guests, so instead of searching on the news source, I focus on the guests of the political program. I divided the sources into China Central Television (CCTV), CTI, SET, individuals, other media institutions, and the Internet.

The news resource of CTI is largely contributed by CCTV and its original report as the graph shows. However, the SET's news resource is mostly from other institutions and CCTV. Both these two TV stations obtained the news from CCTV to some degree, but by comparison, it is clear that the scale of the first-hand source of CTI is higher than SET's.

CTI’s first-hand report not only represents that the greater focus on this issue is given to the 19th Congress but also shows CTI’s leading role in reporting the 19th Congress as a news organization in Taiwan, as the more original coverage one media institution has reflects more resource dedicated to its coverage. CTI establish the credibility and authority of reporting the 19th Congress in Taiwan by broadcasting first-
hand information, which is a very important advantage in news production and an achievement as a news organization.

Figure 5. The News Resource of the Short News Clips from CTI and SET

While SET also has a little original news resource, the majority are mostly borrowed from other institutions, which is presumably related to its political stance. Irrefutably, the lack of first-hand coverage could be explained as the limited resources of a news organization since they have to send journalists and photographers across the strait to obtain the news coverage which requires monetary resources. However, SET does have original reports that are taken in Beijing, the economic consideration is therefore unreasonable. Also, instead of shooting images from the Great Hall of the People in Beijing where the 19th Congress is held, the only original coverages produced by SET were taken on the streets of Beijing. The possible explanation of the indirect focus on the 19th Congress is that SET did not get the access to enter the opening ceremony of the 19th congress because of their political stance.

What is more, besides the resource from CCTV and other media institutions, SET also selected some news sources from the internet. A case in point, SET used an online comment to mock the indecent picture of Li Peng, a retired Chinese politician, which was taken at the opening ceremony (SET, short news clips). The CCP's Congress is a political meeting that allows only national representatives to participate. By sourcing from the
internet, such an unofficial form, even if the source describes this event from a positive perspective, SET tried to deconstruct the solemnity of the 19th Congress. Therefore, from the news resource, it reveals the SET’s opposite political position from the CCP.

In short, from analyzing both the news resource and the time length of these two TV stations’ coverage, the political stance could be slightly uncovered. CTI dedicated more time and human resources in the report to accentuate the importance of the 19th Congress, while SET could not access the Congress and thus used the resource from other institution and the internet to deconstruct the authority of the CCP's Congress. Yet, only through the analysis of the media content can this paper understand the deeper expression of the TV station. This paper will further interpret what the news covers in the following section.

**Different News Coverage of CTI and SET**

This study firstly lists the topics of discussion in both short news clips and political programs to compare the different reporting focus of the two television stations. Through the analysis of news focus, this paper finds that CTI and SET's news reports can be divided into three categories: Xi’s speech at the opening ceremony of the 19th National Congress and the related topics, other news about the opening ceremony, and China’s inner affairs. Among them, the political news programs mostly focus on Xi Jinping’s speech in the opening ceremony and further discuss other cross-strait related issues. Therefore, this section explores the different image of the cross-strait constructed by SET and CTI.

I use a metaphor to accentuate the different language used in each TV station. In CTI, the representation of China and Taiwan is like a parent-child conflict, while in SET the relationship is that of a divorced couple. There are two major differences: the power relation and different attitude toward the cross-strait.

In terms of power relation between China and Taiwan, the image of parent and child that CTI constructs represents a higher-and-lower level between China and Taiwan. Comparatively, SET portrays a more balanced relationship between Taiwan and China. There is no obvious representation of Taiwan and China in SET’s news. I use this metaphor to make people more easily understand their difference.
On the one hand, CTI emphasized China’s strict anti-Taiwan-independence policy to construct a serious father image. On the other hand, they shaped China as a benevolent and tolerant mother through China’s approach of facilitating the cross-strait’s economic cooperation. In CTI's cross-strait relation, China is the crucial player, whose administration determines the development of the cross-strait. In the discourse about politics, Confucius, China’s most famous philosopher, reveals that the relationship between father and son exists a level difference, just like the relationship between the ruler and his minister. Therefore, through the understanding of traditional Chinese concept, CTI's image of the cross-strait is an uneven relationship.

The second difference is the interpretation of the current cross-strait situation in the two TV stations. What the parent-child relationship emphasizes in CTI is an inseparable blood relationship, which refers to China and Taiwan. CTI tends to shape Taiwan as part of the migration from mainland China. Accordingly, from the aspect of the ethnic group, it emphasizes that Taiwan is rooted in China and that there is an inseparable bond between the two sides.

The cross-strait relationship in SET’s is a couple relationship, it is thus a law-bound relationship. What SET emphasizes is that Taiwan and China have the administration respectively and belong to two areas. Just as a husband and wife are performing legal contracts, their relationship is constructed in black and white, and such legal relations can be handled through treaties. The truth that the KMT retreated from China in 1949 has become history. Although there are emotions between couples, it is still different from the relationship between parent and children. Since the blood bonding represents the two sides of the strait are undeniably involved, even if they currently lead a different life. In the following sections, I will continue to explain how CTI and SET construct different images of the cross-strait relations.

The Metaphor of Parent-Child Conflict in CTI News

In CTI’s news, the relationship between China and Taiwan is like that of a parent and child. The image of China has been shaped into the role of an austere father and a loving mother, while Taiwan has an image of a relatively immature child who needs to be directed.
In the opening speech of the 19th Congress, Xi Jinping consistently adhered to the one-China principle and the 1992 consensus as the bottom line. Summarizing Xi Jinping’s policy toward Taiwan, CTI described them as one hand stick, one hand carrot (Deep Throat News, 2017). ‘Big Stick Policy’ was a phrase attributed to President Theodore Roosevelt (1901–1909), who described his guiding philosophy in dealing with Latin America as “Speak softly and carry a big stick.” In Late Night Punch (2017), they also used “giving grace and authority at the same time” (恩威並施 En Wei Bin Shi). These two idioms both refer to the power relation and can both be used in political language. But in the Chinese language context, the idiom can also be used to describe the discipline of parents to their children. Thus, in CTI’s context, China plays a parental role.

Huang Zhixian, the host of Late Night Punch, said that Xi Jinping unveiled the hundreds of years of suffering experienced by the Chinese people and he thus aspired to realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation. The Chinese nation is like a picture with an unfilled corner, and Taiwan is the piece of the blood-bonding puzzle to complete this picture. This view of the relationship between China and Taiwan is from the perspective of national culture, which argues that China and Taiwan as blood relations are unable to be separated. Only the reunification of the two sides can realize this great dream of rejuvenation.

The family concept also revealed in CTI’s interpretation of Xi Jinping’s word about people on both sides of the Taiwan Straits are all of one family. A case in point, the host of Late Night Punch (2017) used the blood is thicker than water as the news headline. The idiom, blood is thicker than water is a symbolic metaphor, meaning that flesh and blood are inseparable. Although the description of blood thicker in water seems to present the original word of Xi Jinping directly, it also implies a political position. In the context of this family, Xi Jinping, who urged the economic cooperation of the cross-strait with a kind tone and soft words, was shaped into the stereotypical role of a mother.

Under such a description, Xi Jinping became a mother who waited patiently for her children’s return, encouraging young Taiwanese people to start entrepreneurship in China and proposed to respect Taiwan’s existing national treatment and let Taiwanese enjoy the same national treatment. In addition, CTI particularly focused on reporting China’s rapid

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8 https://www.nationalgeographic.org/thisday/sep2/big-stick-diplomacy/
economic development, emphasizing that China aims to build a moderately prosperous society in all aspects (Sisy’s World News, 2017; Political Gossip, 2017). In this discourse, China is like a warm and reassuring home, paving the way for Taiwan to return home. Late Night Punch compared China’s booming development with Taiwan’s regressive GDP, pointing out that Xi Jinping’s cross-strait family policy is beneficial to cross-strait interests, and this is an opportunity for Taiwan to develop. (Deep Throat News, 2017; Late Night Punch, 2017).

In CTI's context, compared to the image of China being parents, Taiwan is like a group of children who lost their way. However, Tsai Ing-wen, as the leader of Taiwan, has made Taiwan unable to accept China’s economic assistance because of her political tendency to independence. Tsai Ing-wen, the current Taiwan president from DPP, was thus portrayed as a rebellious child leader. In CTI’s program, not only the host but also the guests mentioned the high economic development of China in the global level several times and ridiculed the stagnation of Taiwan’s economy. CTI interviewed the representatives of both Taiwan’s Youth Career Development Association and the Travel Agent Association of Taiwan (CTI Short News Clips) to report on the plight of Taiwan’s economic development, in order to highlight the fact that Taiwan needs the opportunities of economic cooperation with China. It shows that under the leadership of the Democratic Progressive Party, Taiwan has insufficient economic power to support itself to survive in the global society but is unwilling to face the cruel reality. On the other hand, the DPP leader does not dare to directly declare Taiwan independence, but they stubbornly refuse to renounce their advocacy of Taiwan independence and to recognize the 1992 consensus. Dealing with this group of children who are not available to be self-reliant, China plays both the roles of a mother and a strict father.

This father’s image is reflected in CTI’s interpretation of Xi Jinping’s anti-Taiwan independence policy. In Sisy's World News (2017), Deng Xu, a Chinese scholar, interpreted Xi Jinping’s cross-strait policy as a time-limited solution to the Taiwan issue. In the interview, he argued that Xi Jinping said that the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation include the Taiwan issue. That is to say, by 2050, on the day when the great rejuvenation dream of the Chinese nation is to be realized, if Taiwan is not yet unified, is the great Chinese dream of the Chinese nation realized? (習近平說了，中華民族的根本
In the conversation, the reporter inquired about Deng Xu's interpretation of Xi Jinping's speech. Deng Xu is quoted to have said: People should pay attention to the sentence of promoting the reunification of the motherland. In the past, the mainland China had only repressed Taiwan independence and sought for consensus. However, there may be a major change after the 19th National Congress. That is, as long as there is anything refer to Taiwan independence, it will be defeated. (推進祖國統一,注意這句話/以前大陸是遏止台獨。然後慢慢尋求共識/十九大之後可能有個重大的變化/只要是台獨就要打擊全面圍堵) During this dialogue, the camera switching frequency has reached the highest point. As Chiang (2014) argues that through the observation of audiovisual rhythm could understand the hidden meaning of news production.

In addition, many CTI news programs choose to play this CCTV's news clips when they showed how Xi Jinping will fight against Taiwan independence. In the video, Xi Jinping delivered this discourse with a confident attitude and a firm tone:

We stand firm in safeguarding China's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and will never allow the historical tragedy of national division to repeat itself. Any separatist activity is certain to meet with the resolute opposition of the Chinese people. We have the resolve, the confidence, and The ability to defeat separatist attempts for "Taiwan independence" in any form. We will never allow anyone, any organization, or any political party, at any time or in any form, to separate any part of Chinese territory from China!

With majestic background music, Xi Jinping steadily demonstrated the power of the big country that could grasp the appropriate pace when dealing with cross-strait relations. In addition to expressing the firm will of Xi Jinping, this anti-Taiwan independence speech emphasizes the manifestation of China's own economic and military strength. The journalist mentioned in the coverage that China's policy is based on peaceful reunification, yet by creating a tense atmosphere, what CTI truly shaped is Taiwan's diplomatic crisis in the international field and the urgency of unification with China. In this context, China, as the father with authoritarian power, issued an order to the child who leaves the home to return within the time limit. Meanwhile, the father's self-
confidence also shows the grasp of handling this chore of getting the child to return home on time.

Overall, CTI's coverage of Xi Jinping's talk on the 19th National Congress has shaped China into a strict father and a kind mother. On the contrary, Taiwan is relatively interpreted as a child who needs to be led. Through the depiction of the cross-strait economic cooperation, CTI clearly demonstrated the higher-and lower power relationship between China and Taiwan.

The Representation of Divorced Couple in SET News

Compared with the higher-and-lower relationship shaped by CTI, SET constructed a relatively equal cross-strait relationship. In addition, in the elaboration of SET, the relationship between the two sides of the strait tends to be the legal constraints rather than inseparable blood relations. Therefore, in order to highlight the comparison with the framed image by CTI, I interpret the relationship between China and Taiwan in SET News with a relationship between husband and wife.

The more equal relationship between the cross-strait is shown in the description of the peaceful reunification of the two sides in the Go New Taiwan. A case in point, Shiping Fan, a Taiwanese professor, commented that Xi Jinping's speech revealed his concession of sending the hope of peaceful reunification to the Taiwanese (For A New Taiwan, 2017). Hope is an emotional term, which represents a certain degree of persistence and expectation. In SET's news program, the guest argued that Xi Jinping entrusted this expectation of cross-strait cooperation to the Taiwanese. Under this circumstance, Taiwanese people becomes active players in this cross-strait relationship, instead of passively waiting for China's arrangement. In terms of the power relations between the two sides of the strait, Taiwan's status has also improved. Therefore, unlike the image of parents and children with higher and lower level difference in CTI, this paper describes China and Taiwan in SET's news as a more equal relationship.

In SET's news, multiple reports expressed about how the differences of social atmosphere between the cross-strait have shaped the individuality of the two sides of the strait. It emphasizes that the husband and wife are two individuals and are not inseparable. SET reported the Congress from a social aspect in order to compare Taiwan's democratic
freedom and China’s dictatorship. For instance, a class of Chinese primary students were forced to watch Xi’s opening speech, and Chinese people had to spend two hours for transportation safety checks during the Congress. Further, there is an example from foreign media, BBC, whose live broadcast was cut off because the journalist spoke of the strict safety check of the 19th Congress and made negative commentary about China (54 New Ideas, 2017).

With the focus on the inconvenience that people suffered due to the 19th congress, SET tries to show the dictatorship and authoritarian rule of China and by comparison, how democratic and free Taiwan is. For A New Taiwan (2017) used 十九大草木皆兵 as the news headline, which means a scenery of seeing every bush and tree as an enemy and it is used to describe a state with extreme nervousness. SET emphasizes the individuality of Taiwan society to show the truth that people living on different sides of the strait lead different lives. As Shichi Wang points out regarding the major difference between the cross-strait in the news program, Taiwan is constituted of the bottom-up people’s power, while China is a top-down dictator force (台灣是由下到上的人民力量，而中國是由上到下的威權力量).

Incorporating such individuality into the metaphor of the relationship between husband and wife, the two sides of the strait are like couples who have been divorced for a long time. Although they were together in the past, after the divorce both sides lead different lives. For A New Taiwan interpreted Xi Jinping’s cross-strait policy as a tough pressure and a united front (強硬施壓與統戰拉攏). In the context of SET, Xi Jinping, who wants to reunify the two sides of the strait, is like a husband who is eager to repair this relationship. On the one hand, Xi Jinping suppressed the international diplomacy of Taiwan, and on the other hand, he raised a cross-strait family and allowed the Taiwanese people to enjoy national treatment.

In the political talk show, Shiping Fan commented that Xi’s economic cooperation approach for Taiwan is a way to win the hearts and minds of Taiwanese people (搏感情 phok kám-tsíng). The word comes from a local Taiwanese language and means that Xi tries to win favor by fawning on Taiwanese people and places the faith of unification into the Taiwanese people. As Hsu (2012) argues, a pro-Taiwan-identity media would use
Taiwanese language to raise the awareness of local nationality, SET used the word 搏感情 to try to inspire the audience of Taiwan identity. What is more, SET shaped Taiwan into a victim in this cross-strait relationship by reporting Taiwan’s pressure from losing diplomatic relations with other countries.

In this relationship constructed by SET, Taiwan and China still differ in power relations, but in the language of SET, Taiwan is shaped as a victim in this relationship. With the discussion about international diplomacy, China’s political relations with Taiwan have been presented as an oppressive power relationship. When talking about China's possible implement for unification in the future, Dingyu Wang, a DPP legislator, said that:

It is China’s fault that Taiwan cannot participate in the World Health Organization (WHO) and the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO). Taiwan is a peaceful country and does not threaten China. China is the one who is unwilling to let go (of the past). (台灣不能參加 WHO，中國害的，台灣不能參加民航組織，中國害的，台灣是一個和平的國家，沒有威脅到中國，誰在糾結？中國在糾結！)

Generally speaking, as Huang (2007) proves when the guest speaks, the political program will present the speaker and the news screen on a double screen and supplement the content of the speaker with the film or the photo, thereby enhancing the richness of the program. However, when Dingyu Wang said the above words in an intense tone, his talking head is emphasized in a full screen by the political talk show. Hall (1966) asserts this close distance would demonstrate the speaker's facial expression completely. The program's arrangement thus showed the program's attempt to emphasize Dingyu Wang's argument.

Dingyu Wang points out that Taiwan political pressure from China has affected Taiwan's rights and interests of participating in international organizations and put the lives of Taiwanese in danger. In such a discussion, China oppresses Taiwan with international political means, which is the image of the perpetrators. While Taiwan has been oppressed without affecting others and has therefore been shaped into a victim.

Confronting such oppression, Tsai Ing-wen was portrayed as a strong, unyielding leader. SET's short news clips made a report that combined the National Day of Taiwan eight days ago in conjunction with the 19th National Congress. At the National Day
ceremony, Tsai Ing-wen unveiled Taiwan’s new cross-strait policy that Taiwan will maintain the current cross-strait relationship with China and the remained goodwill. The news firstly presented the image on the National Day ceremony that Tsai Ing-wen came along from a distant place.

The visual image of the long shot emphasizes the National Day scene and Tsai Ing-wen as the president of Taiwan. It then turns to a slightly low angle shot when Tsai Ing-Wen is delivering Taiwan’s cross-strait policy. The oncoming wind in the picture blows upon the face of Tsai Ing-wen as she states that Taiwan would neither head back to the old road of confrontation with China nor yield under pressure. The low shot allows the viewer to look at the leader from a lower angle, thus creating a prestige for the subject and creates a respectable feeling. In the news image, Tsai Ing-wen occupied a commanding position, showing that when facing of political and economic pressure imposed by China, Tsai Ing-wen’s stance is unwavering and unyielding. China is constructed as the authoritarian party-state.

For the audiences, news constructs a window of how we see and understand the world, as Tuchman (1978, P1) writes. Its function is to inform people about what they want to and need to know. Even though the two TV stations report the same incident, they present the issues differently. In summary, CTI focused on shaping China's authority and emphasizing the importance of cross-strait cooperation with China's booming economy. In contrast, SET focused less on China's cross-strait policy but emphasized the differences between the straits and social ethos.

**Discussion**

The cross-strait relationship refers to the relationship between the Republic of China (R.O.C.) and the People's Republic of China. These two regions once fought for the legitimacy of China. Nowadays the Republic of China is recognized as China, whereas the R.O.C. is also called Taiwan. However, due to China's insistence on "One China Policy", Taiwan's participation in international affairs has been obstructed. Moreover, Taiwan has only been allowed to participate in non-political associations in the name of "Chinese Taipei," which has become Taiwan's most common name in the world.
The interaction between Taiwan and China have been blocked for many years since the civil war in China owing to historical and political relations. It was not until 1987 that Taiwan's officials opened the doors to visit the relatives in China. The cross-strait interactions have expanded from the non-governmental aspects to official layer. However, due to China's refusal to renounce the unification through military force and the administration shrinking Taiwan's international space, part of the Taiwanese people have a sense of distrust of China to some extent. Coupled with Taiwan's growing local consciousness over the years, the voice of Taiwan independence has grown. It has not decreased with the increase of cross-strait interactions, because China's political ambition, to be unified with Taiwan, has remained unchanged. At present, China is Taiwan's largest trading partner, Taiwan's largest exporter and importer, and the country with the largest foreign investment in Taiwan. Taiwan has implemented pro-China economic policies for many years since the enforcement of Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA) in 2010. Although the policy contributes to Taiwan's economic growth in the macroscopic view, the issue of unification with China has risen to the surface once again.

Facing this tough situation, Taiwanese media have adopted different perspectives to cover the news. Generally, Taiwanese media could be divided into two categories by their political position and the attitude towards the cross-strait. In terms of economic cooperation, the pro-KMT media would interpret the cooperation with China as an opportunity, whereas the pro-DPP media would present it as a threat (Hsieh, 2015). The result of this research, the news coverages of the 19th Congress by CTI and SET, corresponds to Hsieh's argument. As Ralph Negrine (1996) argues media is an agent of the society and knowledge that builds an outer world beyond people's minds. Media's selection of news has a priority that would emphasize the certain incidents and views. It is common to have multiple viewpoints on one specific issue within a democratic society, so as in media. But Taiwanese media has neglected its duty of pursuing the objectivity in this context due to the influence of political and economic forces, it has further been manipulated by the intended big corporations, politicians, and powerful individuals. To be more specific, Taiwanese media's political stances demonstrate the most in whether to be unified with China or to be independent. The social context explains why Taiwanese media pays special attention to Xi’s opening speech at the CCP's 19th Congress.

CTI's reporting bias has been impacted by Eng-meng Tsai's political stance since it was purchased in 2008. Eng-meng Tsai then established Want Want China Times Media
Group as the main corporation. There are numerous sources indicate Eng-meng Tsai keeps a close relationship with the CCP. Through the analysis of this paper, CTI's coverages indeed demonstrates a friendly image of China, and supports China's economic cooperation with Taiwan. According to Usha Haley and George Haley's (2013) examination of China's state capitalism, it is shown that the Chinese government subsidized $47 million for Want Want China Incorporation in 2011. In this case, CTI's political stance is not pro-KMT but pro-CCP.

SET TV station was founded by Jung-hua Chang, Kun-hai Lin, and Hsiu Chang in 1991, after the lift of martial law. The station has always been recognized as a pro-DPP media organization (Hsu, 2012; Hsieh, 2015). However, as its attempt to invest in the Chinese market broadens, SET's political stance becomes vague. A case in point, normally, pro-DPP media would not call China as "mainland China" due to historical relations, but multiple sources indicate SET adopts the word "mainland China" in its news program. In the coverage of the CCP’s 19th Congress, however, this paper finds that SET remains pro-DPP’s approach to address the name of China.

In addition, in the report of the opening ceremony, SET did not broadcast any first-hand resource. It could be explained in two ways: either SET purposely did not send any journalists to the 19th Congress or SET was denied to access the opening ceremony. In the first assumption, SET maintained its pro-DPP position and resisted to follow one-China policy, it then chose not to enter the ceremony. Nevertheless, considering the news producing mechanism, SET still sent journalists to Beijing and obtained news image on the street. In the second situation, SET intended to enter the Congress but it was declined due to its inclination of DPP in the past. As Xi Jinping's cross-strait policy of the 19th Congress illustrates, "We have the resolve, the confidence, and the ability to defeat separatist attempts for Taiwan independence in any form." Only when the corporations or individuals admit one-China policy can they enter Chinese market. Despite SET’s political position limits itself from entering the Congress, SET still send its employee abroad to get first-hand images. Due to the limited research resource and time, this paper is unable to answer which situation is correct. However, either assumption could be implicated that the scale of China's influence on Taiwanese media has enlarged.

To conclude, from both of CTI and SET’s cases could demonstrate that Taiwanese media’s political positions have been influenced by Chinese capital more and more heavily.
In the past, Taiwanese media was simply divided into two categories. But the Chinese market’s effect on Taiwanese media makes the media’s political stances more complex. Hence, this paper argues that as China's policy imposes on Taiwan increases, the Taiwanese media’s political position would surely transform to some extent.
Conclusion

The long-term tension between Taiwan and China since 1949 has given rise to two conflicting ideologies and powers in Taiwan. One is pro-unification, led by the KMT, which forms the pan-blue coalition with the People First Party and the New Party. The other is pro-independence, represented by the DPP, and together with the Taiwan Solidarity Union, they comprise the pan-green coalition. Since the political and economic power influence on both CTI and SET TV station, they report the 19th congress differently in several aspects.

Under CTI’s image of Taiwan and China being a family, China plays a parental role. CTI represents China’s tough policy about anti-Taiwan-independence to show China’s powerful image, like a powerful father in this family. CTI emphasizes how economically supportive can China be for Taiwan if Taiwan agrees to be unified with China. It is like the parents are waiting for their child to come back home. Meanwhile, they emphasized Taiwan’s weak economic power. Therefore, in CTI’s context, Taiwan becomes a runaway child, who is unable to survive independently. Clearly, by showing these ideas, CTI is trying to echo China’s viewpoint about Xi’s speech in the 19th congress.

CTI’s pro-KMT position shows in the higher proportion of reporting the Congress, more first-hand reports, and they portrayed a parent-child conflict to construct the authority of China. SET’s pro-DPP tendency shows in the representation of an evener relationship, and the construction of Taiwan and China as two separate individuals, and they used the unofficial news resource from the internet to deconstruct the authority of China and the 19th Congress.

News media is just a component of the social structure that is influenced by big institutions, ownership, and political force to mobilize the society according to their attempt. CTI has been affected by the political position of the ownership and the subsidy from the Chinese government. In SET’s case, although it has been known for supporting Taiwan identity, its reporting bias also partly influenced by the Chinese market. Through this study of how CTI and SET TV station report the 19th Congress, this paper finds that Taiwanese media has been heavily influenced by Chinese capital and thus transformed the media industry of Taiwan. In conclusion, this paper only focuses on why and how the
two TV station reported the 19th congress differently. Therefore, how do these news coverages impact on the audience and society still needs to be studied.
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Essay 2:

Taiwanese Consciousness: The Evolution of a Sociopolitical Construction
Introduction

On June 16th, 2019, thousands of Taiwanese poured into the streets of the capital Taipei to demonstrate in solidarity with the “No Extradition to China!” march in Hong Kong. A week later, on June 23rd, another protest described as "anti-red media" was launched to show Taiwanese objection against the infiltration of funds from the People's Republic of China (PRC) into Taiwanese media. Although the main goal of these two protests seemed different, the target of their critique was the same: China. To be more specific, the core and common objective behind these two demonstrations is the support of freedom and sovereignty against China's “One China Principle,” the “one country, two systems” model and China’s attempt to unify Taiwan. The two social and political protests against China that occurred on the island of Taiwan in a span of one week reflected the current public attitudes of people on both the cross-strait issue of unification with China as well as Taiwanese identity.

Why is Taiwan encountering this issue of unification with China? Back in 1949, after the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang; KMT) regime led by Chiang Kai-shek retreated from the Chinese Civil War between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), it started the reign of the Republic of China (ROC) in Taiwan. Since then, there have been two Chinese governments in the world: one is the People's Republic of China (PRC) in China, and the other is the Republic of China (ROC) in Taiwan. In 1971, after the ROC government withdrew from the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), its international status was replaced by the PRC, causing the internationally recognized representative of China to become the PRC (Lin, 2017). Then, ever since Deng Xiaoping, the politician of the CCP, listed the "one country, two systems" as the principal policy to Taiwan in January 1982, the issue of unification and independence has become the most crucial social and political issue for Taiwanese society, and has lasted for nearly forty years (Chuang, 2013).

Under the rule of the ROC government, the Chinese civil war history between the two Chinas (the ROC and the PRC) has led the people living in Taiwan to address the long-term concern of identity issues. To me, the question of whether Taiwanese are Chinese was once very simple and direct. Without doubts, I considered myself to be a Taiwanese. However, after leaving Taiwan to study in Canada, the problem became
complicated. When one of my colleagues, who is unfamiliar with the cross-strait relationship, namely Taiwan-China relations, and I had a conversation about my Taiwanese identity, she asked me “how come you speak Chinese, and most of your Taiwanese festivals and culture seem the same as Chinese customs, but you are not Chinese?” I then told her how Taiwan is different from China, such as Taiwan's open social atmosphere and democratic politics, and the most obvious traditional Chinese writing system. However, I suddenly realized that I had never thought of the question about why I grew up in a society that regards Chinese culture as mainstream, but I had never considered myself to be Chinese. How did this contradictory identity come into being?

Therefore, the impetus behind this research is to better understand the development of Taiwanese and Chinese consciousness on the island. How does it lead to the phenomenon of the dual identity in Taiwan? In addition, how did Taiwanese identity later transcend Chinese consciousness under the rule of the Republic of China, which was once the sole representative of China in the international community? This paper intends to study Taiwanese political consciousness through a social constructionist viewpoint to explore the social context and various factors that provoked the development of Taiwanese subjective identity, as well as the different characteristics involved in each stage using integrative literature review as the methodology. This research should help contextualize and historicize the existing debates around Taiwanese and Chinese identities and consciousness in the contemporary sociopolitical moment both on the island and beyond.
Literature Review as Methodology

To explore the topic in question, this paper adopts the integrative literature review as an approach to organize the existing literature. According to Torraco (2005), an integrative literature review is a form of research that reviews, critiques, and synthesizes representative literature on a topic that is generated. By exploring the depth of a major topic within the field and systematically tracing the specific topic to its roots, the integrative literature review can provide new frameworks and perspectives to the field (Callahan, 2010; Torraco, 2005). Therefore, after broadly reviewing the current literature related to Taiwanese identity and Taiwanese consciousness along with Taiwan history, this paper intends to synthesize these into an integrated analysis of Taiwanese consciousness developed across time.

This paper frames Taiwanese identity within social constructionism. Two critical opposing perspectives have been proposed to realize social identity: primordialism and social constructionism. Primordialist scholars, such as Edward Shils (1957), Clifford Geertz (1973), and Harold Issacs (1975) believe ethnic identity is based on sharing a bond of kinship, so one’s social identity is a natural collective belongingness that is concrete and largely unchangeable. However, more modernist scholars interpret ethnic identity or national identity through social constructionism, such as Ernest Gellner (1983), Benedict Anderson (1991), and Eric Hobsbawn (1983) who elaborate that social identity is the product of social construction. In other words, identity is constructed by a constellation of social processes over time (İnaç, & Ünal, 2013). If the context or the environment changes, there is a possibility that identity too might change (Mallon, 2008). Thus, based on social constructionism, this paper believes that social identity is in a state of constant change over time, rather than static. Also, given that social identity can be constructed, this paper supposes that identity can also be deconstructed under similar social processes and pressures. By reviewing the development of political identity consciousness among people living in Taiwan, this argument will also be examined further.

To investigate the evolution of Taiwanese political consciousness, the definition of Taiwanese consciousness used in this paper must be addressed. Chen Huizhu (2000) states that Taiwanese consciousness regards Taiwan as the subject of identification, and it has an interactive relationship with the people on this land. Following Wakabayashi
(2014), Taiwanese consciousness is the pursuit of subjective awareness among Taiwanese residents and the right to hold and decide their political prospects based on the history of Taiwan existing in various imperial periphery. This is the spirit in which Taiwanese political consciousness is addressed and analyzed in this paper. To clarify, the discussion of Taiwanese political consciousness in this paper does not limit itself to the evolution of the Taiwanese national identity, which is commonly believed to have emerged in the 1980s under Lee Teng-hui’s authority by scholars such as Wang (1996), Wu (1996), Hsiau (2003) and Wakabayashi (2014). It instead concerns the chronological transformation of the collective political identity that is composed of people living in Taiwan who regard Taïwanese as a subjectivity. Moreover, this paper will not elaborate on the conceptual differences among the various paradigms of Taiwanese nationalism theory, such as political nationalism and Taiwanese cultural nationalism (Hsiau, 2003), but consider the emergence of each nationalist concept in the different period as a characteristic of that stage in the evolution of Taiwanese consciousness.

Regarding the origin of Taiwanese consciousness, most scholars believe there was no such subjective political awareness in Taiwan before the early days of Japanese colonialization (Ch’en, 1995; Chen, 2000; Hsiau; 2003; Su, 2011). One example, Su’s research from 2011 examines the newspaper Taiwan People News (Taiwan Ming-Bao; 台灣民報) from the 1920s to the 1930s based on Benedict Anderson’s (1983) imagined community theory and documents the rise of Taiwanese consciousness from the 1920s. This paper will explore the evolution of Taiwanese political consciousness from the time of Japanese colonization through the Kuomintang’s authoritarian period and then to the present democratized Taiwan until the year.

This paper adopts the social constructionist perspective to examine how Taiwanese and Chinese identities are constructed in the social and political processes in Taiwan. It utilizes the integrative literature review as a method to review and synthesizes these Taiwanese literatures produced by Taiwanese scholars about Taiwanese consciousness and Taiwanese identity into the evolution of Taiwanese subjective consciousness. Moreover, this paper also provides the social context during the identity construction process that contains political, economic, and cultural development as well as the political dynamics at both regional and international levels. On this basis, this paper also presents how the Taiwanese and Chinese identities are intertwined with social,
cultural and political dimensions leading to the complex situation of current Taiwanese society. I believe by understanding the social and political context behind the development of Taiwanese consciousness, this paper attempts to fill the gap in the academic study of Taiwanese identity and the increasingly complex cross-strait situation Taiwan is facing today.
Integrating Taiwanese Political Consciousness from 1895 to 2019

This section will be divided into five time periods to present the evolution of Taiwanese political consciousness by the four most influential incidents in the modern history of Taiwan: KMT government's arrival in Taiwan in 1945, ROC's withdrawal from UNSC in 1971, the abolishment of martial law in 1987, and the first non-KMT rule in 2000. Each of these incidents has had a major impact on Taiwanese society as well as on the Taiwan-centered political consciousness.

Accordingly, the first part will introduce how Taiwanese political consciousness developed during the Japanese colonial regime from 1895 until 1945 and was followed by the KMT government's authoritarian period that imposed martial law on Taiwan. The KMT regime was still largely representative of the Chinese government, particularly in the eyes of the world between 1945 and 1971. In the third period, the KMT government lost its external legitimacy on both mandates—ruling Taiwan and of being the global representative of China—while the martial law lasted until 1987. The fourth stage is when Lee Teng-hui came to power from 1987 to 2000, and the final stage followed the first political party alteration, up until 2019. Undoubtedly, these incidents were also influenced by other factors. Thus, by demonstrating how the power dynamic operates and affects one thing and then another, this section reveals the in-depth social process of both Taiwanese and Chinese identity construction.

The Inception of Taiwanese Consciousness under Japanese Colonialization

In the discussion of Taiwanese consciousness, most scholars agree that Taiwanese consciousness was first formed during the Japanese colonization period and that there was no subjective awareness of Taiwan as a collective before the 1920s (Ch’en, 1995; Chen, 2000; Hsiau, 2003; Su, 2011). As Ch’en (1995) argues Taiwanese consciousness means the combined outcome of being Taiwanese born and raised and aware of the existence of one’s own land, and the uniqueness of this existence that differs from the characteristics of areas other than Taiwan—including mainland China and Japan.
It is within this context that the fifty-year Japanese rule can be regarded as the era of Taiwan consciousness sprouting.

Although the aborigines had dwelt on Taiwan for many thousands of years and the Han people had emigrated from mainland China to Taiwan since the sixteenth century, the Taiwanese consciousness had not formed until Japanese rule (Chen, 2000). Su (2011) argues that the armed resistant movements in the first twenty years of the Japanese ruling period were built by the subordinate Chinese consciousness instead of Taiwanese subjective awareness, such as the uprising of the Republic of Formosa, which was also called the Taiwan Republic. Chen (2000) notes that the name of this movement proves their China-centered awareness. The founder of the Republic of Taiwan named this new era of Taiwan Democratic Republic as "Yung Ch'ing," which means "Ch'ing dynasty lasts forever," and infers that the name shows their intention of returning to Ch'ing territory. Su (2011) explains the phenomenon of Taiwan being a Sinicized with China-centered society resulting from the large group of Han immigration even before the Japanese rule, which caused them to hold these movements to achieve the goal of returning to their motherland, China.

With the intention of deconstructing the traditional culture of those they ruled, the Japanese government restricted Taiwanese people from wearing their traditional costume, singing the Ping Opera, and writing calligraphy. Instead, the government promoted Japanese culture in Taiwan. However, according to Ch’en (1995), this enforcement provoked negative repercussions among some intellectuals. For them, Chinese culture and Taiwanese culture overlapped, and thanks to the domination of the foreign Japanese culture, Chinese culture had been transformed into local Taiwanese culture to some extent. That is, the Japanese government’s cultural domination on Taiwan, the China-ized society, had further deepened Chinese culture’s level of localization into Taiwaneseness.

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9 Republic of Formosa refers to one of the anti-Japanese force in Taiwan after Taiwan's jurisdictional right was turned over to Japan from the Ch'ing dynasty in 1895 due to the Sino-Japanese War. The Taiwan Governor, Tang Ching-sun, and the intellectual, Chiu Fong-jia oppressed to the secession and intended to fight against the Japanese occupation, so they formed the Republic of Formosa. However, it was soon attacked by Japanese troops and collapsed (Ito, 2004).
It was not until the 1920s that Taiwanese consciousness was aroused by multiple components. On the international scale, the liberal ideas from the West had provoked Taiwanese people's anti-colonial consciousness, including Woodrow Wilson's proposition of self-determination in 1918 and the democratic thoughts from Japan (Chen, 1972; Chen, 2000; Hsiau, 2003). As most of the scholars agree, the Taiwanese awareness was overlapped with Chinese consciousness in the early stage of Japanese colonial rule, Ch’en (1995) advocates that the spirit of anti-Japan caused the Taiwanese to have a different consciousness from the Chinese who lived on the mainland at the time. However, this Taiwanese political consciousness did not conflict with the original Chinese consciousness of the people living in Taiwan. Instead, they were overlapped perhaps even complimentary, as they even had a mutually-defined relationship.

Moreover, since the forcible suppression of Taiwanese independence was from Japan, China became the primary ally of the Taiwanese people ally in this movement (Ch’en, 1995). On the regional level, Su (2011) further clarifies that 1927 is a critical year of Taiwanese awareness becoming independent of Chinese consciousness. For one thing, 1927 was not only the year that the Taiwan Cultural Association developed from ideological controversy into administrative struggle and split into the leftist and the rightist wings, but it was also the year that the Chinese Civil War began (Su, 2011). The burst of the Chinese Civil War made the intellectuals of Taiwan realize that the people in China were unable to assist Taiwanese people to be free from colonialization since the Chinese people had already been in its war (Ch’en, 1995).

Su (2011) believes that Taiwan's intellectuals had since started to ponder not only Taiwan's relation with the ruler, Japan, but also its relationship with China. Therefore, in this context, they started to think about Taiwan as the main subject. Based on Anderson's (1983) "imagined community" theory, Su (2011) explores the newspaper Taiwan People News from 1920 to 1930 and argues the Taiwanese subjective awareness in this stage.

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10 Taiwan Cultural Association was founded in 1921 by Chiang Wei-sui, and its purpose was to promote the Taiwanese culture, enlighten the Taiwanese consciousness, and improve people's knowledge and concern in politics by publishing press and holding cultural lectures for the public (Ito, 2004).

11 Under the oppression of the Japanese, the members of the organization started to question and criticize the efficiency of legal resistant movement. The argument caused the group to a breakup, the Association ended up in the hands of the leftists; meanwhile, the rightists organized the Taiwanese People's Party, the first legal political party in the history of Taiwan (Ito, 2004).
had developed its exclusivity through the spread of the Taiwanese press no longer attached to Chinese consciousness. Furthermore, Maurice Meisner (1964) and Douglas Mendel (1970) regard this political self-consciousness of Taiwan in Japanese rule as Formosan nationalism that was provoked by anti-Japanese colonialization awareness. At the time, China was still considered a neutral presence for Taiwanese to build a Taiwanese collective consciousness, but not a foe.

**Nationalist Authoritarianism and Oppressed Taiwaneseness**

After the end of World War II, Japan was asked to abide by the Potsdam Declaration of July 1945 to return Taiwan territory to China. In the same year, Chiang Kai-shek appointed General Chen Yi as the Governor to take over Taiwan from the Japanese government, while he stayed in China to fight in the Chinese Civil War, he then retreated to Taiwan with his troops in 1949 (Ito, 2004). The legitimacy of the Kuomintang (Nationalist; KMT) government’s claim to rule Taiwan and its one-China policy was supported by its international allies, namely the United States (Chu, 2000; Lin, 2017). During this period, the KMT government was still in confrontation with the CCP, and many of its ruling decisions were out of its intention to counter-back mainland China but not to construct Taiwan as a country (Lin, 2003). In response, the KMT government applied high-pressure administration on Taiwanese in this stage, and this has severely impacted Taiwanese society and their identity perception (Chun, 1996; Hsiau, 2003; Lin, 2003; Lin, 2017).

**The Societal Conflict and Division in Taiwan Island**

With the belief in the KMT government, Taiwanese people originally assumed that the KMT would allow them to administer Taiwan on their own, and thus many people of Taiwan were gratified to see the defeat of Japan in the Pacific War and expected to return to what many indeed saw as the mother nation–China (Hsu, 2014, P.48).

12 The broke out of Korean War in 1950 made the U.S. decided to send the Seventh Fleet to the Taiwan Strait with an order to prevent any attack on Taiwan Island by Chinese forces. From then on, Taiwan was placed under the U.S. military protection and became a part of the western camp in the Cold War structure (Ito, 2004, pp.281).
However, what they encountered was completely different. The KMT’s corruption, bureaucracy, and plundering disappointed the Taiwanese people, and their discontentment reached peak levels and erupted in the 228 Incident\(^\text{13}\) (Hsu, 2014; Ito, 2004). Ni (1995) points out that the 228 incident happened not only because of the KMT’s corruption, but also because of the societal differences between two groups of people that lived on the two sides of the strait. Taiwan had experienced modernization under the Japanese regime for the past fifty years, while what mainland China had was armed conflict, leading the overall infrastructure in Taiwan to have surpassed the development in mainland China.

Many Taiwanese intellectuals were killed in this incident, including professors, lawyers, doctors, writers, and teachers. Therefore, Wakabayashi (2014) argues that this incident has weakened the voice of Taiwanese society as a huge number of social elites were deprived of their lives. The KMT government then announced martial law that formalized the prohibitions on people’s freedom of speech, press, and assembly (Hsu, 2014). The 228 incident and how the government handled it consequently have firmly separated the people in Taiwan both politically and socially, which led to a structural impact of provincial complex (shengji qingjie; 省籍情結; the ethnic cleavage between the mainlander Taiwanese and the local Taiwanese), in Taiwan society (Hsiau, 2003; Lin, 2003; Phillips, 2003; Ni, 1995; Wakabayashi, 2014). Although the 228 incident was a taboo for the KMT official due to martial law, it then became the inspiration to mobilize public resistance movements (Ni, 1995).

Apart from the 228 incident, scholars also attribute the provincial complex to the imbalanced distribution of human resources in the public sectors of KMT government (Chu, 2000; Lin, 2003). Lin (2003) explains that after the KMT’s political reform in the 1950s, the KMT officials had monopolized most of the political positions in the parliament.

\(^{13}\) In the evening of February 27, 1947, Lin Chiang-mai, a middle-aged Taiwanese widow was caught for her illegal sale of tobacco by the investigator, who seized not only illegal cigarettes but also her funds and stroke her head with pistol. It then led to a conflict between the official and the crowds (Hsu, 2014 & Ito, 2004). The 228 Incident started as an incident of brutal law enforcement on unauthorized cigarettes, and immediately developed into an island-wide uprising. With this rebellious force, the people urged the Taiwan Provincial Governor to enforce political reforms to clean up corrupt officials. However, the government dispatched reinforcements from China to carry out indiscriminate killings of Taiwanese throughout the whole island. The government also conducted sweeping searches and arrests of insurgents under the pretext of investigating family registry.
and election committee. Under the protection of martial law, the reelection of parliament members was not a necessity, and this system lasted until the 1970s. Chang (1993) further analyzes the party-state structure arguing that it maintains a high degree of occlusion with the mainlander Taiwanese being ruling elites, thereby sealing up the possibility of local Taiwanese political elites rising to the ruling positions. In this context, in some people's mind, the definition of Taiwanese narrowed to the local Taiwanese that have lived on this island before 1945 and excluded those who came with the KMT government after 1945 (Chu, 2002).

**Constructing a Chinese Identity through Cultural Hegemony**

As mentioned above, the KMT government's legitimacy was endorsed by U.S. officials due to Cold War power dynamics. In terms of domestic validity, the KMT reinforced its authority by breeding Chineseness through the education system and cultural hegemony, which reflects its power struggle with Communist China (Hsiau, 2003). In the domestic policy, KMT Chinaized Taiwan in both sociopolitical and cultural aspects to legitimize its regime (Hsiau, 2003). At first, the KMT established some representation that symbolized the legitimacy of the new state and political power. For instance, they created the national anthem "Three People's Principle," raised the national flag of the Republic of China, and changed Taiwanese people's nationality from Japanese to the Republic of China (Lin, 2017). Secondly, the KMT government publicized Chinese as the official language of ROC, and all other local languages were degraded to dialects, including Taiwanese Hokkien, Hakkanese, and other indigenous languages in Taiwan (Lin, 2003). With this framework, any promotion of other local languages would be a threat to the authority, which reflects the dominant relationship between the local Taiwanese and mainlander Taiwanese (Chang, 1993). Consequently, scholars conclude that the Chinese language policy was one of the structural issues that deteriorated the provincial complex (Lin, 2003; Lin, 2017).

In principle, KMT authoritarians broadcasted Chinese nationalism to construct a strong China-oriented identity in Taiwan and its territory abroad, but to compete with the Communist party, KMT's version of Chinese nationalism was differentiated from the CCP's Chinese nationalism (Lin, 2003). According to Chun (1996),
specifically in opposition to the People’s Republic of China, hua-shia represents a metaphorical defense of a traditional past that contrasts with the extreme radicalism of a communist worldview. Within the setting of a modern world system, hua-shia becomes an icon of cultural uniqueness and resistance to Western imperialism.

KMT portrayed itself and Taiwan as the guardian of traditional Chinese culture, and hua-shia was the anchor of the Chinese nation-state. Moreover, as Chu (2000) indicates, the KMT launched the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement in the 1960s to battle with the CCP's Cultural Revolution in the mainland and to strengthen its position as the authentic representation of traditional Chinese culture. In response to the KMT's anti-Communist policy, the mainlander Taiwanese writers engaged in the production of anti-communist literature, which became the mainstream in Taiwan of the 1950s. In sum, the spread of Chinese ideology is not only a mean to legitimatize KMT's regime and promote national unity, but also a powerful way to destroy the Communist Party (Ch’en, 1995). What is worth mentioning is that most scholars’ neglect of Taiwan’s anti-communist ideology of Taiwan is a structural influence of the Cold War (Chen, 2010).

In general, KMT government's promotion of Chinese nationalism, as Anderson (1983) clarifies, is official nationalism. Its administration had led to far-reaching effects on Taiwanese, including the provincial complex issue, the construction of Chinese identity, and the cultivation of Chinese cultural awareness. Furthermore, KMT authoritarian's enforcement of martial law has further cast a political shadow on Taiwanese society and brought about people's fear of political engagement, as Ni (1995) views, the character of the Taiwanese people has been seriously distorted. Though the Taiwan-centered political consciousness that formed during the Japanese colonialization was suppressed in this period, Chang (1993) analyzes that the Taiwanese consciousness did not fade. On the contrary, the 228 incident aroused the anti-colonialist spirit, island-centered culture, and the consciousness of the common destiny of Taiwanese. However, under the power dynamic of the Cold War structure, the KMT's legitimacy of representing China was shaken in the 1970s, which in turn catalyzed the Taiwanese consciousness to be further transformed.
The Rising Taiwaneseness after ROC’s Withdrawal from the UNSC

With the influence of the Cold War structure, the relationship between the United States and People’s Republic of China has gradually moved closer (Wakabayashi, 2014). In July 1971, Henry Kissinger, special assistant to the U.S. President, secretly visited China and announced President Nixon’s plan to visit China (Ito, 2004). After three months, the proposition of “inviting PRC to participate in the UN and expelling ROC” was passed in the United Nation conference, and Kuomintang regime decided to withdraw from the UN to show its disapproval. Sequentially, KMT government experienced a series of removal from various UN-related organizations (Wakabayashi, 2014). ROC’s withdrawal from the United Nation Security Council and PRC’s participation implied that ROC’s legitimacy of representing China has been officially replaced by PRC internationally. The decline of Taiwan’s political support from the global community was accompanied by a series of diplomatic defeats of Taiwan in the 1970s and the subsequent phased abolition of US military subsidies and military advisory groups (Chu, 2000; Wakabayashi, 2014). Facing this external crisis of governance, the Kuomintang was forced to change its policy of ruling Taiwan, and the Dan-Wai (黨外; the political forces other than Kuomintang) forces were also released along with this political liberalization.

KMT’s Intention of Legitimizing its Authority in Taiwan

Undergone the expelling by the United Nations and the breaking of diplomatic relations with the United States, Chiang Ching-Kuo, the son of Chiang Kai-shek, gave up to counterattack against the mainland militarily. Nonetheless, he still insisted that Republic of China was the only China and Kuomintang regime was the legitimate government of China thereby he maintained the attempt to unify China (Ito, 2004). For

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14 The US military system has been relatively declining due to the huge cost of the US investment in the Vietnam War and the strengthening of the Soviet military. Therefore, the United States adjusted its policy and began to be closer to China to confront the Soviet Union and seek a balance of power with the Soviet Union. One of its costs is to compromise on its principle of the Chinese Civil War and recognize the international status of the People’s Republic of China as the representative of the Chinese regime. (Wakabayashi, 2014, P.437).

15 Regarding the US relationship, Taiwan has continued commercial and cultural relations between the people in the US and the Taiwan people in Taiwan under the framework of the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) since 1979 in the absence of diplomatic relations (CSIS, 2019).
Taiwan, the 1970s was a decade of diplomatic loss (Wakabayashi, 2014). In this context, Chiang Ching-Kuo understood that if the Kuomintang regime wanted to survive and develop in Taiwan, it must change its political employment policy, that is, to abandon the framework of "central-mainlander Taiwanese" and "regional-local Taiwanese" policy that had been adopted in the 1950s and 1960s. In 1972, Chiang applied the localized policy and employed more local Taiwanese elites to leading positions to accelerate the integration of elites and strengthen KMT’s legitimacy in authority (Chen, 2000; Hsiau, 2003; Lin, 2017).

However, the localization policy was not meant to engage all local Taiwanese, but to select the talented youth who have grown up in Taiwan to join the leadership class of the Kuomintang (Lin, 2003). These young elites refer to scholars and experts who are under the age of 50 with a master’s degree or above and have specialized knowledge or technology. Lin (2003) articulates that since these peoples’ experience growing up in Taiwan, they tend to have a sense of responsibility towards building Taiwan thanks to a stronger sense of devotion to the island, perhaps more so than previous generations. Lee Teng-hui, who became the vice president later in 1984, is a representation of this localized talent. However, employment with these various qualifications, including age and educational level, did not equalize the participating proportions of those in ruling government positions between local Taiwanese and mainlander Taiwanese. Accordingly, although the political reforms implemented by Chiang Ching-Kuo have opened the convention of excessive centralization of political power among mainland Taiwanese, Ito (2004) claims that more local Taiwanese activists have engaged in politics as Dan-Wai forces.

The Progress of the Dan-Wai Movement and Anti-China Taiwanese Awareness

In the context of international isolation, Taiwanese subjective consciousness continued to gradually increase, and the calls for Taiwan independence and political reform from Dan-Wai opponents swelled both in Taiwan and overseas. Among all the passionate but conflictual social movements, the “Formosa Incident” aroused the most influential storm in Taiwanese society (Wang, 1996). Although the harsh bans on freedom of press and speech still existed, several intellectuals, such as Shi Ming-Der, Lu Hsiu-lien, and Huang Shin-Jay, cooperated and founded the Beautiful Formosa Magazine in 1979.
On December 10, the same year, the members held a commemorative meeting in Kaohsiung without the KMT’s consent, intending to celebrate the International Human Rights Day (Ito, 2004). While the government dispatched security forces and tear gas to suppress the crowds, the biggest clash between the authority and anti-government activists broke out.

Despite the failure, it seemed that the Formosa Incident and their promotion of independent senses and free will inspired the public engagement in political movements afterward. Ch’en (1995) pointed out that in this large-scale protest, the Taiwanese people clearly and firmly expressed their anti-China Taiwanese consciousness. Strictly speaking, in this regard, both the two Chinas, ROC and PRC were the object of resistance, and this was the first time that the public’s determination of Taiwan’s independence regarded China as an enemy (Ch’en, 1995). Formosa Incident drew a line in the development of Taiwanese political consciousness. Wang (1996) further elaborates that the primary goal of the previous political opposition movements in Taiwan was to seek political democratization under the governmental structure of the ROC, but after that, the Dan-Wai movement began to emerge as Taiwanese nationalism, which is why Hsiau (2003) defines the beautiful island event as the most important factor in Taiwan’s political transition of the 70s and 80s in the twentieth-century. Wang (1996) established that the core of political liberalization pursued by these Dan-Wai political opponents was the provincial equality between the local Taiwanese and the mainlander Taiwanese, and the outcome of the Formosa Incident represents a major setback in this pursuit. The strong frustration of the Formosa Incident and the KMT government’s severe suppression in the early-half of the 1980s made Taiwan’s Dan-Wai activists realize that the essence of Kuomintang’s authority was based on the propaganda of Chinese ideology. They believed the sociopolitical structure of current Taiwan had formed under the legitimatization of official Chinese nationalism, leading to unequal social relations between the local Taiwanese and the mainlander Taiwanese.

In order to challenge this ideology, Dan-Wai activists developed a Taiwanese nationalist discourse. Moreover, the efforts and influence of overseas Taiwanese also accelerated the development of Taiwan’s political reform. As Chu (2000) clarifies, the overseas activists
made considerable successes in agitating American public opinion and lobbying Congress, so that the House of Representatives passed a resolution to urge the KMT to lift its ban on the organization of new political parties. Against this background, together with the successes of the People’s Power movement in the Philippines and the popular opposition movement in South Korea, on 28 September 1986, the Taiwanese dissidents defied the martial law and announced the formation of the Democratic Progressive Party (民進黨; DPP) (Chu, 2000, pp.309).

With the assistance of overseas Taiwanese, the lawyers who defended this large-scale judicial trial of Formosa Incident, for instance, Chen Shui-bian and Su Tseng-chang, subsequently became the cornerstone of the Democratic Progressive Party (Hsu, 2014). Wang (1996) clarifies that the vast majority of DPP supporters were from the local Taiwanese, as well as the leading core of the opposition movements, which further gathered under the newly established DDP after 1986 initiated many mass assemblies and street protests to mobilize social support. In this process, Taiwanese nationalism became an important source of appeal for social mobilization, which in turn led to a significant increase in support for the DPP (Hsiau, 2003; Wang, 1996).

In line with the rise of Dan-Wai movement, the polemic of Xiang-tu literature (鄉土文學論戰; xiang tu wen xue lun zhan; the literature debate about native land) also occurred in the 1970s. Ch’en (1995) implies that in this debate Ye Shi-tao, a writer who had been active since the Japanese period to the post-war, put the Xiang-tu literature into the context of Taiwanese literary history, instead of Chinese literary history, defining Taiwan’s local literature as a Taiwan-centered work. In Ye’s discourse, he did not deny the influence of Chinese culture on Taiwan but clearly extracted the characteristics of Taiwan from the ubiquity of Chinese culture (Ch’en, 1995), despite some opposition from others, such as Chen Ying-zhen, who disagreed with this Taiwan-centered idea (Ch’en, 1995; Jiang, 1998). Overall, from the Formosa Incident and Xiang-tu literature debate, Taiwanese political consciousness in the 1970s first appeared as the presence of "out of the Chineseness" and "opposite to the Chineseness that was promoted by KMT’s ideology."

In sum, after the Kuomintang lost its legitimate support from the external force, it changed its policy of governing Taiwan. With the struggle against provincial inequality from Dan-Wai activists of both Taiwan local and overseas, the political atmosphere gradually became slightly more liberated, which motivated the occurrence of Taiwanese nationalism
and the foundation of DPP, as Lin (2017) concludes that the 1980s was the transition of ROC to localization. In light of this, Taiwanese political consciousness has since dissociated from the Kuomintang’s Chinese ideology and even resisted its authoritarian power. Of note, the loss of ROC’s seat in the UNSC at this stage represents PRC’s acquisition of the one-China policy's discursive power, which has greatly changed the meaning of China, Chinese, and Chinese culture\(^\text{16}\) (Wu, 1990). Therefore, with PRC’s strong stance on one-China policy\(^\text{17}\), it has caused a threat to Taiwanese subjectivity.

**Growing the Taiwanese Consciousness in the Post-Authoritarian Period**

In 1987, the Kuomintang regime finally terminated the 38-year martial law order under the pressure of overseas and local Dan-Wai movements and the pressure of the US government (Ito, 2004). With the abolishment of martial law and with Lee Teng-hui’s administration, Taiwan society came to a new era of political and liberalization democratization. In addition, the KMT government finally lifted the ban on cross-strait societal visits in the post-martial law era, and economic exchanges became more frequent. The two sides of the Taiwan Strait gradually settled in a relatively peaceful period rather than being in confrontation. However, such economic and social cooperation has caused the sovereignty of Taiwan to face a potential threat\(^\text{18}\).

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\(^{16}\) As Wu (1990) enounces, the origin of Zhonghua minzu (中華民族; Chinese ethnicity) was proposed by Liang Qichao, a Chinese intellectual, to against the western forces intruded China in the late nineteenth century, this Chinese ideology as this paper mentioned earlier then spread by the ROC government in Taiwan and around the globe. On the other hand, in the 1960s, under a Marxist ideology and a Russian model of policy, the PRC constructed a new concept of being Chinese that is different from the one of ROC (Wu, 1990, pp.155).

\(^{17}\) In January 1982, Deng Xiaoping contended the "one country, two systems" policy to deal with the cross-strait issue. Since then, "peaceful unification" and "one country, two systems" have become PRC's fundamental policy toward Taiwan (Chuang, 2013).

\(^{18}\) Ever since PRC carried out the economic reforms in 1978, as Kao (2004) presents, China has begun to manage its rising international economic status to increase its influence on international affairs and strive for political discourse power. The CCP believes that in the Cold War period, the hegemony power was through military means, while in the post-Cold War period, it resorts to the economic and cultural means to interfere in internal affairs and maintain its political influence (Kao, 2004). As China's comprehensive national power enriches, China's influence on cross-strait relations increases.
The De-Chinaized ROC and Its Increasing Interaction with PRC

Taiwan has gradually lost its export advantage since the 1980s because of rising wages and stagnant international trade, coupled with the US’s request to improve trade imbalance between Taiwan and the United States, especially after 1988 (Ito, 2004). Taiwan’s dependence on the US’s economic relations stems from the Cold War structure, so with the end of the Cold War between the East and the West, the US economic concessions to Taiwan have also been abolished. In the meantime, since the 1988 resumption of non-governmental interactions between the cross-strait, a large number of Taiwanese corporations have set up factories in China. The huge Chinese capital market has further filled the gap in Taiwan’s trade with the United States. Under the tight global economic structure, the economic exchange with PRC has become a very important part of Taiwan’s economy, and it has also caused a high degree of economic interdependence between the cross-strait (Chuang, 2013). Nevertheless, the close economic cooperation provoked concern about the effect of cross-strait economic and trade exchanges in Taiwan. Kuo (1993) explains that the closer cross-strait trade gets, the higher degree of dependence Taiwan’s economic structure towards China will get, leading Taiwan’s economy into a “hostage” situation in the Taiwan Strait’s controversy, which had a great change in this period.

Meanwhile, Lee Teng-hui’s localized administration managed to move Taiwan out of the battle of the representation of China, which also triggered disputes and led to the fragmentation of KMT. Lee firstly announced the abolition of the Period of National Mobilization for Suppression of the Communist Rebellion (動員戡亂時期臨時條款; Dongyuan kanluan shiqi linshi tiaokuan) that was established in 1948 to proclaim Taiwan’s emergency structure, and the KMT no longer officially regarded the CCP regime as the enemy (Ito, 2004). Lee then carried out constitutional reforms that forced the dissolution of the Congress committee, including the representatives of National Congress and Legislative Yuan that had been re-elected for over 40 years. Lin (2017) interprets that Lee’s constitutional reform caused the ROC not only to experience localization but also to

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19 During Lee Teng-hui’s presidency, the Kuomintang faced a split between the conservatives and the reforms, and the lead of Lee’s reform force caused part of the force to build another political party, the New Party (新黨; Xin Dang) (Lin, 2003).
lose its legitimacy to the claim that it represents the whole of China’s territory—including the mainland and Taiwan. To boost economic growth, Lee Teng-hui implemented pragmatic diplomacy and maintained non-governmental relations with the countries that had discontinued diplomatic relations with ROC (Chien, 2003). In the official document alongside other countries, Taipei no longer tried to compete with Beijing for the legal representation of China (Lin, 2017). In other words, Taiwan has progressed to a de-China era, and the controversy over the representation of China has come to an end. Still, in PRC’s One-China Principle, Taiwan Island has been its claim of territory. As Hugh (1997) illustrates,

the official version of the claim to Taiwan as made by the PRC asserts that Taiwan has belonged to China ‘since ancient times.’ This is then used as the basis to insist that the island should be part of the Chinese state (Hughes, 1997, P.3).

Therefore, the main cross-strait issue has since then become focused on the sovereignty of Taiwan (Chu, 2000; Moller, 1995).

**The Accelerating Intenseness between the Cross-strait**

However, the Thousand Island Lake incident involving the murder of 24 Taiwanese tourists in 1994 bred Taiwanese people's distrust of PRC’s authority, and the sowed disharmony in the cross-strait relations (Hsu, 2014; Ito, 2004). The PRC government was dissatisfied with Lee Teng-hui’s visit to the United States; thus, it practiced missile exercises twice in 1995. Despite the martial menace from China, Taiwan held its first direct presidential election in 1996 to demonstrate its dominance of the island, which was regarded by Hsiau (2003) as the peak of Taiwan’s political democratization since the 1980s. In response, the PRC launched another missile, closed the communication with Taiwan authority, and severely blocked Taiwan's international space. Scholars believe it has caused the cross-strait relations to intensify and deepened the suspicions between the cross-strait (Chien, 2003; Chuang, 2013).

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20 On March 31, 1994, a group of 24 Taiwanese tourists was murdered in Thousand Island Lake of Hangzhou, which aroused Taiwanese public’s attention of the truth. Nonetheless, the PRC police authority’s resistance to revealing the investigation has led the Taiwanese people to distrust the PRC authority (Ito, 2004).
Considering the potential negatives of cross-strait exchange on Taiwan’s sovereignty issue, Lee formulated the "no haste, be patient" policy (戒急用忍; jie ji yong ren) to regulate Taiwan's investment on China and prevent Taiwan's loss of high-tech research advantages (Chuang, 2013; Jacob & Ben, 2017). Besides, even with the accelerating pressure of the one-China policy due to Hongkong's return in 1997, in 1999, Lee Teng-hui further proposed a new definition of the cross-strait relation as a special relationship between two countries, which is also referred to as the two countries theory (Chuang, 2013). Under this framework, the cross-strait interaction was entirely frozen, as well as the communication between their non-governmental mechanisms. Overall, as Chu (2000) reviews, since the world entered the post-Cold War structure in the early 1990s, China's rapid economic expansion, military threats, and diplomatic intervention against Taiwan have been regarded as the main threat to Taiwan's sovereignty. She further describes this collective experience that threatened the country by external forces as having prompted the Taiwanese to abandon the opposition of internal ethnic groups owing to national security factors, which reinforced the independent consensus of most Taiwanese citizens and further strengthened the Taiwan-centered identity that President Lee had long attempted to cultivate (Chu, 2000).

Building a New Taiwanese Identity

Lee Teng-hui understood the necessity to deal with the long-standing provincial complex in the process of promoting Taiwan's democratization (Jacob & Ben, 2007). Therefore, under Lee Teng-hui's rule, he re-defined Taiwanese as the New Taiwanese, which means all the people in Taiwan:

[N]o matter what came before four or five hundred years, forty or fifty years ago from the mainland, or since the ancient, we are all Taiwanese. We strive here for Republic of China, and we are the new Taiwanese (Lee Teng-hui delivered in Ma Ying-jeou's night, 1998).

He also articulates that the New Taiwanese is centered on Taiwan, and they establish their government with free will, implement a political system that conforms to the objective of the Taiwanese, and build a prosperous and progressive society regardless of their province (Jacob & Ben, 2007). In this regard, the presentation of New Taiwanese blurs the edge between the local Taiwanese and the mainlander Taiwanese (Chuang, 2013).
Chuang (2014) further clarifies that under Lee's ideology to rebuild the nation-state, the essence of localization, Lee's political localization, has changed from the Dan-Wai localization movement.

In the 1980s, when the localized social movement led by the DPP that was mostly composed of Hokkien challenging the Chinese ideology spread by KMT, the identity recognition of aborigines and Hakka also emerged. The aborigines and Hakka issues are two major minority in the political field of Taiwan (Chuang, 2014). Consequently, in the mid-1990s, the multiculturalist expression has classified Taiwanese people into four dominant ethnicities, the aborigines, Hakka, Hokkien, and Han-people, for better mutual understanding and respect. Chuang (2014) argues that the revival of Hakka consciousness shows the heterogeneity of Han-Taiwanese and that the process of its emergence in the post-martial law period faced a double-layer of oppression, that is, KMT government's political authoritarian as well as the longstanding ethnic hostility of Hakka and Hokkien since the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the focus on multiculturalism has been criticized by Paelabang Danapan, a Taiwan scholar who is a Punuyumayan (卑南族; Pei nan tsu; Puyuma). According to Chuang (2014), Paelabang argues the multiculturalism is a Han-centered discourse that not only decomposes the history of Han people's invasion to the aborigines but also ignores the chronological process of debate between pan-aborigines and tribalism, which implicates a colonial history of forming this single identity among the aborigines. As Wu (1996) interprets, although Taiwanese identity formation had neither fully matured nor the sense of cohesion within the group fully strengthened during this stage—particularly under the influence of China's external threats—the subjective consciousness of Taiwanese had gradually peaked in the 1990s so as to have even surpassed the once-dominant Chinese identity. Chen's (2000) study demonstrates the proportion of Taiwan-centered history increased in the school textbook.

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21 Chuang (2014) argues that localization implies polysemy. In some cases, it refers to the local force opposed to the Kuomintang, who is from the outside of Taiwan Island. The provincial complex can be seen as a conventional example, but not necessarily. The demand of this localization has developed into a more complicated form that carries a certain ideology of state-rebuild after Lee Teng-hui's reform of Kuomintang. In the others, the localization emphasizes local specialty that contradicted to a global sameness, which might have been evolved since the Xiang-tu literature debate in the 1970s, and been continued in the social movements of 1980s, representing people's desire to return to the land (Chuang, 2014).

22 As discussed above in the KMT authoritarian period, the school system was a field where KMT used to spread its Chinese ideology, the historical narrative of the textbook was influenced accordingly (Wu, 1990).
in 1995 compared to 1983, reflecting that the rising trend of Taiwanese subjectivity has driven the society to greater attention to Taiwan's local history in the post-martial law era.

To conclude, Taiwan experienced economic disadvantages in the 1980s due to the transformation of the global economic structure, along with the opening interaction between the cross-strait at this time, the economic structure of both sides thus highly intertwined, and this close relationship formed Taiwanese subjectivity a serious threat. Concurrently, Taiwan moved on to a non-China era owing to the liberation effect in post-martial law, Lee Teng-hui’s localized political reform, and Dan-wai activists’ demand for democracy. Along with ROC’s officials no longer competing with PRC for Chinese representation, the focus between the two sides of the strait subsequently turned to Taiwan's sovereignty issue. However, Taiwan’s democratization has stimulated PRC to perform more intense measures to deal with the tendency of Taiwan independence. The threat from PRC also provoked Taiwanese solidarity and Taiwanese subjectivity, and Taiwanese nationalism further reached its peak (Hsiau, 2003). The Chinese ideology that spread by Kuomintang authority was questioned and challenged by the rise of multiculturalism in various cultural facets, such as in historical narrative, collective memory, and cultural symbols. Such a transformation reveals the influence of China on Taiwanese consciousness reinforced, causing the main struggle of Taiwan to turn from provincial complexity to the cross-strait issue on unification or independence (Chang, 1993).

Approaching the Maturity of Taiwanese Consciousness in the Present

With the rise of DPP as a second political force in Taiwan, Taiwan's politics were no longer dominated by the KMT. In 2000, Taiwan held its second direct presidential election, and Chen Shui-bian was elected as the first non-KMT member in the history of Taiwan, which is the first transitional transfer of political power in Taiwan. However, under the ruling of Chen Shui-bian, the first non-KMT president, this cross-strait stalemate dating back to the mid-1990s was not broken despite Chen’s change on cross-strait policy and attempt to interact with China. It was not until Hu Jintao’s rule of China and Ma Ying-jeou’s, the KMT politician in Taiwan, that the cross-strait interaction became more active (Lin, 2013). Wu (2011) claims there was a gradual shift in the KMT’s position from its traditional stance toward that of an opposing camp. Therefore, since Tsai Ing-wen of DPP’s
presidency, the 14th in Taiwan, China has enforced harsher means to deal with the island. In general, DPP’s attitude towards China opposite to that of the KMT, and this position is demonstrated by their policy in multiple aspects, which also influenced the cross-strait relationship. In the present, although Taiwanese subjectivity reaches the top, it seems to have developed another new trend in the evolution of Taiwanese consciousness.

The Opposite Political Policy of DPP and KMT to Manage Chinese Ideology

Although Chen Shui-bien’s government proposed “proactive liberalization with effective management” (積極開放 有效管理; jiji kaifang, youxiao guangli) to replace Lee Teng-hui’s “no haste, be patient” policy and the explicit intention of improving of cross-strait relations, this did not transpire (Lin, 2003). Kao (2004) argues that the PRC authority preconceived and anticipated the DPP’s pro-Taiwan independence attitude, and thus, Chen’s policy did not receive positive feedback from authorities in Beijing. As a result, during the DPP’s eight-year rule between 2000 to 2008, the governmental communication was still closed, and the tension remained. In terms of cultural policy, Hsiau (2003) indicates that DPP’s domestic policy focuses on localization in the same way as it did during the Dan-wai force. Chen Shui-bien supported the local Taiwan culture through his official power such as adding Xiang-tu language classes that teach Hakka and Hokkien in the elementary schools, established the first Taiwan Literature Institute in the National Cheng Kung University (NCKU), and shed light upon the history of the 228 incident that used to be banned in the society under Kuomintang authoritarian. During his eight-year tenure, more than a dozen Taiwanese history, literature, and language-related institutions were established to advance Taiwanization. In the name of multiculturalism, the DPP official policy enacted the definition of localization in Taiwan (Chuang, 2014).

Meanwhile, PRC adjusted its harsh policy toward Taiwan to a rationalist strategy that emphasized the economic incentives and cultural approach to attract the minds of Taiwanese people and to repress the growing Taiwan identity since Hu Jintao ruled in 2002. To be more specific, the cultural means refer to the cultural exchange process based on the One-China Principle and Chinese ethnic spirit to boost cross-strait communication and deepen the cohesiveness and sentiment of Taiwanese to Chinese culture (Chuang,
2013). However, by observing the trend of public opinion of Taiwanese people during Hu Jintao’s rule, scholars reveal that PRC’s favorable policy towards Taiwan did not alter the political stance or identity recognition of Taiwanese, but indeed improved their impression of China (Chen et al., 2012).

After Ma Ying-jeou was elected as the president in 2008, he proactively advanced the cross-strait interaction based on the 1992 Consensus. The main points of Ma’s cross-strait policy can be summarized into three parts. First of all, the Three No Policy stands for no unification, no independence and no use of force, which expresses his intention of easing the tension between Taiwan and China. Secondly, he advanced the direct transportation mechanism from Taiwan to China to boost mutual tourism and favored students from China to study in Taiwan. Lastly, Ma signed the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA) between mainland China and Taiwan in 2010 (Lin, 2017). Chiefly, Ma Ying-jeou’s policy towards China emphasized the idea of shelving disputes, maintaining the status quo, expanding trade relation, and achieving common prosperity, and it was different from Chen’s policy. In cultural policy, as the re-governance of Kuomintang force, Ma carried out a cultural reversal of the de-Chinaization policy, and it caused various disputes in the fields of education, culture, history, language, and literature (Lin, 2017). For example, Lin points out that Ma Ying-jeou resumed the post office in Taiwan as Chunghwa Post, which was renamed by Chen Shui-bien to Taiwan Post. Also, Ma implemented the senior high school curriculum revision and increased the proportion of Chinese history. Hsiau (2003) claims the public reaction at this time is very similar to the rise of Taiwanese cultural subjectivity in the 1980s and 1990s when the people fought against the KMT’s Chinese ideology spread, and the difference is that the KMT government led by Ma Ying-jeou are no longer opposing China but facilitating it.

**Increased Trade with PRC and Public Anxiety over Sovereignty**

As mentioned above, Ma Ying-jeou actively promoted cross-strait economic policies. However, the legalization process of Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA) was neither publicly accessible nor transparent, and it caused a major social dispute around whether the cross-strait economy would erode Taiwan's

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23 A political term regarding the cross-strait relationship, which refers to an oral agreement between the non-governmental organization of Taiwan and China in 1992.
sovereignty. Students opposed to the agreement launched a protest in the Legislative Yuan, which is called the Sunflower Movement. In March 2014, a coalition of activists and students referred to as the Sunflower Student Movement forcibly occupied Taiwan’s Legislative Yuan to protest a government policy that they perceived as harmful to the country’s interests due to the Service Trade Agreement with China. The trade pact was mocked by protesters as a heixiang (黑箱; black-box); an “under-the-table” agreement since it was negotiated and formulated privately and the government did not consult with the industries that would be affected before the agreement was signed. Some protesters even argued that with the growing Chinese influence, Taiwan’s media culture, freedom of speech and even sovereignty would be threatened (Lee, 2015). Lin (2017) notes that the Sunflower Movement reflects the collective anxiety of the Taiwanese people about China’s attempt to govern Taiwan and will influence Taiwan’s political autonomy and freedom. As Matsuda (2017) criticizes:

Economic changes inevitably cause political changes, and economic dependence can create political dependence (Matsuda, 2017).

According to the Taiwanese/ Chinese identity of Taiwanese studies tracked by the Political Investigation Center of the National Chengchi University (NCCU) (figure 6), Taiwanese identity at this stage has continued to rise, while the Chinese identity continues to decline in Ma Ying-jeou’ rule. Even China’s cross-strait policy focuses more on economic and trade exchanges, and even the cross-strait becomes peaceful, the people in Taiwan tend to recognize themselves as Taiwanese rather than Chinese. According to scholars, this situation is the result of various factors. For instance, the profit was largely absorbed by the big corporations instead of common people; therefore, they had no experience of benefit from the increasing cross-strait exchange, it even worsened the capital distribution (Chen et al., 2012; Tang, 2011; Wang& Ko, 2010; Wu, 2011). Secondly, there was concern about the influence of close economic interaction on Taiwanese sovereignty (Chen et al., 2012; Lin, 2017; Wu, 2011). Finally, the rise of Taiwanese regarding themselves as Taiwanese instead of Chinese despite the closer relationship with China under Ma Ying-jeou regime attributes to the social development of Taiwanese subjectivity which had been constructed since the Lee Teng-hui rule (Chen et al., 2012). Even though some agree the cross-strait economic exchange can bring economic growth to Taiwan, most did not turn their attitude to pro-unification. What is worthwhile noting, the study shows when people consider the overall Taiwan economy stops growing or depresses,
they maintain their Taiwanese identity; however, when they regard the cross-strait economic benefits to the Taiwan economy, the dual identity expressed as "I am both Taiwanese and Chinese identity" rises. In general, as Wang (2017) argues, during 2003-2015, China’s “carrot and stick policies” negatively correlate with exclusive Taiwanese identity. During Ma Ying-jeou’s administration from 2008 to 2016, Taiwanese people in the survey of Chinese and/or Taiwanese identity showed a high degree of Taiwan’s subjectivity, but on the other hand, their choice of identity will be influenced by external economic factors, and then wander between “I am a Taiwanese” and "I am both a Taiwanese and Chinese." As Wu (2005) analyzes, this is the tendency of Taiwanese people choosing their identity due to rational economic consideration.

![Figure 6. A chart of Changes in the Taiwanese/ Chinese Identity of Taiwanese as Tracked by the Election Study Center of NCCU (1992-2018)](https://esc.nccu.edu.tw/app/news.php?Sn=166)

After this movement, the concept of organic Independence (天然獨; Tien Ran du) emerged in Taiwan society, which was initially proposed by Tsai Ing-wen, Taiwan's current president from 2016, on a presentation. The phrase refers to the young generation who

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25 July 19th, 2014, at the DPP-member conference, some of them proposed to abolish the Taiwan independence guideline, one of the fundamental rule of DPP, and Tsai replied that with the
were born after the 1980s who perceive themselves as Taiwanese and tend to recognize Taiwan as an independent country (Sheng, 2017). Despite the fact that they both support Taiwan independence, Shang (2017) examines that the construction of historical background and the object of resistance between organic independence and the traditional Taiwan independence supporters in the Dan-wai movement era are different. For one thing, the phenomenon of the emergence of organic independence does not directly attribute to the rising awareness of Taiwanese nationalism but the rise of CCP. Sheng further states that the traditional Taiwan-independence supporters are impacted by the provincially complex and tragic history, and in their belief, it is crucial in discovering and underscoring Taiwan subjectivity. On the contrary, in the perception of the organic independence generation, the perceived ‘others’ are not mainland Taiwanese or the ROC but the PRC who suppresses Taiwan's international space and the pro-PRC KMT. Overall, although this concept of organic independence has not been fully investigated, this phenomenon reflects the mature development of Taiwanese subjectivity.

The Generation Gap in the Post-Sunflower Era

In 2016, Tsai Ing-wen, as the DPP representative won the presidential election in Taiwan and became the 14th Taiwanese president, whose fundamental administration is in line with Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bien. Economically, Tsai Ing-wen believes that cross-strait development is not the only option; instead, she launched the New Southbound Policy (NSP)\(^{26}\), aiming at reinvigorating and expanding ties and relations with Southeast Asian countries (CSIS, 2018). Regarding the cross-strait matter, Tsai delivered a speech on her inaugural address, mentioning that the 1992 consensus was a historical fact and Taiwan has the willingness to seek commonality and maintain differences of both sides. However, Tsai Ing-wen did not recognize the implicit meaning of the 1992 Consensus, that is, both Taiwan and mainland China belong to one China (Hsu, 2019; Lin, 2017). Her refusal of PRC's One-China Policy provided the present PRC leader Xi

\(^{26}\) Followed Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bien’s strategy, Tsai’s New Southbound Policy is designed to leverage Taiwan’s cultural, educational, technological, agricultural, and economic assets to strengthen its regional integration, and to diversify Taiwan’s outbound investment away from China to Southeast Asia with a both more strategic and more comprehensive way than those of her predecessors (CSIS, 2018).
Jinping, who constantly emphasized there would be no peaceful cross-strait development without the 1992 Consensus, with a strong justification to not only intervene in Taiwan’s diplomatic relations but also enhance the economic attractiveness to Taiwanese people to some extent. To be specific, the breakdown of diplomatic relations with the Republic of Panama in June 2017 marked a defeat for Tsai’s diplomatic strategy. However, Lin (2017) explains that the punishing manner of Beijing’s officials has proven helpless at changing the minds of the Taiwanese. In this context, the diplomatic break between Taiwan and Panama turns into a double-edged sword which, on one hand undermines Tsai Ing-wen's authority, and on the other hand, estranges the heart of Taiwanese people.

Nevertheless, during Tsai’s rule, there is some decrease in the exclusive Taiwanese identity awareness as indicated in the NCCU survey. According to figure 1, the exclusive Taiwanese identity has steadily ascended and reached its peak in 2014, when the Sunflower Movement was at its height. This growth shows the salience of the external effect of China on Taiwan consciousness. However, after 2014, the percentage of those identifying themselves as Taiwanese only descended, while choosing to be both Taiwanese and Chinese has increased. Noticing this change, Chen Fang-yu (2017) analyzes which group of people has changed their attitude in the NCCU identity survey, and he argues that the people shifting their identity from exclusive Taiwanese to both Taiwanese and Chinese are the demographic of 30 and above. Among them, the greatest change is located in the group of the fifty to fifty-nine year old people, which is a sixteen-percentage change. It follows by a change of nine percent of people aged from forty to forty-nine, and then a five percent change of the thirties. Importantly, the research shows that people aged from twenty to twenty-nine did not change their identity to both Taiwanese and Chinese, rather, the percentage identifying themselves as Taiwanese increased. Chen's study indicates a generational gap of identity recognition between the twenty-year-old people and the middle aged and the elderly and supports the existence of organic independence.

To sum up, the opposite ideology of the cross-strait issue between DPP and KMT is observable in the economic and cultural policy since the first party transition in 2000. Economically, the DPP tends to interact with China in the global economic structure, while

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27 One year after Tsai Ing-wen came to power, Taiwan encountered a huge diplomatic defeat. ROC's diplomatic relation with the Republic of Panama that dated back to the late-Ch'ing Dynasty and lasted for 106 years had ended on June 30th, 2017 (Lin, 2017).
the KMT underscores the development of common interests with China. In the cultural perspective, DPP upholds Taiwan-centered narrative of history and native language education, whilst KMT advocates the Chinese ideology that it once implemented. In the past, the ROC dominated the Chinese representation internationally, but as the discursive power shifted to PRC, which causes KMT’s insistence on a Chinese ideology which bolsters the PRC’s ideology. Under the differing cross-strait approaches of DPP and KMT, the relationship between Taiwan and China shifts accordingly and does not remain static. In this stage, China is the strongest factor in Taiwanese identity issues. While its diplomatic threat has become less effective, the economic incentives has gradually risen resulting in a greater tendency towards rationalistic identity choices. Meanwhile, the analysis shows a generation gap in the identity perception between people who are born before the 1980s and those born after, the younger generation conceives Taiwan as an independent country, reflecting that a more mature Taiwanese consciousness at this stage has developed.

**Summarizing the Evolution of Taiwan Consciousness in Modern Taiwan**

Concluded from above, the post-war modern history of Taiwan is a process of Taiwanization of the Republic of China. Furthermore, the Chinese Civil War and Cold War have both substantially impacted the history of Taiwan, its development as a nation-state, and its political consciousness (Wakabayashi, 2014). The above section describes five stages in the development of Taiwanese political consciousness. This consciousness firstly emerged during the Japanese regime in the mid-1920s, and under Kuomintang’s hegemonic Chinese nationalism, it was forbidden, but after ROC lost its legitimacy, its uniqueness was then discovered and started to grow as Taiwanese nationalism that demanded for Taiwan political independence under Lee Teng-hui’s rule. Nowadays, Taiwan-centered consciousness has been publicly recognized in Taiwan, and its enemy is PRC’s Chinese nationalism. As Wu (1996) points out, in this political context, Taiwanese nationalism has developed under the shadow of Chinese nationalism that urges the unification of the territory of Great-China. In conclusion, the development of Taiwanese consciousness is the product of a discourse of resistance. At first, it resisted against Japanese colonialization, it then struggled from the KMT’s authoritarian Chinese hegemony, and finally, it survived and swelled under the oppression of PRC.
Discussion and Conclusion

In the last chapter, this paper scrutinizes the evolution of Taiwanese political consciousness, which embodies the process of how Taiwanese identity and Chinese identity developed and intertwined thoroughly over the decades. Before the period of Japanese colonization, there was no conception of Taiwanese people in Taiwan Island. Under Kuomintang’s autocracy, the definition of Taiwanese identity changed from an imagined community in the era of Japanese rule to a narrower boundary of local Taiwanese that had inhabited the area before 1945. The KMT government manipulated its power to spread Chinese ideology, educated people living in Taiwan to have a Chinese identity, and deepened Chinese culture into Taiwaneseness, breeding Chinese culture, which became the mainstream in Taiwan (Ch’en, 1995). Then in the 1990s, Lee Teng-hui’s administration redefined the meaning of being Taiwanese. He blurred the edge between local Taiwanese and mainlander Taiwanese and raised the awareness of local Taiwanese culture and multiculturalism to the public, therefore, the prevailing role of Chinese culture was criticized and questioned by Taiwan society. The Taiwanese subjectivity was strengthened as PRC employed various threats to undermine Taiwan’s official authority and sovereignty, which resulted in a marked increase in Taiwanese identification in the late 1990s that surpassed Chinese identification.

In addition, although the construction of Chinese identity in China’s geographical landmass is not the centerpiece of this paper, it is nevertheless directly related to what happens in Taiwan. The background of Chinese identity being built was when the Ching Dynasty was forced to open its defense by the Western countries in the late nineteenth century, and the Chinese intellectuals created the concept of the Chinese nation to gather the people in China, which this paper mentions in more detail in footnote number eight (Calhoun, 1997; Chun, 1996; Wu, 1990). At that time, as Wakabayashi (2014) claims, Taiwan was in the periphery of the Chinese empire, and the consciousness of Han people in Taiwan was a substitute of Chinese consciousness. In consequence, Taiwan was affected by this Chinese nationalism that emerged in the late nineteenth century, and with the ROC government's immigration policy, this Chinese identity was then constructed in Taiwan. Overall, the evolving process of Taiwanese consciousness is an embodiment of how the development of Taiwanese identity and Chinese identity in Taiwan can be explained through the perspective of social constructionism. In the Taiwanese context, it
is self-evident through this research and, as documented by much of the literature on the topic, Taiwanese consciousness is the product of an amalgamated sociopolitical context. This means that the political circumstances and changes have informed how social norms and sensibilities are defined as distinctly Taiwanese. Conversely, the social changes that entail further entrench Taiwanese political consciousness. Based on this, this paper further proclaims three supporting arguments.

First of all, from the review of Taiwan history, the development of Taiwanese consciousness in modern history is a process of social construction that involves not only the political struggle but also the public resistance from Taiwanese people. This paper proposes that the generation of organic independence is a combination of the long-term accumulation of Taiwanese subjectivity and the promotion of Taiwanese identity by both the official power and society in the late-1990s. This proposition can be supported by Sheng’s (2017) claim that the organic independence generation refers to those who were born after the 1980s. In light of this, these people grew in the society that experienced the peak of Taiwanese nationalism and Dan-wai social movements; thus, their awareness is shaped by a high degree of Taiwanese subjectivity. Irrefutably, this phenomenon cannot simply be accounted to the sociopolitical change in the 1990s, rather, one should see the continuous development through time, including the efforts of Dan-wai activists who had struggled since the 1950s and the global political dynamic as well as its effect on the people in Taiwan and their collective memory. It was not until the 1990s that Taiwanese identity was finally approved and supported by the officials in power. Without multiple implementations such as the Taiwan-centered educational reform combining the strong suppression from PRC, Taiwanese consciousness would not have reached its maturity in present-day Taiwan. Therefore, the generational gap of Taiwanese identity recognition can be attributed to Lee Teng hui’s change from how the Chiang Kai-shek and his son ruled Taiwan with Chinese ideology to the de-Chinaized approach in the 1980s and the new Taiwanese identity in the 1990s.

Secondly, as mentioned above, identity recognition can be both constructed and deconstructed. Given that Taiwanese subjectivity was built in the context of anti-Chinese nationalism, this paper argues that when Taiwanese identity was constructed in Taiwan, meanwhile, Chinese identity was also deconstructed simultaneously. For one thing, Taiwanese consciousness evolved clearer boundaries after the 1979 Beautiful Formosa Event. The sociopolitical “others” in Taiwanese identity awareness at this time cannot
simply refer to the provincial mainland Chinese after 1945, but rather the Kuomintang authority and Chinese ideology. Furthermore, Taiwanese intellectuals excavated the unique aspects of Taiwaneseness from the ubiquity of Chinese culture. In the post-authoritarian era, Taiwanese nationalism experienced a spike, and conventional Chinese culture became the subject of societal criticism and scrutiny. Along with PRC official's diplomatic and martial oppression, the Chinese identity waned in Taiwan. As figure 1 illustrates, Chinese identity experienced a rapid decline in the late-1990s, while Taiwanese identity increased expeditiously, proving the simultaneous change in the construction of Taiwanese identity and the deconstruction of Chinese identity.

Last but not least, as social and political constructionism upholds, ones' identity does not firm up immediately after being born but is shaped by their social experience with identity constantly undergoing changes. The evolution of Taiwanese consciousness is a prominent and classic representation of this. Take the post-Sunflower movement era as an example. Even when Taiwanese subjectivity attains its peak, Taiwanese people’s identity awareness is still undergoing change. As the core reason behind the determination of one’s identity has changed as a result of greater rationalism over economic considerations, more Taiwanese people choose to identify as both Taiwanese and Chinese. This situation not only happens domestically but also overseas. According to Li's (2016) study, overseas Taiwanese would sometimes refer to themselves as huaren (華人; ethnic Chinese) to better economically exchange with Chinese people. In this context, huaren becomes a strategic identity performed when needed. Nonetheless, this paper's demonstration of the development of Taiwanese consciousness does not perfectly fit the sociopolitical experience of overseas Taiwanese, and further details should be examined.

As a communication study, this paper is devoted to bridging sociopolitical communication theory to the political power interplays and complexities of both the cross-strait area and the international structure. By shedding light on Taiwanese political identity issue in relation to the cross-strait dynamics, I argue that Taiwanese consciousness is the product of sociopolitical communication practices. To sum up, this paper is a review of the academic and public research on Taiwanese consciousness. It organizes the existing literature produced by Taiwanese scholars by integrative literature review and divides the process into five parts for a detailed account of sociopolitical and cultural dynamics in each stage, along with analysis of the international layer of politics. Built on this, this paper
examines the constructing process of Taiwanese identity and Chinese identity in Taiwan and can be best described with social and political constructionism, which proposes three arguments. First, from the viewpoint of social constructionism, this paper argues that the present phenomenon of the generation gap in terms of Taiwanese identity awareness results from a series of structural sociopolitical transformation and the external threat in the late-1990s. Second, in the social context of the 1990s, when Taiwanese identity was constructed by society, Chinese identity was also deconstructed at some level. Third, Taiwanese identity awareness is a changing consciousness influenced by various political powers and social forces, including the rise of economic rationalism which provokes the Taiwanese people to choose to be both Taiwanese and Chinese.

Without a doubt, the different life experiences of each Taiwanese can lead to a different social construction process of social and political consciousness, therefore this analysis should not be seen as generalizable to every Taiwanese person. Neither can the methodology of this paper achieve this specific holistic explanation. Nevertheless, what this paper intends to achieve is to demonstrate how Taiwanese consciousness changes chronologically with not only the domestic political struggle but also the international level power dynamic through a macroscopic exploration in the modern historical context of Taiwan. I believe the value of this research is to present the changing political consciousness of Taiwan over the last hundred years. As the political dynamic is still ongoing, the study of Taiwanese consciousness should continue to be conducted. One observation in this paper is the critical role of the US behind the historical changes of Taiwan, although some relevant demonstration is mentioned in each stage, owing to the limited scope and short timeframe of this extended essay, the research here could not investigate this matter further. In conclusion, this paper argues that the influence of national, regional, and international political circumstances informs the constant evolution of a socially-constructed Taiwanese political consciousness against the backdrop of a pervasive Chinese national and cultural hegemony.
References


