

**A SURVEY STUDY ON POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE,
LOCAL KNOWLEDGE, CHINA PREJUDICE AND
PROGRESSIVE POLICY IN TAIWAN, 2019**

By

Ju-Hsiu Liao

廖如琇

Submitted to the Faculty of
Department of International Affairs in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts in International Affairs

Wenzao Ursuline University of Languages
2019

WENZAO URSULINE UNIVERSITY OF LANGAUGES
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

This senior paper was presented

by

Ju-Hsiu Liao
廖如琇

It was defended on

November 30, 2019

and approved by

Reviewer 1: Daniel Lin, Associate Professor, Department of International Affairs

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Reviewer 2: Ren-Her Hsieh, Associate Professor, Department of International Affairs

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Advisor: Mark W Lai, Associate Professor, Department of International Affairs

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Copyright © by Ju-Hsiu Liao, 廖如琇

2020

**A Survey Study on Political Independence,
Local Knowledge, China Prejudice and Progressive Policy in Taiwan, 2019**

Ju-Hsiu Liao
Wenzao Ursline University of Languages, 2019

Abstract

Statehood of Taiwan independence or unification with China has long been the most debated subject in the history of Taiwan. People in Taiwan have diversified opinions toward independence or unification. In recent decades, although Taiwan is already a de facto independent country but Taiwanese people continued to struggle on this issue every year and every election.

This paper aimed to find out how Taiwanese people engage and perceive the debate of independence or unification. A survey was conducted in summer 2019 before the presidential election. The findings of the survey showed: 1) majority of Taiwanese people support Taiwan independence; 2) majority of Taiwanese people have no strong prejudice toward China nor Chinese people; 3) majority of Taiwanese people support social progressive policies.

Overall, this research suggested, first, political identity improve the efforts in acquiring Taiwan knowledge, Taiwanese people shall care more about international affairs and China affairs. Second, Taiwanese people are cautions about Beijing policies toward Taiwan but the overall hostility toward China does not exist. Politicians shall not exaggerate the anti-China sentiment for their own selfish interests. Third, Taiwanese people are heading for more progressive policies. Do not let independence or unification issue hamper this right direction.

Keywords: Taiwan independence, unification, social progressive policy, prejudice

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	1
Background.....	1
Motivation and Significance.....	2
Research Purpose and Contribution.....	2
Research Question.....	3
Limits.....	4
LITERATURE REVIEW.....	5
Classification of Taiwan Independence/ Unification Political Thoughts.....	5
Definition of Taiwan Independence.....	5
Unification.....	7
Classical-Beijing Government.....	7
Radical-Hong Tong.....	8
Moderate-Lan Tong.....	9
Taiwan Independence.....	12
Classical School.....	12
Radical Faction.....	15
Moderate School.....	19
METHODOLOGY.....	23
Study Population.....	23
Research Instrument Design.....	24
Data Collection.....	25

SURVEY ANALYSIS	26
Descriptive Statistics	26
Position of Taiwan Independence or Unification.....	27
Social Progressive Policy.....	29
Negative Impression of China.....	30
Regressive Statistics	32
Variables	32
Controlled variable	32
Dependent Variable	32
Independent Variables	33
Variables of First Test.....	33
Variables of Second Test	34
Variable of Third Test.....	34
Research Hypotheses.....	35
Model of Testing	37
Finding and Implication.....	37
Background Section.....	37
Knowledge Section.....	38
Negative-China Section	41
Social Progressive Section	43
CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION.....	44
APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE.....	46
APPENDIX 2.....	51

BIBLIOGRAPHY53

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Questionnaire Related to Position of Taiwan Independence or Unification..	29
Table 2: Questionnaire Related to Social Progressive Policy.....	30
Table 3: Questionnaire Related to Negative Impression of China.....	32
Table 4: Taiwan Knowledge Questionnaire	39
Table 5: China Knowledge Questionnaire.....	40
Table 6: Globe Knowledge Questionnaire	40
Table 7: One of China Knowledge Questionnaire	41

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Regression Analysis of Position of Taiwan Independence or Unification. .	39
Figure 2: Regression Analysis of Position of Taiwan Independence or Unification on the Negative Impression of China.	42
Figure 3: Regression Analysis of Position of Taiwan Independence or Unification on the Social Progressive Policy.	43

LIST OF GRAPH

Graph 1. Typology of Taiwan Independence or Unification by Time and Political Spectrum (sorted by author).....	6
--	---

INTRODUCTION

Background

In the past hundreds of years, Taiwan independence had long been a political movement aiming to establish both the Taiwanese identity and the Taiwanese state. People had controversial opinions toward the movement because it involved cultural, economic, political, and international political factors. According to the Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States,

“The state as a person of international law should possess the following qualifications: a) a permanent population; b) a defined territory; c) government; and d) capacity to enter into relations with the other states.”¹

As following the four qualifications, Taiwan went through different stages of sovereign transition and was still not completely qualified to be a state under the international law. In addition to strong and threatening Chinese objection of independence, people in Taiwan had drastic different opinions toward future direction of the country. According to the newest survey of Taiwanese Public Opinion Foundation, 47.5 percent of people said they favored independence, while 22.7 percent favored unification with China, and 18.5 percent favored maintaining the status quo.² This survey showed the uncertainty, polarization, and the major inclination toward independence of Taiwanese expectation to the future.

In 2020 presidential election, Taiwan independence or unification with China will be the hot topic for furious discussion. However, Taiwan is already a de facto independent country but Taiwanese people still struggle on this issue every year. In the election, the political parties use independence or unification to be the means of polity. This research aimed to

¹Montevideo Convention on Rights and Duties of States., "Montevideo Convention on Rights and Duties of States", Cambridge University Press
<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/international-law-documents/montevideo-convention-on-rights-and-duties-of-states/7B2A2374C17D2ED5DC2ACF409704F308>.

²Taiwanese Latest Trend of Reunification and Independence., ed. Taiwan Public Opinion Foundation,
<https://www.tpof.org>.

provide discussion, and suggestions on the topic of Taiwan Independence. The readers can understand more about the definition of Taiwan independence and the political development in the future.

Motivation and Significance

On January 2, 2019, Chinese President Xi Jinping reiterated "One China Policy" at the 40th anniversary of the publication of the Taiwan Compatriots. President Xi opposed "Taiwan independence" and proposed "One Country Two Systems". In response, Taiwan President Tsai Ing-wen reiterated that Taiwan absolutely will not accept "One country, Two systems." Majority of Taiwanese also resolutely oppose unification with China and this opposition is also a "Taiwan consensus."³ Under the pressure from Xi and before the coming of 2020 Presidential Election in Taiwan, the voice of radical Taiwan independence is getting louder. Throughout the year of 2019, Taiwan independence issue will definitely become the center of debate and cause of political instability in Taiwan, as well as in the whole East Asia, and the world politics.

Research Purpose and Contribution

According to the survey of United Daily News, young people between 20 to 29 years have the highest ratio of self-identification to Taiwanese (85%). The table showed that young generation, they preferred supporting Taiwan independence and upper 30-years-old people, they preferred maintaining the status quo.⁴

³ Taiwan People News, " President Tsai Responds to Chinese President Xi : Do Not Accept the 1992 Consensus and Resolutely Oppose One Country, Two Systems" <https://www.peoplenews.tw/news/49cc5fbc-948c-4046-985a-9c9a10e0fe08>. Available from: <https://www.peoplenews.tw/news/49cc5fbc-948c-4046-985a-9c9a10e0fe08>.

⁴ United Daily News, "73 Percent of Taiwanese Believe They Are Taiwanese and 46 Percent Want Maintain the Status Quo ", United Daily News <https://vision.udn.com/vision/story/9534/1554314> (accessed 6.21 2019).

In this democracy generation, most of Taiwanese people prefer to support Taiwan independence or maintain the status quo. But it is confused that Taiwan is a sovereign independent country, Taiwanese people still argue about Taiwan independence or unification with China.

In the literature review, it focused on the definition of Taiwan independence. The definition covered different periods of Taiwan independence after world war two. Through the literature review, the concept of Taiwan independence was based on the existence of unification. In order to let readers realize how Taiwan independence goes on and how makes it happened. Moreover, the opinions of young generation determine Taiwan's future. I used survey to understand the opinions of the debate of independence or unification from Taiwanese people. Specially, young generation's knowledge, opinions, and actions on Taiwan independence and assess the prospect of Taiwan and compared with elder generation. To find out what the attitude of young generation and elder generation have toward the position of Taiwan independence or unification and see whether Taiwanese have negative impression of China or not. Is the negative impression and misunderstanding of China causing Taiwanese people hate Chinese and want to support Taiwan independence? Is Taiwan only having two choices, independence or unification? Besides, Taiwanese people focus too on this issue and forget the other important issues. Hence, this paper will find out the opinions of Taiwanese people and give suggestions.

Research Question

How Taiwanese people form, perceive, and live with the independence and unification debate?

Limits

In the literature review, it was hard to completely define independence and unification because the various political opinions. Due to the years of development, both of independence and unification schools had different ideas at every stage. Moreover, in the survey, the researcher changed the knowledge questions many times in order to let respondents answer the questions without thinking too much and avoid guessing the answers before spreading out the questionnaire. Therefore, the researcher asked five people to make sure whether the questionnaires could be understood easily. Due to the memory loss and less understanding, respondents might not be performed well on the three to five sections (knowledge questionnaire). The sampling could not be balanced because most of researcher's friend ages are majority under 30 years old. For this research, it should have young and elder people. Also, in the limit time of research, the researcher used snowball sampling. Although it was random sample, it would be better if it could have more respondents whose ages over 40 years old.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Classification of Taiwan Independence/ Unification Political Thoughts

In this session, the literature review focused on the definition of Taiwan independence. The definition covered different periods of Taiwan independence after world war two. In Taiwan, there are two groups arguing the position of Taiwan. One group supports Taiwan independence but the other group supports unification. Hence, different groups have different opinions. Through the literature review, the concept of Taiwan independence is based on the existence of unification.

Definition of Taiwan Independence

Taiwan Independence Movement was a political campaign originated from 228 incidence in 1947 when Taiwanese elites felt disappointment with both Japanese colonizer and corruptive Chinese occupier, nurtured by the longing to democracy, social progress and self-determination under the long KMT authoritarian years, facilitated by Taiwan's democratization and liberalization in the 80s and 90s, as well as the rise of DPP, strengthened by Beijing's unpopular unification warfare toward Taiwan, especially the strong and hostile rhetoric and economic advancement to the declining Taiwanese economy.

Taiwan Independence Movement aimed to reach the ultimate goal of de jure independence and recognition by international society. To avoid war with China, Taiwan Independence Movement for now choose not to proceed with constitutional amendment nor public declaration of independence, instead, focused on deepening of Taiwanese conscious education, reduction of economic reliance and interaction with China, development of ally relations with the US and Japan, and continued to verbally battle with China and political forces whichever lean toward China.

It was hard to define Taiwan Independence in an exact way because every person has his or her own judgments depending on which side did they support. According to the data about defining Taiwan Independence, I divided those data into two groups, “Taiwan Independence” and “Unification.”

<u>Radical</u>	Unification	<u>Moderate</u>	Independence	<u>Radical</u>	
		In History			
<u>CCP</u> (Mao Zedong 毛澤東)	<u>KMT</u> (Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石)	<u>Left Wing</u> (Chen Ying-zhen 陳映真)	<u>Taiwanization</u> (Chen Fang-ming 陳芳明)	<u>DPP</u> (Lin Cho-shui 林濁水)	<u>Declaration of Formosa</u> (Peng Ming-min 彭明敏)
Liberation of Taiwan and unification of China	Three Principles of the People to unify China	Great Chinese Nationalism and socialist reform	Taiwanese consciousness and local culture building	Taiwan Independence Party Platform	One Taiwan one China and New Constitution
<u>Unification Groups</u> (Wang Hsiao-po 王曉波)	<u>CCP</u> (Xi Jinping 習近平)	<u>KMT</u> (Ma Ying-jeou 馬英九)	<u>DPP</u> (Tsai Ing-wen 蔡英文)	<u>Third Party</u> (NPP&S 時代力量 & 社民黨)	<u>New State</u> (World United Formosans for Independence 獨盟)
Ultimate Unification	One Country Two Systems	92 Consensus	Respect the history of 92 Consensus	End one China policy and create normal state	Referendum, new constitution, De-jure Independence
		Contemporary			

Sorted by author

Graph 1. Typology of Taiwan Independence or Unification by Time and Political Spectrum (sorted by author)

Unification

In this part, I separated the different statement of unification group, respectively were the following: classical, radical, and moderate. In the unification faction, it divided to two groups, left wing and right wing. In the left wing, it focused on social progress but in the right wing, it focused on supporting CCP and had patriotic enthusiasm of CCP. According to the difference of political standpoint, unification groups was divided into Hong Tong (紅統) and Lan Tong(藍統). The position of Hong Tong was closed to Communist Party of China and denied ROC. Hong Tong thought that the Communist Party of China should rule China and the name of nation was PRC (People's Republic of China). KMT was represented as Lan Tong and they thought that Taiwan and China should be ruled by ROC and Three Principles of the People. Eventually, both Hong Tong and Lan Tong were divided into right wing but their views of unification were totally different. Although unification groups had different opinions, their common goal was to fight against Taiwan independence.

Classical-Beijing Government

Each presidents of China attached great importance to Taiwan issue. In 1958, Mao Zedong said "We (Taiwan and China) are all Chinese." Mao thought that Taiwan was part of China and Taiwan will come back to mainland one day.⁵ From then, Beijing's stance toward Taiwan persisted. For now in 2019, Chinese President Xi Jinping emphasized that "Peaceful Reunification" and "One country, two systems" are the basic principles for resolving the Taiwan issue. Xi stressed that he respected the fact that Taiwanese can choose social system and life style but he will not tolerate any division of the country.⁶

⁵ Guang-Zhen Wang Xiao-Yong Wang, "Mao Zedong's Ideas on the Settlement of the Taiwan Issue," *SOCIAL SCIENCES JOURNAL OF UNIVERSITIES IN SHANXI* 22, no. 6 (2010).

⁶ Yen-Hao Ko, "China's Policy to Taiwan after Xi Jinping's Inauguration," *National Defense Journal* 30, no. 5 (2015).

According to the Anti-Secession Law, “Taiwan is part of China. The state shall never allow the “Taiwan independence” secessionist forces to make Taiwan secede from China under any name or by any means.”⁷

Overall, the policy of Beijing on sovereignty of Taiwan based on three arguments. First, based on the international law, Taiwan, the Republic of China is the legitimate inheritance of Qing Dynasty in 1911 and this fact remained intact. Second, based on the historical fact, Taiwan was part of Chinese territory from 1684. Third, based on the cultural reasons, Taiwan and China shared same language, food, and culture. All in all, Beijing firmly believed that Taiwanese independence was wrong and must be directed by conspiracy from other government.

Radical-Hong Tong

The representative of Hong Tong was Chang An-Lo(張安樂), was the chairman of Chinese Unification Promotion Party or Unionist Party (UP) and his nickname was called White Wolf. UP strongly supported CCP for 1992 Consensus, Chinese Nationalism, One China Policy, and Taiwan should unification with China. White Wolf believed that ROC had been used by the independent forces and became a stumbling block to the unification. He also indicated that only unification with China can let Taiwan become happiness and peaceful.⁸ One doctrine of UP was said that “the purpose of this party is to promote the peaceful reunification of the Cross-Strait relations under the structure of one country, two systems.”⁹

⁷ Third Session of the Tenth National People's Congress, "The Official Position of the Republic of China (Taiwan) on the People's Republic of China's Anti-Secession (Anti-Separation) Law", Mainland Affairs Council ROC https://www.mac.gov.tw/en/News_Content.aspx?n=8A319E37A32E01EA&sms=2413CFE1BCE87E0E&s=D1B0D66D5788F2DE.

⁸ Wan Jing-bo Zhang Huan, "Chang an-Lo: The Four Words of the "Republic of China" Are the Stumbling Block of Unification.," *news.ifeng.com*, (2013).

⁹ Chang An-Lo, "The Doctrine of Up", UP <http://www.china9999.org/guan-yu-ben-dang/dang-zhang/> (2019).

The other radical scholar, Wang, Hsiao-Po (王曉波), was the former vice chairman of Alliance for the Reunification of China defined Taiwan Independence was to damage Taiwan rather than benefiting to Taiwan and to deprive the ownership of China's land. Wang indicated four advantages of unification with China. First, Cross-strait peace can protect Taiwanese safe and remove military funding to increase the social welfare. Second, Cross-strait trade can protect Taiwan economy. In Taiwan, forty percent of export relied on China. Moreover, China was the biggest industrial manufacturing and consumption country in the world. Third, exchanging the culture with China will the biggest benefit of Taiwanese culture because the origin of Taiwanese culture was from China. The last, unification with China will benefit the Taiwan's polity the most. Taiwan can also own the ownership of China's land and the international statue.¹⁰ Wang thought that Alliance for the Reunification of China was the political group to inherit the tradition of Taiwan patriotism. Wang believed that if the Taiwan nationalism is existed, the party will not allow Taiwan independence to happen. Wang also hoped that some political parties can stand up to represent Taiwan patriotic traditions and complete the peaceful reunification of the motherland to revive the Chinese nation.¹¹

Moderate-Lan Tong

In 1949, Chiang Kai-shek(蔣介石) was retreated to Taiwan. Chiang practiced Sun Zhong Shan's "Three Principles of the People" on KMT in order to unify China. Then his son, Chiang Ching Kuo(蔣經國) emphasized that building Taiwan and unifying China were inseparable. Only by building Taiwan could unify China with "Three Principles of the People" and only unify China with "Three Principles of the People" could let Taiwan be stable and

¹⁰ Hsiao-Po Wang, "China Is Also the Right of Our Taiwanese People " *Straits Review Monthly*, no. 319 (2017).

¹¹ Wang Hsiao-Po, "Does Not Taiwan Have Dispute on Unification-Independence? Discussion with the Editorial of the United Daily News," *Straits Review Monthly*, no. 154 (2003).

progressive.¹² However, Chiang Ching Kuo was pragmatic and had a foothold on Taiwan but cared about mainland. Although Chiang Ching Kuo had not mention about return to mainland, he and his father did not support Taiwan independence and advocated unification.¹³ Hence, KMT was under the idea of “Three Principles of the People”.

According to the doctrine of KMT, the party resolutely opposed Taiwan independence. Only based on respecting the 1992 Consensus and one China policy with each side having its own interpretation can achieve mutual benefit and have win-win situation. Having peaceful and stable Cross-Strait relationship will benefit both sides of citizens. Under the constitutional framework of ROC, KMT will maintain the status quo of no unification, no independence, and no use of force. In order to have sustainable development and peaceful relationship of Cross-Strait, it is necessary to actively promote Chinese culture and respect each other.

The former Taiwan president also former chairperson of KMT, Ma Ying-jeou(馬英九), indicated that “We opposed CCP and its regime. We cared about China and Chinese people. Mainland was our country and the people of mainland were our compatriots.”¹⁴ Ma emphasized that “One China” meant “ROC” and “One China with Respective Interpretations” meant “Taiwan is ROC”. However, Ma declared his stands about he was Taiwanese and he loved Taiwan.¹⁵ It was obviously that Ma did not want to let CCP rule Taiwan. The only party who could govern Taiwan was KMT.

Another member of KMT, Chang Ya-Chung(張亞中), he advanced Cross Strait discussion and believed that China and Taiwan are family and should adhere to the constitution of the ROC. In order to end the current hostilities between both sides and

¹² Chen Shou Yun, *Decrypt Chiang Ching Kuo* (Taiwan: Showwe Information, 2011/07/01).

¹³ Chu San-hu, "Return to Dr. Sun Yat-Sen and Chiang Ching Kuo as a Teacher," *Chinatimes*, (2014/12/08).

¹⁴ Cheng-Feng Shih, "China Policy of the Ma Ying-Jeou Administration," *Taiwan International Studies Quarterly* 9, no. 2 (2013).

¹⁵ Ibid.

establish the peaceful devilmment framework, Taiwan should sign the “Cross Strait Peace Agreement”. However, Chang argued that the situation between Taiwan and China should change instead of President Mao’s “One China with Respective Interpretations” and “Maintain the Status Quo”.¹⁶

Besides, in the left wing of unification, taking Alliance for the Reunification of China(中國統一聯盟) as representative. According to Alliance for the Reunification of China, it had four tasks. First, it aims to promote unity and peace within the nation and build a democratic, unified country. Second, it advocates democratic and national unity movement at the same time. Third, it commits to promote the cessation of hostile propaganda by the Cross Strait, eliminate hostility between the Taiwan and China, and develop the friendship of Cross Strait. The last, it will promote the conference of democratic unification on Cross Strait and combine the power of Cross Strait to oppose national separatism, such as, Taiwan independence, two China, one China and one Taiwan, self-determination of Taiwanese, etc.¹⁷

The other left wing scholar, Chen Ying-zhen(陳映真), who was established the Alliance for the Reunification of China was published Ren-Jian Magazine. Ren-Jian Magazine was focused on underprivileged groups, society issues, ecological issues, environmental issues, aboriginal issues, ethnic groups, etc. Chen wanted to show the reality of this society and it had nothing on political position. Every person should care for the underprivileged groups and improve the society. Chen and Ren-Jian Magazine were belonging to left wing.¹⁸

¹⁶ "The Cross Strait Will Not Divide. Chang Ya-Chung Announced His Candidacy for Taiwan.," *zaobao*, (2019/01/07).

¹⁷ secretariat of Alliance for the Reunification of China, "Purpose of Establishment-Alliance for the Reunification of China", Alliance for the Reunification of China <http://www.onechina.org.tw/index.php?f=ViewArt&c=440150000038> (2019).

¹⁸ Hsiang Huang, "The Study of Chen Ying-Zhen's Theory of Reportage," *Chinese Literature and Culture*, no. Initial Issue (2011).

Nevertheless, Chen did not support Taiwan independence but support unification with China. He was a great Chinese Nationalism and promoted the socialist reform. He cared about Taiwan and mainland and was a patriotic people. Chen used his words to express his opinions and political ideology. It was showed that Chen was focused on socialism.

Taiwan Independence

In this part, I separated the different definition of Taiwan Independence because they had different opinions at some situations, respectively were the following: classical, radical, and moderate. Although their common goal was to support Taiwan independence and resist unification, they had different definitions of Taiwan independence.

Classical School

Classic Taiwan independence faction was contained Thomas Wen-I Liao (廖文毅), Ong lok-tek(王育德), and Ming-Min, Peng(彭明敏). All of them were support Taiwan independence and paid attention on Taiwan social progress. They hoped Taiwan could be democratic. However, the person who represented as the most important promoter of democratization in Taiwan named Cheng Nan Jung (鄭南榕). Cheng also promoted Taiwan independence but I classify Cheng into radical faction part.

After World War Two, the first person who promoted Taiwan independence was Thomas Wen-I Liao (廖文毅). In the early of his life, Liao was loyalty to the motherland. However, Liao started to promote Taiwan independence and established “The Provisional Government of The Republic of Formosa” because 228 Incident in 1947. The government, Chen Yi(陳儀) accused Liao was the leader of 228 incident but Liao was in Shanghai at that time. According to the accusation, Liao changed his mind and started to promote Taiwan independence oversea in order to let the world know the situation of Taiwan and have

international support. Liao indicated that Taiwan should be handed over to the United Nations and actively promoted the position of Taiwan yet, the future of Taiwan should be decided by referendum. In 1952, with the Japanese government's help, Liao developed the events of Taiwan independence in Japan and publicized the idea of Taiwan independence oversea. Liao emphasized that "only Taiwan independence can avoid the Taiwan Strait Crisis and Asia can be truly peaceful." Liao also thought that Taiwanese was not Chinese and blood relationship was mixed because Taiwan had many immigrants from China and other countries. Nevertheless, Liao's Taiwan independence road was not always successful. KMT was arrested Liao's family and friend, blocked the resource of his money, and confiscated his lands in order to let Liao give up promoting Taiwan independence. In 1965, Liao came back to Taiwan and surrender to KMT. Eventually, Liao was submitted to KMT and always been monitored by KMT but Liao still was the pioneer of promoting Taiwan independence.¹⁹

Ong lok-tek(王育德) who was an authority on Taiwanese Hokkien(台灣閩南語) also promoted Taiwan independence. In 1960, Ong established "Taiwan Chinglian Associates" and "The Taiwan Youth" in Japan. Ong started to promoted Taiwan independence because his brother was been killed without reasons and Ong was dissatisfied with KMT. Ong and the members of Taiwan Chinglian Associates did not agree with Thomas Wen-I Liao and his way of eager to establish "The Provisional Government of The Republic of Formosa." They hoped to inspire Taiwanese consciousness on overseas Taiwanese and seek the Taiwanese support.²⁰ Although, Ong and Thomas Wen-I Liao promoted Taiwan independence at that time but their personality and opinion were completely different. Especially, their views of 228 Incident, Liao thought that 228 Incident was a revolution but Ong did not agree it.²¹

¹⁹ Taiwan History, 2016/12/18. "Taiwan History -the Pioneer of Taiwan Independence, Thomas Wen-I Liao," (accessed 2019/5/26).

²⁰ WUFI, "【Memorial】 Taiwanese Reaserch Authority-Ong Lok-Tek"

<https://www.facebook.com/WUFI.Taiwan/photos/a.648833368493617/1901331496577125/>.

²¹ Ng Chiau-tong, "Taiwan Independence Movement and the Development of Nationalism after Wwii ", World

Basically, Ong had reservations about the political activities that Liao was engaged in and agreed that Liao still had contribution at that time even so their opinions were different but they actively promoted Taiwan independence.

Ong indicated three ideas about defining Taiwan independence. First, when Taiwan was a colony and be ruled by China, Taiwanese would come forward to defeat China. In order to achieve the goal of colonial liberation movement and it meant that Taiwan was not be ruled by others but ruled by Taiwanese. This idea was focused on localization. Second was focused on social revolution and wanted to develop a more social progressive revolutionary movement. The last was focused on democratization to preventing the communist forces by the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) and striving for true freedom and democracy.²²

The other scholar, Ming-Min, Peng(彭明敏), was a famous international jurist and he advocated Taiwan independence. Peng said that “the KMT were unbelievably corrupt and greedy.”²³ He emphasized that based on historical analysis, Taiwan was not part of China, and until the end of World War II, the Republic of China government ruled Taiwan so Taiwan and China never had a close relationship. Although, Peng thought that his identity was Chinese but this identity could not be banned from advocating Taiwan independence. Moreover, he denied the status of the Taiwan issue mentioned in the “Cairo Declaration” and the “Potsdam Declaration”. He believed that the two international agreements during World War II violated the principle of "national self-determination" of the UN so he emphasized that it was very important for Taiwanese to have self-determination.²⁴

United Formosans for Independence <http://www.taiwannation.org.tw/nyc/ngbook1.htm>.

²² ONG Lok-Tek, *Historical Fluctuation of Taiwan Independence* trans., Hou Rong Bang (Avanguard, 2002).

²³ Peng Ming-Min, *A Taste of Freedom: Memoirs of Formosan Independence Leader* (Taiwan Pub, 2008)..

²⁴ Yi-Shen Chen, "Peng Ming-Min and Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement (1964-1972)-a Perspective from the Foreign Ministry's Archives," *Bulletin of Academia Historica*, no. 10 (2006).

In 1964, “A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation(台灣人自救宣言)” which was a manifesto calling for genuine democracy was printed by Peng and two of his students, Tsung-Min, Hsieh (謝聰敏) and Ting-Chao, Wei (魏廷朝). A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation was the most important event for Taiwan Independence Movement. According to A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation, “One China, One Taiwan is totally truth.” And it had three goals, uniting the power of 12 million people, regardless of the different provinces, and be together to build a new country and set up a new government, re-establishing the constitution and implementing true democratic politics, rejoining the United Nations and establishing diplomatic relations with all peace-loving countries.²⁵

Radical Faction

In the Taiwan independence faction, there had drastic people. They used radical way to show their opinions and promote Taiwan independence, such as, pursue de jure independence or constitutional referendum.

Cheng Nan-Jung (鄭南榕) who was a mainlander advocated Taiwan independence. He made the series “Free Time” a base to advocate freedom of expression and promote the democratic reform movement. In 1989, he was been arrested because he published “The Draft Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Taiwan.” But he resisted being arrested and immolated himself in order to let the government know Taiwan independence was part of the guaranteed freedom of speech of ROC’s Constitution.²⁶

²⁵ Ming-Min, Peng. *A Taste of Freedom: Memoirs of Formosan Independence Leader*: Taiwan Pub, 2008

²⁶ Chia-Lung Lin, Chien-Yuan Tseng, "Resistance Spirit: The Underground Stream and the Main Stream in the History of Taiwan: Takes Chiang Wei-Shui, Kuo Yu-Hsin and Cheng Nan-Jung as Examples," *The Journal of Chinese Public Administration*, no. 15 (2014).

In Cheng's life time, he actively promoted Taiwan independence. He believed that "Taiwanese have the ability to build their country independently. The vitality and potential of Taiwanese are the most abundant assets." Hold a fair, free, and honest referendum to allow Taiwanese to make their own choices.²⁷ Cheng thought that KMT did not sincerely implement comprehensive democracy and Taiwan independence was the best way to break through KMT political scams.²⁸

Pursue De-jure Independence and Constitutional Referendum were the ultimate goals of Taiwan independence. For example, Republic of Taiwan & Penghu Network, there were three major steps of found the country based on the international law. First step was ROC announced to stop governing Taiwan. Second, the Taiwanese would have self-determination to find the country. The last, ROC should liquidate and arrange the escrow affairs.²⁹

The other radical scholar, Chai Trong-rong(蔡同榮). who was used to be chairperson of WUFI in the United States was the main promoter of referendum. In 1990, Chai came back to Taiwan to promote referendum. At that time, there were not many people discuss about referendum. However, Chai's efforts accomplished legislative referendum and constitutional referendum. Chai believed that if Taiwan holds a referendum, the citizens of Taiwan will support independence and oppose unification with China so under the cover of referendum was Taiwan independence. Whatever the political parties were ruling or opposing, they would have different opinions on every issue. Therefore, Taiwan would more necessarily have referendum to let citizens decide.

²⁷ Cheng Nan-jung, "The Fact of Taiwan Independence " *Free Time* 196, (1987).

²⁸ Cheng Nan-jung, "Independence Is to Fight for 100% Democracy," *Free Time* 198, (1987).

²⁹ Sheng-feng, H. (2015). Method of establishing a country in accordance with international law. *Republic of Taiwan & Penghu Network*. Retrieved 5.28, 2019, from <http://www.rotpnetwork.tw/discourse.php?LAN=EN>

For all, it was still too difficult to use referendum to let citizens decide some important political issues because the main reason was that the threshold was too high. Chai indicated that if Taiwan wants to establish a relatively democratic system, it needs to improve the referendum system and this system should include a sovereign referendum.³⁰

One association which actively promoted Taiwan independence named World United Formosans for Independence(WUFI). According to the information of WUFI, it said that “the goal of Taiwan independence was to consolidate and focus the effort put forth by the Taiwanese communities to demand for justice and establish an independent and democratic Taiwan. WUFI was dedicated to the establishment of a free, democratic and independent Republic of Taiwan in accordance with the principle of self-determination peoples.”³¹ WUFI advocated that using peaceful and non-violent ways to achieve the goal. If the Republic of Taiwan will establish, all citizens of Taiwan will be considered equal. However, if some people want to maintain their Chinese citizenship or choose to back to China, they will be given assistance. Their rights will be completely protected if they choose to stay in Taiwan as residents.³²

Besides, in the Taiwan blood nationalism, people’s identity of nation was divergent and it led to the inevitable issue of Taiwan Independence under the pedigree. Some Chinese nationality identities emphasized that both Taiwanese and Chinese were children of Yellow Emperor. However, other Taiwanese nationality identities emphasized that most Taiwanese had aboriginal blood and were different from Chinese. As an old folk saying, “there were mainland grandfathers but no mainland grandmothers.” The early Chinese Han who crossed the sea to Taiwan were mostly male so they could marry plains indigenous females. This folk

³⁰ Trong-Rong Chai, Chia-Lung Lin Po-Chih Chen, Yung-Ming Hsu, In-Chin Chen, Chien-Yuan Tseng, I-Chung Lai, Yu-Lin Huang, Chen Guan-rong, Li Zhao-li, "Democracy All the Way: Referendum Movement in Taiwan," *Chung Hua Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, no. 7 (2007).

³¹ WUFI. (2012). About World United Formosans for Independence. Retrieved 5.28, 2019, from <https://www.wufi.org.tw/en/>

³² WUFI, "About World United Formosans for Independence" <https://www.wufi.org.tw/en/> (accessed 5.28 2019).

raised the myth of aboriginal genetic. Some Taiwanese believed that current Taiwanese Han were descendants of Chinese Han and Taiwanese plains indigenous so the blood and genetic were different from mainland Han. The Taiwan Blood Nationalists even advocated that Taiwan should independent and actively seek more evidence to prove.³³

One scholar of Taiwan Blood Nationalists named Shen Jian De (沈建德), he indicated that all of Taiwanese were indigenous and only 5% of Taiwanese people were mixed blood. Both history textbooks and media emphasized that Taiwanese ancestors followed Zheng Cheng Gong to Taiwan so some Taiwanese would think they were Chinese. However, the Han people were completely expelled from the country and forbidden to come to Taiwan after the rule of Qing Dynasty. In fact, there were fewer mainland grandfathers in Taiwan so Taiwanese were not Chinese at all. Until 1895, almost 90% of the total population contained pure aboriginal blood and 10% were mixed blood but the mixers also had aboriginal blood.³⁴

Marie Lin (林媽利) who was called The Mother of Blood advocated that Taiwan Blood Nationalism using Taiwanese blood to determine the origin of Taiwanese ethnicity. Lin used serum, DNA, and genes to do the research. She found that about 85% of Taiwanese genes came from aboriginal and or Southeast Asian. Lin also speculated that more than 90% of Taiwanese would carry Vietnamese's genes. In fact, Taiwan had been inhabited by many ethnic groups. It was natural for Taiwanese to have many different origins of blood.³⁵

However, the modern states usually embraced the civic nationalism instead of ethnic one. The spirit of pluralism is the foundation of modern state. It was degrading to define Taiwanese as specific DNA trait. Moreover, the theory of Marie Lin had disputes but it was hard to identify whether Taiwanese were belong to Chinese Han or Taiwanese aborigines. It

³³ Shu-juo CHEN & Hong-kuan DUAN, "Plains Indigenous Ancestors and Taiwan Blood Nationalism," *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies* 72, (2008).

³⁴ Shen Jian De, *Taiwanese Blood* (Taiwan: Avanguard, 2003).

³⁵ Marie Lin, "Genetic Profile of Non-Aboriginal Taiwanese Revisited in Response to Chen and Duan's Critiques Entitled "Plains Indigenous Ancestors and Taiwan Blood Nationalism", " *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies*, no. 75 (2009).

was too narrow to use blood to identify who was pure Taiwanese. Nowadays, multicultural society was prevailing. In Taiwan, there had new residents from different countries so some children were mixed race. However, they were not pure blood of Taiwanese but they still were citizens of Taiwan. Whatever your blood was mixed or you were foreigner, you lived in Taiwan also had Taiwan identity card then you were totally a Taiwanese.

Moderate School

According to the doctrine of DPP, the first constitution said that “our proclamation was to establishment of an independent republic in Taiwan.” Through the history, it was truth that Taiwan sovereignty was independent and did not belong to China. DPP advocated three goals. First, establish new constitution and country in accordance with Taiwan sovereignty and the reality of Taiwan society. Also, return to the international community in accordance with the principles of international law. Second, redefine Taiwan national sovereignty and scope of human sovereignty in order to protect the rights and interests on both sides of Taiwan and China. The last, based on the Taiwan social community, re-adjust the content of national education in accordance with the multicultural development so as to establish national identity. Based on the principles of national sovereignty, using the referendum to let the residents of Taiwan decide to establish a sovereign and independent Taiwan Republic and formulate a new constitution.³⁶

However, in some election times, the candidates of DPP claim that DPP would promote Taiwan independence but DPP did not achieve it. DPP always used “maintain the status quo” to avoid taking firm action on promoting Taiwan independence. This may cause negative influence because people will start to think that Taiwan independence became a political trick and DPP used it to win the election.

³⁶ Democratic Progressive Party, "The Constitution of Dpp, Establishment of an Independent Republic in Taiwan.", DPP <https://www.dpp.org.tw/upload/download/%E9%BB%A8%E7%B6%B1.pdf>.

Nevertheless, some radicals were disappointed with President Tsai because she was announced that the Cross-Strait Policy was consistent with “status quo” and did not pursue Taiwan independence. Radicals believed that President Tsai should promote the independent referendum and break through the status quo.³⁷

The other moderate scholar, Lin Cho Shui (林濁水), knew as “master theorist on Taiwan independence”, drafted “the Taiwan Independence Doctrine”. Lin argued that one of the independent factions was not agreed that Taiwan was already independent which was said by DPP. That independent faction believed that it is needed to have referendum to gain international recognition. If Taiwan can gain international recognition, it means that Taiwan is an independent country. That independent faction actively decreased the threshold of referendum.³⁸ However, Lin said that Taiwan should formulate a new constitution without any referendum. In fact, Taiwan had been independent because Taiwanese had right of suffrage, their own president, and had already completed the legal significance of the referendum. Even if Taiwan holds a referendum, many countries will not recognize that Taiwan is an independent country because the international community is under the pressure of Beijing. Lin believed that Taiwan has always exercised effective sovereignty and Taiwan has long been a de facto independent country. The lack of Taiwan independence factor was not a legal basis but was international recognition.³⁹

In the Taiwanization, such as, Chen Fang Ming(陳芳明) who was the few scholars of DPP could criticize DPP directly and was used to push Taiwan independence in US. Chen was promoted Taiwanese literature as independent movement. According to the Chen’s some articles, he believed that Taiwan had not created any Chinese literature but the unification

³⁷ Lin Cho-shui, "Does Ye Wang-Hui against the Taiwan Independence Referendum and /or Do Not Oppose Taiwan Independence?," *Liberty Times Net*, (2017).

³⁸ LIN CHO SHUI, "Stephen J Yates and the Strategy of Taiwan Independence (2): Looking at Taiwan from the Independent Referendum of Catalonia," *Liberty Times Net*, (2017/11/04).

³⁹ LIN CHO SHUI, "Stephen J Yates and the Strategy of Taiwan Independence (3): Declaring the Problem of Independence," *Liberty Times Net*, (2017/11/13).

group claimed that Taiwanese literature was one part of Chinese literature. Then, Chen emphasized it was fact that Taiwan literature was separate and different from Chinese literature. Chen interpreted this theory from the perspective of immigrant society. Taiwan was an immigrant society and when the Chinese immigrants came to Taiwan, they lived with a new Taiwanese mentality. Their economy and lifestyle gradually separated from China by Taiwan geographical and environmental conditions. Therefore, Taiwan literature was created under the isolated society from China so Taiwan literature was different from Chinese one.⁴⁰ Moreover, Chen pointed out that Taiwan could become the important country in Asian because Taiwan has democracy, election, freedom of expression, and the first country in Asia to achieve equal rights of the same sex marriage. These were the reasons and advantages that Taiwan was better than China. Chen believed that if the Cross Strait does not have war, Taiwan will win as long as China keeps on prospering, war will not happen.

However, Chen thought that Taiwanese politicians used the slogan of Taiwan independence to cheat for votes. In his young age, he was already familiar with such independence slogans. That was a level of freedom express not a national policy. He thought that Chiang Kai Shek(蔣中正) shouted against the mainland, or Mao Zedong threatened to use force to liberate Taiwan, all of that were deceived the people. In the public or election events, there were many politicians who shouted for Taiwan independence but Chen suggested that the politicians need to be honest to the voters.⁴¹ In the third party, such as, Social Democratic Party(社會民主黨) and New Power Party(時代力量黨) were the new political parties in Taiwan. Both of them wanted to end one China policy and create normal state. Although they were the third party, they still used the new powers to influence Taiwanese people and wanted to let Taiwan become better under the democracy.

⁴⁰ Cheng-Mao Chen Tsan-Teng Chiang, "The War of Independence Vs Unification on the Taiwan Literature after Martial Law," *Journal of Northern Taiwan University of Science and Technology*, no. 3 (2007).

⁴¹ Fang-Ming Chen, " Without War, Taiwan Will Win. ," (facebook: 2019/03/20).

Social Democratic Party pointed out that because the government and mainstream political parties let the capital force deteriorate Taiwan society and it caused the inequality treatments. Consequently, Social Democratic Party launched five politics. First, raise wages, defend labor rights, and strengthen the power of employed class. Second, reform the National Pension System and build an equal social security system. Third, the high class needs to add taxes in order to enhance the state's financial capacity and strengthen the social responsibility. Fourth, politics must be fair, transparent, and be supervised even prohibit the means of bribery. Final, respect differences, oppose prejudice, and create a pluralistic society.⁴²

The chairperson of SDP, Fan Yun(范雲), she advocated that Taiwan was already independent on sovereign and status but Taiwan need to win more international recognition in the future. Fan thought that there will be misunderstanding when the issue of Taiwan independence is been talked. Taiwan did not have healthy environment to discuss this important issue. She emphasized that Taiwan must adhere to the democracy and peace. The citizens of Taiwan will not choose war for Taiwan independence, nor will choose reunification to abandon democracy.⁴³ Moreover, New Power Party was to pursue Taiwan independence and its goal was to let Taiwanese have a basic dignity, have a sense of national identity and belonging, and participate in political and independent decisions in Taiwan.⁴⁴ The secretary general of NPP said that the Taiwan independent claim of NPP was to create normal state. This clam hoped to let Taiwan be recognized. Taiwan independence cannot be a slogan and we need to have concrete actions on Taiwan independence.⁴⁵

⁴² "Social Democratic Party Inaugural Conference Advance "5 Arrows" into Congress," *Liberty Times Net*, (2015/03/29).

⁴³ Fu Fang Shuo, "If Hold the Referendum of Independence and Unificaiton , Fan Yun: Of Course I Choose Independence.," *Newtalk*, (2015/10/24).

⁴⁴ NPP, "The Doctrine of Npp", NPP <https://www.newpowerparty.tw/rules/%E6%9C%AC%E9%BB%A8%E9%BB%A8%E7%AB%A0> (2019/06/17).

⁴⁵ Li Bing Fang, "Npp: We Are Political Party Advocate Taiwan Independence but Oppose the Labeling on the Independence," *Taiwan People News*, (2017/01/07).

METHODOLOGY

This paper primarily focused on the issue of Taiwan independence or unification and it aimed to investigate Taiwanese position of Taiwan independence issue through questionnaire. Literature review introduced the definition of Taiwan independence from different parties. Although Taiwan was already independent on sovereign and status, there were still had different opinions of Taiwan status. Some people thought Taiwan was independence, others thought Taiwan was not independence yet, and few people thought Taiwan was part of China. The statistic showed that almost 50 percent of Taiwanese people were looking forward to Taiwan independence. In the literature review, it is hard to define Taiwan independence. In order to answer the key research question, the survey asked the respondents' thought of independence and unification.

Moreover, there were five sections of the research survey. It asked the respondents' demographic questions, position of independence or unification, social progressive policy, negative impression of China, and knowledge of China, Taiwan, and globe. Hence, the quantitative could provide evidences to prove my research question and hypotheses.

Study Population

Due to the limit of the research, the study population was randomly choosing the author's friends and friends' friends. The population can statistically reflect the general attitude of Taiwanese people. The purpose of the questionnaire was to find out the different attitudes between young generation and elder generation. The researcher was to divide the respondents' ages into two groups, the first group was under 30 years old (young generation), and the second was over 30 years old (elder generation).

The researcher used 30 years old to be boundary because the people who were born after 1980 were identified that they were innate Taiwanese. With the different generations, the researcher could find out the gaps, common thoughts between young and elder, or even discover the new findings through questionnaire.

Research Instrument Design

The research instrument of this paper was divided into 6 parts and 31 questions. It consisted of the questions related to respondents' demographic questions (gender, age, and the highest degree of school), attitude of Taiwan independence or unification and social progress, and the scale of negative impression to China, knowledge of Taiwan, China, and globe. The first and second sections were a five-point Likert scale. The coding scheme was as follows: 1 for extremely disagree, 2 for disagree, 3 for neutral, 4 for agree, and 5 for extremely agree. In the first section, attitude of Taiwan independence or unification, the last two questions were asked about the social progressive policy. The coding scheme as follows: 1 for 0 percent, 2 for 30 and 50 percent, 3 for 60 percent and 100 percent, etc. The third to five sections were knowledge questions. There were the knowledge of Taiwan, China, and globe. Each knowledge sections had five questions in order to test the respondents' understanding of Taiwan, China, and globe. The coding scheme as follows: 0 for the correct answer and 1 for wrong answer. The five knowledge questions were designed on basic knowledge about population, geography, economy, polity, and culture. To design Taiwan knowledge questions, the researcher wanted to investigate was Taiwanese people really know enough Taiwan? Although living in Taiwan, the basic and important issue or knowledge should understand more. To design China knowledge questions, the researcher found out that some Taiwanese people have bias against China. The less China knowledge and information Taiwanese people get, the more misunderstanding and unknown cause bias against China.

Data Collection

The researcher used social network apps to delivery questionnaire, such as, sharing the online survey's address on Line, Facebook, and Instagram. The questionnaire started to collect data from August 2nd to 13rd in 2019. Among those 12 days, the researcher totally collected 297 questionnaires. However, some problems might happen during data collection, such as unable to control the sampling ages so majority respondents were under 30 years old people from online survey. The reason was that the researcher's friends are youngsters and has few elder friends. Also, the researcher could not collect enough samplings in the limit time. Therefore, in order to figure the problems, the survey was given to my family's friends and friends' friends. Due to the snowball samplings, the researcher could collect the data of different ages as much as possible under the limit of research time. After finishing the data collection, the data was analyzed with Stats. An appendix questionnaire was down below in this paper (Appendix 1).

SURVEY ANALYSIS

After collecting the questionnaires, there were totally 297 data. In the 297 data, the researcher divided into two groups. One was under 30 years old and the sample number was 185. The other was over 30 years old and the sample number was 112. In order to comparing young generation and elder generation, the researcher used 30 years old to be a boundary. Moreover, to let two groups sample be fair, the researcher randomly deleted 73 samples from the group of under 30 years old. Therefore, both groups of sample were all 112. The two groups should be balanced for the result of statistic and the result of survey could be reliability and validity. In this secession, it contained descriptive statistics, regressive statistics, variables, research hypotheses, model of testing, finding and implication.

Descriptive Statistics

Among 224 people, 140 were female (62%) and 84 were male (38%). As for the respondents, 24 persons had an age under 20 (10.7%), 88 persons had an age between 21 to 30 (39.3%), 36 persons had an age between 31 to 40 (16.1%), 51 persons had an age between 41 to 50 (22.8%), 19 persons had an age between 51 to 60 (8.5%), 5 persons had an age between 61 to 70 (2.2%), and 1 person had an age over 70 (0.4%).

In the highest education level, 3 people were PhD degree (1.3%), 39 people were master degree (17.4%), 137 people were Bachelor (61.2%), 42 people were high school degree (18.8%), and 3 people were junior high school degree (1.3%).

Position of Taiwan Independence or Unification

The first section of questionnaire was to investigate respondents' position of Taiwan independence or unification. There were six questions which the Likert adopted to this test and it showed on table 1. For the first section, took four questions as the symbol. One question was designed to ask about "*Should Taiwan government avoids adopting Taiwan independence policies and statements to maintain peaceful relations with China.*" As it turned out, 57 people were extremely disagree (25%), 42 people were disagree (19%), 56 people were neutral (25%), 34 people were agree (15%), and 35 people were extremely agree (16%). Therefore, as the result showed, the majority of the respondents were disagreed about that Taiwan government should avoid talking about Taiwan independence in order to maintain peaceful relationship with China. More people were believed that Taiwan should go with our own way and they did not care much with the peaceful relation with China. However, there were around 30 % people thought Taiwan government should have good relationship with China so government need to avoid Taiwan independence.

Second question was designed to ask about "*Do you think the motherland of Taiwan is China and Taiwanese are compatriot of Chinese.*" As it turned out, 121 people were extremely disagree (54%), 30 people were disagree (13%), 38 people were neutral (17%), 18 people were agree (8%), and 17 people were extremely agree (6%). Surprisingly, approximately 70% respondents thought Taiwan are not part of China and Taiwanese are not Chinese. The respondents thought that we should maintain our own political independence and they did not like the idea to be identified with Chinese. Nevertheless, a few people thought Taiwan is one part of China and Taiwanese are all Chinese.

The third was designed to ask about *“Taiwanese people use Chinese and have Chinese culture inheritance. However, Taiwan has formed a new culture after years of development. Taiwanese people are no longer as called Chinese but Taiwanese.”* The result of survey showed that 14 people were extremely disagree (6%), 6 people were disagree (3%), 38 people were neutral (17%), 31 people were agree (14%), and 135 people were extremely agree (60%).

Majority Taiwanese people thought they are Taiwanese although they speak Chinese and use Chinese culture. But Taiwanese people created their own and new culture of Taiwan. In very high percentage of Taiwanese people believed that we already form our own culture and country.

The last was deigned to ask about *“If only having two choices: support Taiwan independence or unification with China, will you choose unification with China?”* As it turned out, 159 people were extremely disagree (71%), 24 people were disagree (11%), 20 people were neutral (9%), 4 people were agree (3%), and 14 people were extremely agree (6%). It was obviously that over 80% respondents did not want to unification with China. However, other statistics resources used three options, such as “support Taiwan independence”, “maintain the status quo”, and “unification with China” to let Taiwanese people choose. The statistics showed that majority Taiwanese people picked “maintain the status quo”. However, in this survey, the researcher used two options to let respondents pick. Most of them picked supporting Taiwan independence instead picking unification with China.

Table 1: Questionnaire Related to Position of Taiwan Independence or Unification

Question	Extremely Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Extremely Agree
1. Avoid Taiwan independence	25%	19%	25%	15%	16%
2. Motherland	54%	13%	17%	8%	6%
3. New culture	6%	3%	17%	14%	60%
4. Independence or unification	71%	11%	9%	3%	6%

Social Progressive Policy

In the survey, there were two questions asking about social progressive policy and it showed on table 2. This section tried to test how much Taiwanese people are willing to go for the progressive policy. As the classical independence and unification scholars believed that political stands were not pure political stands. The political stands should lead to better future for Taiwan.

The first question was designed to ask about *“The lower price of Taiwan’s oil and gas have led to various pollutions and stop industrial upgrading. Furthermore, Taiwan is absent from the international carbon reduction movement. For example, the price of Germany oil is 175% of Taiwan oil price. If you think Taiwan wants to raise oil and gas price to conform the environmental protection needs, the percentage of price should be increased is?”* As it turned out, 38 people (17%) chose 0%, 89 people (39.7%) chose 30%, 55 people (24.6%) chose 60%, 17 people (7.6%) chose 90%, 20 people (8.9%) chose 120%, 2 people (0.9%) chose 180%, 3 people (1.3%) chose 210%.

The second question was designed to ask about *“Taxation is the basic source of various social welfare and progress. In the progressive countries, they had higher tax rates to establish good education, community, service, and culture. For example, German people enjoy a better life because their tax revenue is 44.5 % of GDP. However, Taiwan tax revenue*

is only 13.41% of GDP. Which percentage of tax do you think Taiwan should increase in order to let Taiwan have better social welfare and social progress policies?” As the result showed that 66 people chose 0% (29.5%), 106 people chose 50% (47.3%), 29 people chose 100% (12.9%), 13 people chose 150% (5.8%), 6 people chose 200% (2.7%), 1 people chose 250% (0.4%), 0 people chose 300% (0%), and 3 people chose 350% (1.3%).

Therefore, majority respondents accepted to go for increasing of oil price and tax to improve social progress.

Table 2: Questionnaire Related to Social Progressive Policy

Question	0%	30%	60%	90%	Up 120%
Increase oil and gas price	17%	39.7%	24.6%	7.6%	11.1%
Question	0%	50%	100%	150%	Up 200%
Increase percentage of tax	29.5%	47.3%	12.9%	5.8%	4.5%

Negative Impression of China

In this section, the researcher wanted to investigate that does Taiwanese have strong bias against China? There were five questions of Likert scale and it showed on table 3. As the symbol, one question was designed to ask about “If you see someone do not line up, will you think he or she is Chinese tourist?” As it turned out, 24 people were extremely disagree (11%), 28 people were disagree (12%), 75 people were neutral (33%), 37 people were agree (17%), 60 people were extremely agree (27%). It was a little bit higher that Taiwanese people had antipathy to China. Although the people who do not line up could be Taiwanese or other counters, it still had misunderstanding on Chinese. Consequently, the researcher designed five questions to test respondents some knowledge of China in the next section. Second

question was designed to ask about “*The Chinese support their dictatorship so the government and the Chinese people have problems?*” The result of survey was showed that 39 people were extremely disagree (18%), 36 people were disagree (16%), 61 people were neutral (27%), 39 people were agree (17%), 49 people were extremely agree (22%). The fifth question was asked about “*The Chinese students should not use Taiwan’s educational resources when they studied in Taiwan. They should pay their own expense because their country (China) is hostile to us (Taiwan).*” As it turned out, 40 people were extremely disagree (18%), 41 people were disagree (18%), 74 people were neutral (33%), 14 people were agree (6%), 55 people were extremely agree (25%). More Taiwanese people think we should give China’s students the same benefit. Hence, these three questions showed that although Taiwanese people had a bias against China that was not having a strong bias. Moreover, majority of the respondents chose neutral. It means that majority of Taiwanese people’s discriminatory attitudes on China are not as extreme as we think. Besides, the fourth question was similar to one of the position of Taiwan independence or unification’s question so the researcher did not mention the fourth question here.

Nevertheless, the third question showed the strong bias then other questions. Third question was designed about “*China cut corners on US trade so it triggered the China-US trade war.*” As it turned out, 16 people were extremely disagree (7%), 22 people were disagree (10%), 70 people were neutral (31%), 60 people were agree (27%), 56 people were extremely agree (25%). The result of survey showed that more than 50% respondents agreed that China played tricks on US trade. It also showed that Taiwan economically supported the US and was suspicious of China. Moreover, China was an economic threat to Taiwan.

Table 3: Questionnaire Related to Negative Impression of China

Question	Extremely Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Extremely Agree
1. Line up	11%	12%	33%	17%	27%
2. Dictatorship	18%	16%	27%	17%	22%
3. China-US Trade War	7%	10%	31%	27%	25%
4. Taiwan-China	6%	7%	22%	15%	50%
5. China Students Use Taiwan Education	18%	18%	33%	6%	25%

Regressive Statistics

Variables

Controlled variable

“A controlled variable is one which the researcher holds constant during an experiment. It is also known as a constant variable or simply as a “control”. The control variable is not part of an experiment (not the independent or dependent variable).”⁴⁶ Hence, variable gender is a controlled variable.

Dependent Variable

The purpose of the survey was to investigate the position of Taiwanese people toward supporting Taiwan independence or unification. Through the position, the researcher wanted to find out the factors which could influence the position and different opinions of Taiwan independence or unification.

⁴⁶Helmenstine, Anne Marie, Ph.D. "The Role of a Controlled Variable in an Experiment." ThoughtCo. <https://www.thoughtco.com/controlled-variable-definition-609094> (accessed October 6, 2019).

Therefore, the researcher used **one dependent variable: Position of Taiwan Independence or Unification**. The researcher would have three parts of testing. All of these testing dependent variables were “Position of Taiwan Independence or Unification”. (Appendix 2)

Independent Variables

Based on the research hypotheses, the independent variables which were respondent’s background comprised of age, the highest education background (edu), sum of negative impression of China(Neg-China sum), sum of China knowledge(CK sum), sum of Taiwan knowledge(TK), sum of globe knowledge(GK sum), and sum of social progressive policy(SPP sum).

Variables of First Test

In the first test, there were 7 variables. First of all, variable age is for testing whether the young generation will be more supported Taiwan independence than elder generation. The people who were born after 1980 were identified that they were innate Taiwanese. It was wondering that if youngsters will be more supported Taiwan independence, the result is that they born with the democracy generation. Furthermore, variable education is to investigate if the respondent had better education, he or she would be more supported Taiwan independence or unification. The detail will be show below in the hypothesis part. Fourth, variable anti-China is the sum of the questionnaire scores. If the score is much higher, it means that the respondent has bias against China.

Next, variable CK sum, TK sum, GK sum were mean the knowledge of China, Taiwan, and globe. In order to investigate respondents’ knowledge, showing the relation with position of Taiwan independence or unification. Each knowledge part of questionnaires, there were five questions. The researcher summed the five questions scores of each knowledge parts to

see the totally scores and observe the respondent's answering situation. The last was variable SPP sum, it is testing for whether if respondent wants to live in better society, he or she might be chosen improving the social progressive policy. Hence, the research wanted to test whether the social progressive had related to Taiwan independence. In the survey questionnaire, there were two questions of social progressive policy part. So the variable SPP was the sum of two questionnaire scores.

Variables of Second Test

In the second test, there were five variables. All of these variables were designed to ask about the degree of negative impression of China. Although in the first test, there had sum of 5 questions scores, this part need to test each five questions.

There were 5 questions designed to ask the respondents to the negative impression of China: line up, dictatorship, China-US trade war, Taiwan-China, and China students use Taiwan education. Those 5 variables were to see whether people have negative impression of China or not.

Variable of Third Test

In the last test, there were one variable. It was mentioned in the first test. The variable SPP sum was showed up again in the last test. The sum of social progressive policy questionnaire scores was to test if dependent variable has relation to variable SPP sum.

Research Hypotheses

The major purpose of testing focused on how Taiwanese people form, perceive, and live with the independence and unification debate. The correlation was emphasized between one dependent variable and 13 independent variables. It would be four sections of testing. First of all, it would test whether the respondents' background has relation with the position of Taiwan independence or unification (**H1&H2**).

Second, the knowledge part, it would test whether people who stand on the position of Taiwan independence have lack of China knowledge because they hated China and they do not want to know more about information of China. As that reason, causing some Taiwanese people were misunderstanding and unknown about China (**H3**). Besides, the research was wondered that people who stand on the position of Taiwan independence really know about the knowledge of Taiwan (**H4**). Also, the people who stand on the other side of position have much knowledge about the globe or they just focused on China (**H5**).

Thirdly, test the degree of the negative impression of China through the Taiwanese people in order to observing that whether the position of Taiwan independence based on the strong bias against China or not (**H6**). The last section, it was going to test whether the issues of Taiwan independence or unification is related to social progressive policy. The two sides, independence and unification, indicate that they love Taiwan (**H7**). However, in the literature review, both of independence and unification schools wanted to promote social progressive policy if they love Taiwan, they should let Taiwan have better live and social progress. Hence, when they fight for status of Taiwan, they should improve the life of Taiwanese people not just argue over who can own the sovereign right of Taiwan.

Hypothesis 1:

Young generation supports Taiwan independence more than elder generation.

Hypothesis 2:

People with higher education support Taiwan independence more than lower education.

Hypothesis 3:

People with more China knowledge are more likely to support Taiwan independence.

Hypothesis 4:

People with more Taiwan knowledge are more likely to support Taiwan independence.

Hypothesis 5:

People with more globe knowledge are more likely to support Taiwan independence.

Hypothesis 6:

People who have negative impression of China support Taiwan independence.

Hypothesis 7:

The position of Taiwan independence or unification has relation with social progressive policy.

Model of Testing

The seven hypotheses were analyzed with the Regression through Stata. In statistics, “linear regression is a basic and commonly use type of predictive analysis. The overall idea of regression is to examine two things: (1) does a set of predictor variables do a good job in predicting an outcome (dependent) variable? (2) in particular, which variables are significant predictors of the outcome variable, and in what way do they—indicated by the magnitude and sign of the beta estimates—impact the outcome variable? These regression estimates are used to explain the relationship between one dependent variable and one or more independent variables.”⁴⁷

Finding and Implication

Background Section

Hypothesis 1:

Young generation supports Taiwan independence more than elder generation.

Based on the figure 1, variable age correlates to the position of Taiwan independence or unification ($P=0.045$, $P < 0.05$). It means that different ages have different positions. The coefficient is retro-reflection so it means that youngsters are standing on the position of Taiwan independence. People who born after 1980 live in democracy generation and study at content of dechinalization (去中國化). Hence, those people are being called as “Natural Independence Generation” and they think they are Taiwanese naturally.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Statistics Solutions, "What Is Linear Regression"

<https://www.statisticssolutions.com/what-is-linear-regression/> (accessed 9 2019).

⁴⁸ "How to Change the "Status Quo" of Tsai Ing-Wen? (4) Cracking the Artificial "Natural Independence Generation", " *yuanwang*, no. 355&356 (2018).

Hypothesis 2:

People with higher education support Taiwan independence more than lower education.

Based on the figure, variable edu do not correlate to the position of Taiwan independence or unification ($P=0.978$, $P>0.05$). It is obviously that no matter what the level of education the Taiwanese people are, that will not affect their political stands.

Knowledge Section

Hypothesis 3:

People with more China knowledge are more likely to support Taiwan independence.

As the variable China k sum do not correlate to the position of Taiwan independence or unification ($P=0.419$, $P>0.05$). No matter which the people stand on, there are some people who stand on each sides of position understand more about China. In other word, whatever their degree of China knowledge is, it will not influence which sides they stand.

Hypothesis 4:

People with more Taiwan knowledge are more likely to support Taiwan independence.

Based on the variable Taiwan k sum, it correlates to the position of Taiwan independence or unification ($P=0.039$, $P<0.05$). However, the coefficient is retro-reflection and the researcher codes that if the respondent has too much wrong answers, his or her scores would be higher. Briefly, if the respondent gets the correct answers, the scores would be lower. Hence, it is retro-reflection coefficient correlation so most of the Taiwanese people answer correctly. In the survey, majority of Taiwanese people close to support Taiwan independence. Therefore, majority of respondents know Taiwan knowledge well. In the table 4, the number shows that the respondents were good at answering the questions of Taiwan. It is good to see that Taiwanese people know more about Taiwan knowledge.

Table 4: Taiwan Knowledge Questionnaire

The Average of Taiwan Knowledge Questionnaire (5 Questions)					
All correct	1	2	3	4	All wrong
36 people (16.07%)	66 people (29.46%)	83 people (37.05%)	31 people (13.84%)	7 people (3.13%)	1 people (0.45%)

Hypothesis 5:

People with more globe knowledge are more likely to support Taiwan independence.

As the variable Globe k sum do not correlate to the position of Taiwan independence or unification (P=0.310, P>0.05). It is not significant so whatever the respondent stands it will not be affected by the degree of knowing globe knowledge.

Figure 1: Regression Analysis of Position of Taiwan Independence or Unification.

Hypothesis	Variables	Coefficient	P value	Significance
	Gender	-0.160	0.299	Non-Significant
H1	Age	-0.122	0.045*	Significant
H2	Edu	-0.003	0.978	Non-Significant
H3	China k sum	0.592	0.419	Non-Significant
H4	Taiwan k sum	-0.146	0.039*	Significant
H5	Globe k sum	0.075	0.310	Non-Significant
	SPP sum	0.019	0.557	Non-Significant
	Neg-China sum	0.103	0.000***	Significant

*1. Edu: education 2.K: knowledge 3.SPP: social progressive policy 4.Neg-China: negative impression of China N=224

Dependent Variable: Position of Taiwan Independence or Unification

Details of the empirical tests are in Appendix 2: Statistics Sheet

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Though China knowledge and globe knowledge are not correlated to the position of Taiwan independence or unification, the respondents are great at answering those questions.

In general good, the numbers all shows that most of the respondents know about Taiwan,

China, and they also know more about globe and it showed on table 5 and 6.

There was an important implication section that respondents are good at answering those questions, they are not familiar with China politics. The result of survey turned out that Taiwanese people's hostility toward Beijing politics but not necessary to China because most of the respondents are answering China's knowledge correctly. Taking one question of China knowledge, it shows on the table7. Almost 60% of Taiwanese people do not know China has other political parties. The Communist Party of China is the only ruling political party of China (People's Republic of China) and democratic parties are CCP participating parties.⁴⁹ Although China has only one party to rule the whole China, it has other democratic parties.

Table 5: China Knowledge Questionnaire

The Average of China Knowledge Questionnaire (5 Questions)					
All correct	1	2	3	4	All wrong
12 people (5.36%)	41 people (18.3%)	71 people (31.7%)	78 people (34.82%)	19 people (8.48%)	3 people (1.34%)

Table 6: Globe Knowledge Questionnaire

The Average of Globe Knowledge Questionnaire (5 Questions)					
All correct	1	2	3	4	All wrong
7 people (3.13%)	48 people (21.43%)	82 people (36.61%)	65 people (29.02%)	20 people (8.93%)	2 people (0.89%)

⁴⁹ Xinhua News Agency, "The System of China's Political Party " http://big5.www.gov.cn/gate/big5/www.gov.cn/guoqing/2007-11/15/content_2616295.htm (accessed 10/8 2019).

Table 7: One of China Knowledge Questionnaire

Is Communist Party of China the only legal party in China?	
Yes (wrong answer)	No (correct answer)
129 people (58%)	95 people (42%)

Negative-China Section

Hypothesis 6:

People who have negative impression of China support Taiwan independence.

Based on the figure 2, all the variables are correlated to the position of Taiwan independence or unification and all of the variables are significant and the hypothesis is been supported. It is confirmed that the negative impression of China does exist in the Taiwan sociality and polity. Moreover, negative impression of China contributes Taiwan independence strongly.

According to the survey, the respondents attach great importance to Taiwan become a political, economic, and cultural independent country. Taiwanese people support Taiwan independence more than unification with China. However, Taiwanese people do not like China (Beijing political agenda) to pressure Taiwan to complete Beijing’s political ambitions. For example, Beijing government always said Taiwan is part of China, we are family and we do not fight with our own family. Or Beijing push stress on Taiwan in order to let Taiwan accept one country, two systems. Hence, Taiwanese people have negative impression of China for those reasons.

In the second section of the questionnaire, there are five questions to test respondents the attitude of negative impression of China. There are 40% of respondents having negative impression of China so it means that Taiwan still exists with prejudice against China. Nevertheless, each of questions, most of the respondents choose neutral. It shows that some

of Taiwanese people’s discriminatory attitudes on China are not as extreme as we think. When respondents show extremely bad feelings, the reason is the political propaganda of China, for example, the fourth questionnaire “*I feel dislike for the China people say that the Taiwanese people are compatriots and the motherland of Taiwan is China.*” Over 50% of respondents agree that.

All in all, it is dangerous to identify all Chinese as bad behavior people and it will make Taiwan independence as a racial discrimination movement. In the literature review, the classic Taiwan independence promoters wanted to let Taiwan become democratic and promote social progress also seek the international supporting. But now, Taiwan independence may become an inappropriate movement, discrimination, and bias on China. It should not let hatred of China to be a purpose of promoting Taiwan independence.

Figure 2: Regression Analysis of Position of Taiwan Independence or Unification on the Negative Impression of China.

Hypothesis	Variables	Coefficient	P value	Significance
H6	Neg-China 1	0.162	0.008**	Significant
	Neg-China 2	0.243	0.000***	Significant
	Neg-China 3	0.286	0.000***	Significant
	Neg-China 4	0.453	0.000***	Significant
	Neg-China 5	0.189	0.001**	Significant

*1.Neg-China: negative impression of China

N=224

Dependent Variable: Position of Taiwan Independence or Unification

Details of the empirical tests are in Appendix 2: Statistics Sheet

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Social Progressive Section

Figure 3: Regression Analysis of Position of Taiwan Independence or Unification on the Social Progressive Policy.

Hypothesis	Variables	Coefficient	P value	Significance
H7	SPP sum	0.037	0.286	Non-Significant

*SPP: social progressive policy

N=224

Dependent Variable: Position of Taiwan Independence or Unification

Details of the empirical tests are in Appendix 2: Statistics Sheet

*p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Hypothesis 7:

The position of Taiwan independence or unification has relation with social progressive policy.

Based on the figure 3, the variable SPP sum do not correlated to the position of Taiwan independence or unification (P=0.286, P>0.05). It means that whether the issues of Taiwan independence or unification do not relate to social progressive policy. However, the researcher wanted to test Taiwanese people whether they have the motivation of social progressive policy when they choose to support Taiwan independence or unification with China. Although the result of regression shows non-significant, the position of independence or unification you support does not mean it is progressive. In other words, whatever you choose independence or unification it does not mean the side you choose is a progressive school. It cannot judge that the independence schools or unification schools are not progressive.

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

This paper started with the background of Taiwan independence and the literature review indicated that the debate between independence and unification schools in Taiwan involved historical, societal, political, economic, and cultural factors. However, the position of independence and unification was complicated.

In order to answer the research question, the method of survey was designed to test the Taiwanese people's position of Taiwan independence or unification with China, attitudes about negative impression of China, knowledge of China, Taiwan, globe, and social progressive policy. Consequently, there were three findings; first of all, majority of Taiwanese people support Taiwan independence especially young generation. Besides, the education level did not correlate to the position of independence or unification. Second, majority of Taiwanese people have no strong prejudice toward China and Chinese people. Taiwanese people think Taiwan is not part of China and Taiwan has a different culture and polity but afraid of China being an economic threat to Taiwan. Third, majority of Taiwanese people support social progressive policies and the social progressive policy does not correlate to the position of independence or unification.

To sum up, although 82% of the respondents choose supporting Taiwan independence, the researcher suggests, firstly, Taiwanese people who supported Taiwan independence were good at answering Taiwan knowledge. The political identity improves the efforts in acquiring Taiwan knowledge so Taiwanese people shall care more about international affairs and China affairs. For Taiwan, the choice is not always Taiwan or China but the choice should be Taiwan and the world. Second, Taiwanese people are cautions about Beijing's policies toward Taiwan but the overall hostility toward China does not exist. The politicians shall not exaggerate the anti-China sentiment. In every election, people always talk about Taiwan independence or unification with China but it is not really important. Therefore, we should

focus on more important tasks, such as, Taiwan economy, job opportunity for the young people, environmental problem, social welfare, and so on. The last, Taiwanese people are heading for more progressive policies. It shows that Taiwan and Taiwanese people are progressive, and the willingness of progressive policies has nothing to do with their political stance on independence or unification. Thus, do not let the independence or unification issue hamper the right direction.

APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

台灣統獨議題探討

在台灣，統獨議題總是被熱烈地爭論著，是政治黨派爭議的焦點，甚至造成國內族群的分裂。但是根據各種民意調查結果指出，超過八成台灣人民支持維持現狀以及台灣獨立，只有少數民眾支持與中國統一以及未來與中國的統一。而且，台灣已經是主權獨立的國家，台灣人民可以選舉、有自己的政府、憲法與國防，為何統獨議題依舊是一個始終存在的爭論呢？本研究討論統獨議題的歷史緣由與當代發展，並且採用此份問卷調查探知受訪者的統獨立場、其成因、其知識背景、政治意見與見解。為保持數據的可靠性，第三部份至第五部分請勿翻閱資料作答，感謝您的合作。

1. 性別:男/女
2. 年齡:0-20/21-30/31-40/41-50/51-60/61-70/70 以上
3. 教育程度: 小學/國中/高中職/大學/碩士/博士

第一部份-Likert(1 為非常不同意；5 為非常同意)

1. 台灣政府應該避免採取台獨相關政策與說法以維持與中國之和平關係?
2. 您是否可以接受在一個中國的框架下，台灣可以保持主權的獨立?
3. 您認為台灣的祖國為中國大陸，台灣人民為中國人民的同胞嗎?
4. 如果北京政府要武力攻打台灣，您願意支持用戰爭的方式維護台灣的獨立嗎?
5. 台灣人使用中文也傳承中國文化，但是經過多年發展之後，台灣已經形成新文化，不再是中國人而是台灣人?
6. 如果只有支持台灣獨立與中國統一，您會選擇後者(中國統一)嗎?

7. 台灣油電價格偏低導致各種污染以及產業升級停滯，並且在國際減碳的運動中缺席。

舉例來說，德國油價為台灣的 175%，您認為台灣如果要漲油電價來符合環保需求，應該增加的比例為：

- A. 0%
- B. 30%
- C. 60%
- D. 90%
- E. 120%
- F. 150%
- G. 180%
- H. 210%

8. 稅收為各種社會福利與社會進步政策的基本來源，進步國家皆有較高的稅收率以建立良好的教育、社區、服務與公民文化，舉例來說，德國的稅金收入為國家經濟總產值的 44.5%，因此德國民眾享有更好的生活。台灣的稅金收入只有國家經濟總產值的 13.41%，德國為台灣的三倍之多(330%)，請問您認為台灣應該要增加多少比例的稅金讓台灣有更好的社會福利與社會進步政策？

- A. 0%
- B. 50%
- C. 100%
- D. 150%
- E. 200%
- F. 250%
- G. 300%

H. 350%

第二部分-Likert(1 為非常不同意；5 為非常同意)

1. 如果看到遊客不排隊，您會認為是中國遊客？
2. 中國人支持他們的獨裁政權，因此政府與人民都有問題的？
3. 中國在於美國的貿易當中投機取巧，因此引發中美貿易戰？
4. 討厭中國人說台灣人是同胞以及台灣的祖國是中國？
5. 中國學生來到台灣不應該使用台灣教育資源，他們應該要自費，因為他們的國家與我們處在敵對狀態？

第三部份-是非題

(以下題目請勿翻閱資料作答)

1. 中國為全世界出口貨物總價值第一高？
2. 中國共產黨是中國唯一合法的政黨？
3. 中國人口分布不均，大量集中在東半部？
4. 中國的內蒙古高原有「世界屋脊」之稱？
5. 中國為聯合國成員但並非是安理會成員？

第四部份-選擇題

(以下題目請勿翻閱資料作答)

1. 台灣文學之父是誰?
 - A. 鍾理和
 - B. 賴和
 - C. 黃春明

2. 台灣沒有加入哪個國際組織?
 - A. WTO(世界貿易組織)
 - B. WHO(世界衛生組織)
 - C. APEC(亞太經濟合作)

3. 憲法規定，當總統、副總統因故無法行使職權，哪一位政府官員必須代理並監管總統職權直到再度補選?
 - A. 立法院長
 - B. 司法院長
 - C. 行政院長

4. 台灣新住民及新住民人子女的總人口數比原住民總人數還多?
 - A. 是
 - B. 否

5. 台灣最長的河川為?
 - A. 淡水河
 - B. 高屏溪
 - C. 濁水溪

第五部份-是非題

(以下題目請勿翻閱資料作答)

1. 聯合國總部設在日內瓦?
2. 過量的二氧化碳排放是全球氣候暖化的第一號元兇?
3. 世界第一大經濟體為美國、第二大為日本、第三大為中國?
4. 以人數來說，世界三大宗教為基督教(含天主教)、伊斯蘭教、佛教?
5. 世界人口數最多為中國、第二名為印度、第三名為美國?

APPENDIX 2

. reg var44 var1 var2 var5 var35 var37 var39 var41 var42

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	63.6962669	8	7.96203337	Number of obs =	224	
Residual	251.049269	215	1.16767102	F(8, 215) =	6.82	
Total	314.745536	223	1.41141496	Prob > F =	0.0000	
				R-squared =	0.2024	
				Adj R-squared =	0.1727	
				Root MSE =	1.0806	

var44	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
var1	-.160348	.1539505	-1.04	0.299	-.4637934	.1430975
var2	-.1221543	.0606918	-2.01	0.045	-.2417815	-.0025271
var5	-.0030323	.1088665	-0.03	0.978	-.2176146	.2115499
var35	-.0592601	.0731779	0.81	0.419	-.084978	.2034981
var37	-.1468035	.0705829	-2.08	0.039	-.2859266	-.0076804
var39	.0752057	.0738345	1.02	0.310	-.0703264	.2207378
var41	.0195929	.0333347	0.59	0.557	-.0461117	.0852975
var42	.1034872	.0160326	6.45	0.000	.071886	.1350884
_cons	2.73923	.6388166	4.29	0.000	1.480085	3.998376

. reg var44 var14

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	9.83108392	1	9.83108392	Number of obs =	224	
Residual	304.914452	222	1.37348852	F(1, 222) =	7.16	
Total	314.745536	223	1.41141496	Prob > F =	0.0080	
				R-squared =	0.0312	
				Adj R-squared =	0.0269	
				Root MSE =	1.172	

var44	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
var14	.1626293	.060787	2.68	0.008	.0428359	.2824226
_cons	3.645269	.2188316	16.66	0.000	3.214016	4.076522

. . reg var44 var15

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	25.2681232	1	25.2681232	Number of obs =	224	
Residual	289.477413	222	1.30395231	F(1, 222) =	19.38	
Total	314.745536	223	1.41141496	Prob > F =	0.0000	
				R-squared =	0.0803	
				Adj R-squared =	0.0761	
				Root MSE =	1.1419	

var44	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
var15	.2439365	.0554142	4.40	0.000	.1347313	.3531418
_cons	3.435108	.188101	18.26	0.000	3.064415	3.8058

. . reg var44 var16

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	25.3554609	1	25.3554609	Number of obs =	224	
Residual	289.390075	222	1.3035589	F(1, 222) =	19.45	
Total	314.745536	223	1.41141496	Prob > F =	0.0000	
				R-squared =	0.0806	
				Adj R-squared =	0.0764	
				Root MSE =	1.1417	

var44	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
var16	.2869946	.0650734	4.41	0.000	.158754	.4152352
_cons	3.179796	.2418463	13.15	0.000	2.703188	3.656404

. . reg var44 var17

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	69.4278921	1	69.4278921	Number of obs =	224	
Residual	245.317644	222	1.10503443	F(1, 222) =	62.83	
Total	314.745536	223	1.41141496	Prob > F =	0.0000	
				R-squared =	0.2206	
				Adj R-squared =	0.2171	
				Root MSE =	1.0512	

var44	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
var17	.4533273	.0571917	7.93	0.000	.3406193	.5660354
_cons	2.390798	.237842	10.05	0.000	1.922081	2.859515

. . reg var44 var18

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	15.6192207	1	15.6192207	Number of obs =	224	
Residual	299.126315	222	1.34741583	F(1, 222) =	11.59	
Total	314.745536	223	1.41141496	Prob > F =	0.0008	
				R-squared =	0.0496	
				Adj R-squared =	0.0453	
				Root MSE =	1.1608	

var44	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
var18	.1894982	.0556578	3.40	0.001	.0798129	.2991835
_cons	3.620932	.1847833	19.60	0.000	3.256778	3.985086

. . reg var44 var41

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	1.61371866	1	1.61371866	Number of obs =	224	
Residual	313.131817	222	1.41050368	F(1, 222) =	1.14	
Total	314.745536	223	1.41141496	Prob > F =	0.2860	
				R-squared =	0.0051	
				Adj R-squared =	0.0006	
				Root MSE =	1.1876	

var44	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
var41	.0377833	.0353243	1.07	0.286	-.0318305	.1073971
_cons	4.013337	.1848959	21.71	0.000	3.648961	4.377713

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- "Social Democratic Party Inaugural Conference Advance "5 Arrows" into Congress." *Liberty Times Net*, (2015/03/29).
- "How to Change the "Status Quo" of Tsai Ing-Wen? (4) Cracking the Artificial "Natural Independence Generation"." *yuanwang*, no. 355&356 (2018): 6-10.
- "The Cross Strait Will Not Divide. Chang Ya-Chung Announced His Candidacy for Taiwan." *zaobao*, (2019/01/07).
- Agency, Xinhua News, "The System of China's Political Party " http://big5.www.gov.cn/gate/big5/www.gov.cn/guoqing/2007-11/15/content_2616295.htm (accessed 10/8 2019).
- An-Lo, Chang, "The Doctrine of Up", UP <http://www.china9999.org/guan-yu-ben-dang/dang-zhang/> (2019).
- Chen, Fang-Ming. " Without War, Taiwan Will Win. ." facebook, 2019/03/20.
- Chen, Yi-Shen. "Peng Ming-Min and Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement (1964-1972)-a Perspective from the Foreign Ministry's Archives." *Bulletin of Academia Historica*, no. 10 (2006): 189-219.
- Chiau-tong, Ng, "Taiwan Independence Movement and the Development of Nationalism after Wwii ", World United Formosans for Independence <http://www.taiwannation.org.tw/nyc/ngbook1.htm>.
- China, secretariat of Alliance for the Reunification of, "Purpose of Establishment-Alliance for the Reunification of China", Alliance for the Reunification of China <http://www.onechina.org.tw/index.php?f=ViewArt&c=440150000038> (2019).
- Cho-shui, Lin. "Does Ye Wang-Hui against the Taiwan Independence Referendum and /or Do Not Oppose Taiwan Independence?" *Liberty Times Net*, (2017).
- Congress, Third Session of the Tenth National People's, "The Official Position of the Republic of China (Taiwan) on the People's Republic of China's Anti-Secession (Anti-Separation) Law", Mainland Affairs Council ROC https://www.mac.gov.tw/en/News_Content.aspx?n=8A319E37A32E01EA&sms=2413CFE1BCE87E0E&s=D1B0D66D5788F2DE.
- De, Shen Jian. *Taiwanese Blood* Taiwan: Avanguard, 2003.
- DUAN, Shu-juo CHEN & Hong-kuan. "Plains Indigenous Ancestors and Taiwan Blood Nationalism." *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies* 72, (2008): 137-173.
- Fang, Li Bing. "Npp: We Are Political Party Advocate Taiwan Independence but Oppose the Labeling on the Independence." *Taiwan People News*, (2017/01/07).

- Taiwanese Latest Trend of Reunification and Independence. <https://www.tpof.org>.
- History, Taiwan. 2016/12/18. "Taiwan History -the Pioneer of Taiwan Independence, Thomas Wen-I Liao," (accessed 2019/5/26).
- Hsiao-Po, Wang. "Does Not Taiwan Have Dispute on Unification-Independence? Discussion with the Editorial of the United Daily News." *Straits Review Monthly*, no. 154 (2003): 49-51.
- Huang, Hsiang. "The Study of Chen Ying-Zhen's Theory of Reportage." *Chinese Literature and Culture*, no. Initial Issue (2011): 27-86.
- Ko, Yen-Hao. "China's Policy to Taiwan after Xi Jinping's Inauguration." *National Defense Journal* 30, no. 5 (2015): 49-76.
- Lin, Chia-Lung, Chien-Yuan Tseng. "Resistance Spirit: The Underground Stream and the Main Stream in the History of Taiwan: Takes Chiang Wei-Shui, Kuo Yu-Hsin and Cheng Nan-Jung as Examples." *The Journal of Chinese Public Administration*, no. 15 (2014): 205-225.
- Lin, Marie. "Genetic Profile of Non-Aboriginal Taiwanese Revisited in Response to Chen and Duan's Critiques Entitled "Plains Indigenous Ancestors and Taiwan Blood Nationalism"." *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies*, no. 75 (2009): 341-346.
- Lok-Tek, ONG. *Historical Fluctuation of Taiwan Independence* Translated by Hou Rong Bang: Avanguard, 2002.
- Ming-Min, Peng. *A Taste of Freedom: Memoirs of Formosan Independence Leader*: Taiwan Pub, 2008.
- Nan-jung, Cheng. "The Fact of Taiwan Independence " *Free Time* 196, (1987).
- Nan-jung, Cheng. "Independence Is to Fight for 100% Democracy." *Free Time* 198, (1987).
- News, Taiwan People, " President Tsai Responds to Chinese President Xi : Do Not Accept the 1992 Consensus and Resolutely Oppose One Country, Two Systems" <https://www.peoplenews.tw/news/49cc5fbc-948c-4046-985a-9c9a10e0fe08>.
- News, United Daily, "73 Percent of Taiwanese Believe They Are Taiwanese and 46 Percent Want Maintain the Status Quo ", United Daily News <https://vision.udn.com/vision/story/9534/1554314> (accessed 6.21 2019).
- NPP, "The Doctrine of Npp", NPP <https://www.newpowerparty.tw/rules/%E6%9C%AC%E9%BB%A8%E9%BB%A8%E7%AB%A0> (2019/06/17).

Party, Democratic Progressive, "The Constitution of Dpp, Establishment of an Independent Republic in Taiwan.", DPP
<https://www.dpp.org.tw/upload/download/%E9%BB%A8%E7%B6%B1.pdf>.

Po-Chih Chen, Trong-Rong Chai, Chia-Lung Lin, Yung-Ming Hsu, In-Chin Chen, Chien-Yuan Tseng, I-Chung Lai, Yu-Lin Huang, Chen Guan-rong, Li Zhao-li. "Democracy All the Way: Referendum Movement in Taiwan." *Chung Hua Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, no. 7 (2007): 210-234.

San-hu, Chu. "Return to Dr. Sun Yat-Sen and Chiang Ching Kuo as a Teacher." *Chinatimes*, (2014/12/08).

Shih, Cheng-Feng. "China Policy of the Ma Ying-Jeou Administration." *Taiwan International Studies Quarterly* 9, no. 2 (2013): 43-66.

SHUI, LIN CHO. "Stephen J Yates and the Strategy of Taiwan Independence (2): Looking at Taiwan from the Independent Referendum of Catalonia." *Liberty Times Net*, (2017/11/04).

SHUI, LIN CHO. "Stephen J Yates and the Strategy of Taiwan Independence (3): Declaring the Problem of Independence." *Liberty Times Net*, (2017/11/13).

Shuo, Fu Fang. "If Hold the Referendum of Independence and Unification, Fan Yun: Of Course I Choose Independence." *Newtalk*, (2015/10/24).

Solutions, Statistics, "What Is Linear Regression" <https://www.statisticssolutions.com/what-is-linear-regression/> (accessed 9 2019).

States., Montevideo Convention on Rights and Duties of, "Montevideo Convention on Rights and Duties of States", Cambridge University Press <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/international-law-documents/montevideo-convention-on-rights-and-duties-of-states/7B2A2374C17D2ED5DC2ACF409704F308>.

Tsan-Teng Chiang, Cheng-Mao Chen. "The War of Independence Vs Unification on the Taiwan Literature after Martial Law." *Journal of Northern Taiwan University of Science and Technology*, no. 3 (2007): 25-42.

Wang, Hsiao-Po. "China Is Also the Right of Our Taiwanese People " *Straits Review Monthly*, no. 319 (2017): 43-47.

WUFI, "About World United Formosans for Independence" <https://www.wufi.org.tw/en/> (accessed 5.28 2019).

WUFI, "【 Memorial 】 Taiwanese Research Authority-Ong Lok-Tek" <https://www.facebook.com/WUFI.Taiwan/photos/a.648833368493617/1901331496577125/>.

Xiao-Yong Wang, Guang-Zhen Wang "Mao Zedong's Ideas on the Settlement of the Taiwan Issue." *SOCIAL SCIENCES JOURNAL OF UNIVERSITIES IN SHANXI* 22, no. 6 (2010): 1-4.

Yun, Chen Shou. *Decrypt Chiang Ching Kuo*. Taiwan: Showwe Information, 2011/07/01.

Zhang Huan, Wan Jing-bo. "Chang an-Lo: The Four Words of the "Republic of China" Are the Stumbling Block of Unification." *news.ifeng.com*, (2013).