

## **An Examination of Cultural Identity of Residents of Quemoy (Kinmen)**

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### **Abstract**

The political tension between the People's Republic of China (PRC or China) and the Republic of China (ROC or Taiwan) over the past five decades has created difficulty for residents of Quemoy (Kinmen) regarding their identity. While politically Quemoy is part of the ROC, its proximity to the PRC naturally leads to a more active interaction with the PRC culturally and economically, especially in recent years when the tension between the two has diminished. Either to identify themselves with the PRC or the ROC has become a question raised often by the residents of Quemoy. This study examines the cultural identity of Quemoy's residents through conducting in-depth interviews. Implications of their points of view and limitations of the study are discussed as well.

### **Introduction**

Kinmen Island, or Quemoy, is situated on the mainland side of the Taiwan Strait, and controlled by the Republic of China (ROC) or Taiwan. China's Kuomintang (Nationalists) withdrew to Taiwan in 1949 and re-established a government there after losing power on the mainland to the People's Republic of China (PRC). Since that time, China and Taiwan have both been self-governed as two separate, sovereign states, as the PRC and the ROC, with the ROC government occupying Quemoy. Although China and Taiwan split after the 1949 civil war and Taiwan has operated as an independent state, China has viewed Taiwan as a rightful part of its territory. For centuries, Quemoy was administratively part of Fujian (Fukien) Province, China, but after 1949, the island was heavily fortified as a military bastion and remained under ROC's military administration until 1992, when civilian rule was restored. Although Quemoy is politically part of Taiwan, geographically it is so close to the Chinese mainland that on a sunny day the island's residents can see high-rises on nearby Xiamen Island (Amoy) or other territory under the jurisdiction of the PRC.

The history of Quemoy dates back over 1600 years. Before 1912, it was ruled by different dynasties of the Chinese Empire. As part of Fujian Province, Quemoy shares the same culture as that of South Min (South Fujian), as does Taiwan. However, since 1949 Quemoy's cultural and economic interaction with the mainland was terminated because of civil war. It is important to examine the changes in the cultural identity of Quemoy's residents during the last half-century, including the decades-long period under ROC military administration from 1949 to 1992, the second period from 1992 to 2000, the third period from the opening of the "three mini-links" in 2001, to the present time.

In 2000, Taiwan's government established the so-called "three mini-links" with China--direct trade, postal, and transportation links--but only with Quemoy and Matsu Island further

north. Taiwan's government regarded the "three mini-links" as an intermediate step toward the "three links". Since then, it has become more convenient for residents of Quemoy and Matsu, but especially Quemoy, to travel, study or conduct business on the mainland, or in Xiamen (Amoy), than for the rest of Taiwan's people. The opening of direct communication with "mainland China" is one important factor that has strongly influenced the cultural identity of Quemoy's resident.

### **Literature Review**

#### **Culture, Cultural Identity, and Communication**

The word *culture* describes everything that makes a large group of people unique. Members of a culture share similar thoughts and experiences (Jandt, 2004, p.26). Collier and Thomas define culture as "a historically transmitted system of symbols and meanings, and norms" (Collier & Thomas, 1988, p.102). Our culture teaches us rules or norms that tell us how to behave inside our culture. One's culture is a part of one's identity (Jandt, 2004, p.26). We communicate our identity to others and we learn who we are through communication. Communication does not refer just to language; rather, actions, rules, behavior, discrimination, and labels are all communicative. Identity and communication are mutually reinforcing (Abrams et al., 2003, p.221).

Everyone has multiple identities that are created and negotiated through communication. Identities emerge when messages are exchanged between individuals. Presenting one's identities is not a simple process. Identities are dynamic; they are created by the self and at the same time by others in relation to group membership (Martin & Nakayama, 1997, pp.64, 67, 88).

To create a culture, a group must first define itself as a group. This may be on the basis of nationality, ethnicity, gender, profession, religion, organization, or others. Once the group defines itself as a unit, then a cultural system may develop. Cultural identity is the particular character of the group communication system that emerges when people claim group membership in a particular situation, event, or communication context (Collier, 2003, pp. 417-419).

#### **Avowal and Ascription Processes**

Identities are enacted across contexts through *avowal* and *ascription* processes (Collier, 2003, p. 420). According to Martin and Nakayama, avowal is the process by which an individual portrays him- or herself. In contrast, ascription is the process by which others attribute identities to an individual (Martin & Nakayama, 1997, p.67). Avowal is analogous to the face or image shown to others; in a way, it is the individual showing to others "This is who I am" as a member of this group or these groups (Collier, 2003, p.420). However, when an ascribed identity challenges the avowal identity, the resulting conflict influences the communication between persons (Martin & Nakayama, 1997, p.67).

The avowal and ascription processes acknowledge that identity is shaped by our own and by others' communicated views of us (Abrams et al., 2003, p.211). The concepts of avowal and ascription can be useful in understanding the roles played by others in the development of our own cultural identities. It is argued that cultural identities therefore have both subjective and ascribed meanings (Collier, 2003, p.420).

### Historical Background

*"If you would understand anything, observe its beginning and its development."*

--- Aristotle

*"History cannot give us a program for the future, but it can give us a fuller understanding of ourselves, and of our common humanity, so that we can better face the future."*

--- Robert Penn Warren

Quemoy was named *jin-men* ("golden gate") in 1387 when the emperor of the Ming Dynasty *Tai Zu* appointed a military officer to administer the island and protect it from pirate attacks. In the late 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup> century Portuguese navigators arrived in Fujian Province and named the island "Quemoy", a Portuguese transliteration of *jin-men* as spoken in the South Min (South Fujian) dialect or *min-nan yu*. The Portuguese heard *jin-men* and spelled it "Quemoy" (Wei, 2003). The Portuguese did not colonize Quemoy, however; Taiwan was colonized for many years, but Quemoy was not.

During the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, bandits often came by sea and preyed upon Quemoy. After the foundation of the ROC in 1912, Quemoy became a county (*hsien*) of Fujian Province in 1915. In 1937, Japan invaded China. According to a local elder, born in 1925, a company of Japanese soldiers landed on Quemoy at the end of 1937. During the occupation of Quemoy by the Japanese, some residents fled to the mainland. After the end of World War II in 1945, Japanese troops withdrew from Quemoy, but a civil war broke out soon afterwards in China, and the war affected the island's destiny.

Geographically, Quemoy is located off the southeastern coast of Fujian Province, covering an area of about 150 sq. kilometers. After 1949 it held a key position in the Taiwan Strait, blocking the mouth of Xiamen Bay, while protecting Taiwan and the Penghu Islands (Pescadores). Quemoy is historically the gateway to the island province of Taiwan, only 200 kilometers (125 miles) west of Taiwan. The shortest distance from the main island of Quemoy to Communist-held territory is only 2,310 meters. Strategically, Quemoy dominates the port of Xiamen, and Quemoy and Matsu command the Taiwan Strait on the west, and have served as outposts for Taiwan's defense for many years.

Communist forces conquered the Chinese mainland in 1949, and very soon their armies bombarded and invaded Quemoy, but were repelled after suffering about 13,000 casualties at the hands of the defending Nationalist forces, and surrendered when defeated at the Battle of Guningtou. The ROC government has continued to control Quemoy since that time. Quemoy was put under military administration and remained heavily fortified during several decades of conflict, until 1992. Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists held onto Quemoy when they were forced to retreat from the mainland in 1949. Thereafter, the island served as a symbol of Chiang's determination to "take back the mainland". In 1953, and again in 1954, China heavily shelled Quemoy and Matsu. This led to a U.S./Taiwan defense pact in December 1954. In 1958, Quemoy and Matsu drew international headlines in the "Quemoy Incident" as Chinese shells rained down, marking the beginning of two decades of intermittent bombardment. When Quemoy was intensively shelled in 1958, the U.S. Seventh Fleet was sent to the Taiwan Strait. Quemoy and Matsu became a major election issue during the 1960 U.S. presidential debates. Richard Nixon accused John F. Kennedy of being unwilling to commit to using nuclear weapons in the event of a PRC invasion of Nationalist outposts. In 1979, the United States officially espoused a "One China" policy, diplomatic relations were shifted from Taipei to Beijing, and the PRC officially announced a cease-fire

against the ROC.

As the PRC's military confrontation was replaced with détente in the late 1980s, democratic changes occurring in Taiwan were gradually extended to Quemoy. Military rule in Quemoy ended in 1992, along with severe restrictions on travel and residency.

In 2000, Taiwan lifted a 50-year ban on direct trade and transport links with China. The new trade measure established direct links between Quemoy, Matsu and the Chinese cities of Xiamen and Mawei. Direct postal links with China were approved, too, with Beijing pushing for full trade, transport and postal exchanges. In June 2002, Taiwan unilaterally eased curbs on direct trade and travel between Quemoy, Matsu and nearby Chinese cities as part of an effort to boost their economies. Taiwan's government approved measures allowing Taiwanese business interests, who have made extensive investments in China's southeastern coastal province of Fujian to sail directly from the islands of Quemoy and Matsu to Fujian. Buddhist pilgrims were also allowed to sail from Taiwan to Fujian via Quemoy or Matsu. Previously, only residents of Quemoy and Matsu were allowed to sail directly between the two islands and select Fujian cities. In 2004, over 400,000 trips were made through the "three mini-links" between the two sides (*Kinmen Daily News*, June 12, 2005), and the number of visits in 2005 exceeded 510,000 (*Kinmen Daily News*, January 4, 2006).

Since 1992 and the end of military rule on the island, Quemoy has struggled to welcome a flood of tourists who are drawn to its traditional architecture, clean skies and military past. More recently, Taiwan's government and the Quemoy County government have been working together to promote tourism on the island.

This historical background has been given in order to contextualize the dynamic relationship between Taiwan, China and Quemoy, and to provide scholars with the opportunity to examine the complex forces behind the cultural identity of Quemoy's residents. This paper attempts to demystify their identity.

## Method

### Participants and Procedure

For this study, structured in-depth interviews were conducted to answer research questions about the factors behind the formation of the identity of Quemoy's residents. Ten residents of the island from different occupational backgrounds participated in this study. Among them, five were male and 5 female, ranging from age 26 to 47. Each interview lasted from 60 to 120 minutes, with an average interview length of 80 minutes. All interviews were conducted in Mandarin Chinese and held in a comfortable place that was agreed upon or selected by the participants themselves. All interviewees were audiotaped, with their consent. Table 1 gives demographic information about the participants.

**Table 1. Demographic Information on Participants**

Participants	Gender	Age	Have you been to mainland China ( <i>chonguo dalu</i> ) ?
I-1	F	30	Yes
I-2	F	26	Yes
I-3	F	38	Yes

I-4	M	30	Many times
I-5	F	33	Yes
I-6	M	45	No
I-7	M	47	No
I-8	M	39	Yes
I-9	M	36	No
I-10	F	41	Yes

### Instrument and Analysis

The author developed 16 interview questions for this study (See Appendix A). The statements were transcribed verbatim by the author. Then, the data was analyzed, and organized to respond to the research questions.

### Results

Residents of Quemoy show a unique cultural identity in their locally specific context. The following section discusses the implications and characters of this cultural identity.

#### Ascribed Identity: the Identity of Quemoy's Residents under Military Rule (1949-1992)

Residents of Quemoy are considered *min-nan ren* (people of South Min), when we refer to belonging to an ethnic group. Many people of South Min have immigrated to Taiwan over the past four hundred years and have become the largest of the four ethnic groups in Taiwan. They all speak the same language (*min-nan yu*) and shared a common history before 1949, but the Chinese civil war of 1949 separated Quemoy from China and also cut off all interaction between the two sides.

During the period of military rule in Quemoy from 1949 to 1992, the ROC government stuck to a "one China" policy, and Taiwan's people, which included residents of Quemoy, were educated by the KMT's "back to China" ideal, where China symbolized a cultural China or a common cultural heritage, and a future united China was sought. All the middle school students studied Chinese history and geography. Even today, visitors may see slogans, such as "Give back our rivers and mountains (*huan wo he shan*)", inside a military bunker or on a big wall outside a building on the island. The residents' sense of Chineseness was mostly constructed by this education as well as heavy political propaganda, and it's clear that their cultural identity could be defined as ascribed. What would seem to be paradoxical is that most of the interviewees identified with being *jin-men ren* (people of Quemoy), *min-nan ren* (people of South Min), or Chinese, but not Taiwanese, whereas they all identified with being citizens of the ROC. During these four decades, residents of Quemoy could not directly visit Xiamen or other areas of the PRC, but they could visit Taiwan or study there—traveling by military ship.

The identity that Taiwan has ascribed to residents of Quemoy is socially and politically determined. Taiwan's government treated Quemoy as a bulwark, its frontline of defense against a possible invasion from the PRC's Red Army (ascription). The residents were unable to make their island a democratically self-governed area led by civilian rule, unable to claim full personal or constitutional freedoms, and unable to pursue the natural development of their own, individual cultural identity. In short, in the ever-present, war-zone-like atmosphere, especially in 1949 and during the 1950s, they couldn't and didn't develop a real avowal identity. One interviewee, a physician, spoke of an obscure but definite ascribed identity, *"I couldn't go to the mainland at that time, but I had a strong feeling (gan qing) for Chinese history and geography. The culture of mainland China attracts me."*

For a long time, the ruling party, Kuomintang (KMT), educated and encouraged residents of Quemoy to be fighters against both Chinese Communists and supporters of Taiwan's independence. The response of several interviewees showed that their national identity (with the ROC) was stronger than regional identity (with Taiwan), and assumed such ascribed identity as their avowal identity. As one interviewee pointed out: *"I don't identify with the word 'Taiwan.'" "The Republic of China" has more meaning for us, because I think Taiwan is included in the ROC."*

### **An Emerging Avowal Identity**

When the PRC's military confrontation was replaced with détente in the late 1980s, Taiwan's government began to withdraw troops gradually, over a period of years. While military rule ended in Quemoy in 1992, Taiwan's independence movement began to grow in strength. Interviewees responded that they had begun to worry about being marginalized:

*"We feel deeply that Taiwan often ignores our rights. We had been ruled under martial law. We had made sacrifices because of the war. Our government doesn't pay attention to us."*

*"Actually, Taiwan didn't identify itself with Quemoy. Taiwan marginalized Quemoy. When I was a child, I didn't think so. After I grew up, I knew that the marginalization was the tendency."*

*"Some people say that Xiamen is a marginalized city, Taiwan is a marginalized place in the world, and Quemoy is a marginalized part of Taiwan."*

Fearing Taiwan's independence and worrying about being marginalized, residents of Quemoy began to create their avowal identity.

The KMT's opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), gathered strength in the 1990s, and gained power through democratic elections under President Chen Shui-bian in Taiwan in 2000. Residents of Quemoy opposed Taiwan's independence-minded secessionist forces for fear that Quemoy would someday be cut off from Taiwan. As two interviewees indicated, the political changes created the impetus for the development of a new, avowal identity:

*"My identity and other people's identity was called into question. People in Taiwan regard Quemoy as a faraway place, and in their mind, Quemoy seems to belong to mainland China."*

*"My national identity changed a little. Formerly, I identified myself with the ROC, but now education may change our way of thinking."*

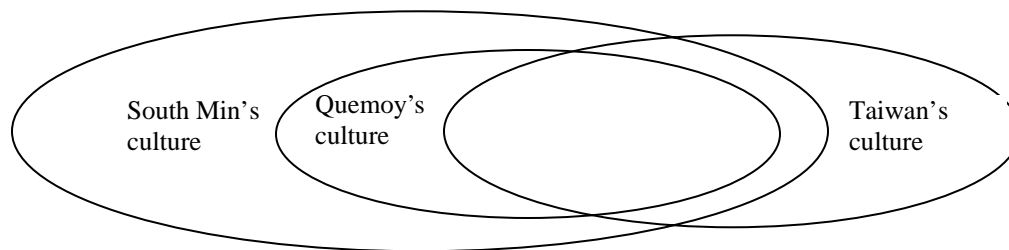
Shortly after the end of military rule in 1992, Taiwanese tourists began flocking to Quemoy. The active interaction between business, tourism, and other sectors helped to create a new

context of cultural communication between the people of Taiwan and residents of Quemoy. Martin and Nakayama point out that the communication perspective recognizes the role of interaction with others as one factor in developing the self (1997, p.64). From 1992 until the opening of the “three mini-links” in 2001, the avowed identity of Quemoy’s residents was gradually constructed.

### Interpretation of Chineseness and Taiwaneseess

For the purpose of this study, the terms “Chineseness” and “Taiwaneseess” mainly refer to the dimensions of Chinese culture and Taiwanese culture separately.

One interview subject pointed out the cultural relationship between South Min, Quemoy and Taiwan as the following diagram illustrates:



He added, *“About 80 percent of Taiwan’s culture comes from South Min’s culture.”*

Another interviewee expressed a similar view: *“Taiwan’s culture is derived from South Min’s culture and Chinese culture.”*

Among the ten interviewees, seven had traveled to China via the “three mini-links”, and expressed a stronger sense of Chineseness than the other respondents. Their experience of traveling to China helped them construct and strengthen their cultural identity with China. One interviewee, who had visited both China and Europe, said,

*“I wish I were Chinese, especially after having been to France. In other countries I saw our own (Chinese) characters. It was a warm feeling, although I knew the use of simplified Chinese characters was a world trend. I hope Quemoy will belong to China someday, like in the case of Hong Kong or under the “one China, two systems” model, or others.”*

Being overlooked compelled residents of Quemoy to find a point of balance between the two shores of the Taiwan Strait, and they even leaned toward mainland China psychologically. As two interviewees stated:

*“I feel we lean toward the Chinese mainland, especially faced with the environment we live in.”*

*“I feel we will accept their (Chinese) culture more and more.”*

Another interviewee expressed her strong cultural identification with China:

*“To me, zhong-guo (China) means the mother body, and I don’t know when the child (Quemoy) will go back to it.”*

In a different context, such as being in a foreign country, individuals usually couldn’t immerse themselves within it, but they could identify themselves with homogeneous cultures.

Another interviewee, who had never been to China, noted:

*“Ever since I was born, I was considered to be “zhong-guo ren (Chinese).” I don’t*

*think there is anything bad about being Chinese. When you go abroad, people in other countries think that you come from a big country. If you use a "Chinese" passport, that's okay, China is even considered to be a hegemony. ... The two Chinese characters "zhong guo" are really beautiful."*

From these words we can see a clear cultural identity and some specific aspects of a political identification with China.

As to the sense of Taiwanese-ness, a diversity of opinion was found in their answers. For example:

*"Before, I identified myself as Chinese, jin-men ren, and now, if you say I am Taiwanese, that's okay. ... Now I am ruled by Taiwan, and I identify myself with Taiwan."*

*"Taiwan provided me with nourishment for the mind, but Quemoy can't. Life in Taiwan is more pluralistic than Quemoy."*

*"Taiwan is more democratic than China. Taiwan's people have civil rights. There's no democracy or civil rights in China. ... We use NT dollars (not renminbi)."*

*"On a whole I don't like Taiwanese people."*

*"We feel so close to Xiamen. ... Because of this interaction, we feel dear to each other, like relatives. We share a common language and customs. On the other hand, we feel Taiwan is far away."*

*"My feelings toward and identity with Taiwan are stronger than with the Chinese mainland. I have always thought so."*

After 1992, residents of Quemoy have enjoyed the same freedoms and democratic lifestyle as the people in Taiwan, but the political movement toward Taiwan's independence has suggested that Quemoy might be forced to someday break away from Taiwan, and the residents fear that they might lose their free lifestyle. If they cannot be citizens of Taiwan or a Republic of Taiwan, they would also be reluctant to be citizens of China or the PRC. One aforementioned interviewee, however, expressed an interest in retaining a Chinese passport.

### **Communicator and the Construction of Cultural Identity**

After over fifty years of confrontation between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait, Quemoy may be able to serve as an important role to bridge them. With the conciliatory atmosphere in the Post-Cold War period, establishing direct communication with China through the "three mini-links", and a rising sense of globalization, residents of Quemoy feel they can play the role of "communicator" between the two former adversaries. This sentiment was indicated by several interviewees:

*"There should be more interaction and communication between the two sides, and less quarrels and disputes."*

*"If supporters of Taiwanese independence took the opportunity to visit mainland China, perhaps their ideas or opinions would change. That's why the two shores (of the Taiwan Strait) need more interaction."*

*"I think the two sides can cooperate and promote more cultural interaction, and put aside political confrontation."*

*"In the past, residents of Quemoy had always been conscious of the need to be prepared for battle, but today they can be a communicator between the two, because they have the advantage of language to communicate with both sides."*

With the opening of the "three mini-links" in 2001, residents of Quemoy could directly visit



the “mainland China,” from whence their elders or ancestors had come. The “three mini-links” provide an excellent way for the residents to get a positive experience within a familiar cultural context, and to construct their cultural identity.

For those who have been to China, their cultural experiences tended to be particularly unique. For example:

*“In our blood flows the Chinese tradition. I am proud that I am Chinese. I have been to the mainland many times. I found China has developed rapidly. ... The Chinese mainland will be a place for Taiwanese and people of Quemoy to achieve full development in the future. ... The more you visit the Chinese mainland, the more you will understand it. ... Politics is temporary, and blood and culture are eternal.”*

*“Formerly, China was far away. We could learn about it only through history textbooks. After the opening of the three mini-links, I had a better sense of what “China” was. I feel that we and the people there are of the same family.”*

*“I know we have the same cultural roots, but I don’t agree that we should be ruled by mainland China.”*

*“Each time I visit the mainland, I feel I have come back home. To me, the mainland is my homeland (yuan xian).”*

Some interviewees further talked about their identity:

*“Sometimes my identity has been called into question, especially during the election campaign in Taiwan.”*

*“I identify myself with both Taiwan and the Chinese mainland.”*

*“I am a jin-men ren. I come from Quemoy.”*

Still, there are some voices of localization, such as:

*“Quemoy’s culture hasn’t been preserved very well. If we want to strengthen our self-identity, we have to maintain and protect our culture, because too many artificial structures have destroyed its original appearance.”*

*“After living in Taiwan for some time, I find I love the traditional culture in Quemoy.”*

### Discussion and Conclusion

Residents of Quemoy have always identified themselves with South Min culture as well as with Chinese culture. That cultural identity had stabilized even before the Chinese civil war of 1949, which separated the ROC from the PRC, bringing about a new political situation across the Taiwan Strait and therefore influencing the identity of the residents. Under military rule, which lasted from 1949 to 1992, residents of Quemoy were strongly influenced by the KMT’s ideology, and forced to serve as a frontline against Communist China. In this sense, the identity of Quemoy’s residents was ascribed by Taiwan. In this ascription process, the residents adopted the “ascribed identity” as their own, and could not develop or create their avowed identity until the sense of Taiwan’s independence grew in Taiwan and martial law was lifted in 1992. However, identity is not something to be wholly ascribed by the majority or to circulate as the assessment of the population, but rather something to be preserved against the ascription of the majority (Callahan, 2001).

As a movement toward Taiwan’s independence made swift progress in the 1990s, residents of Quemoy believed that Quemoy might be cut off from Taiwan someday and they wouldn’t be able to enjoy such a democratic and free lifestyle anymore. Fearing Taiwan’s independence and worrying about being marginalized help the residents create an avowed

identity. Since the DPP, a party seeking Taiwan's independence, became the ruling party of Taiwan in 2000, residents of Quemoy have become more concerned about their future than ever. They largely believe that they have been marginalized or isolated by Taiwan's government. They further support a Taiwan whose government treats them well, is responsive to their needs and recognizes the name and existence of the "ROC", regardless of which party is in power.

Identity is dynamic across time and situation. In 2000, Taiwan's government established the "three mini-links" as an intermediate step to the "three links". With the opening of the "three mini-links" in 2001, a new intercultural context on Quemoy is forming. Frequent and active economical and cultural interaction with China strengthens the residents' sense of Chineseness. The effect of "Sinicization", especially with respect to culture, seems strong in residents of Quemoy. In contrast, some politicians in Taiwan have stressed the importance of "de-Sinicization" or placing a greater importance on the sense of having a Taiwanese national identity. Meanwhile, the island's political and economical relationship with China has become a major concern for residents of Quemoy, and their political identity with Taiwan has become unstable. We can see the dynamic nature of this identity clearly in Quemoy today.

Through ascription and avowal processes, direct communication with both the Taiwanese and Chinese, and under the impact of globalization, residents of Quemoy have developed their own specific cultural identity, which circumscribes both a strong sense of being culturally Chinese, while not involving a political or national identification with China or the PRC.

The social and political forces that have produced this particular identity of Quemoy's residents are never stable and are ever-changing. In the near future, Quemoy's economic interaction with China and Taiwan must become more active, whether or not the cross-strait political tension continues. In order to further understand the dynamic nature of the development of cultural identity in Quemoy, future research needs to explore how economic and political factors impact the cultural identity of Quemoy's residents.

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#### **Appendix A. A List of Interviewing Questions.**

1. Please describe your feelings about living in Quemoy.
2. Please define what a resident of Quemoy is.
3. Please use one or two sentences to describe your own identity as a resident of Quemoy.
4. Do you notice any changes in your self-identity over the years?
5. What is the meaning of “Taiwan” to you? Does the meaning ever change? Why?
6. Do you identify yourself with Taiwan? Why?
7. What is the meaning of “China” to you? Does the meaning ever change? Why?
8. Do you identify with “China”? Why?
9. Do any events lead you to think that there is a need to separate “Taiwan” and “China”?
10. In your experience, do other persons ever question your identity? If yes, how?
11. How would you describe “people in Taiwan (*Taiwan ren*)” and “people in China (*zhong-guo ren*)”? What is the main difference between the two?
12. In your opinion, putting all politics aside, what should the relationship be between Taiwan and China?
13. Do you agree with the following statement: “People in Quemoy are non-Taiwanese and speakers of the South Min dialect”?
14. Please describe your point of view on the “*xiao san tong* (three mini-links)”.
15. Please describe the relationship between the “*da san tong* (three links)” and the “*xiao san tong* (three mini-links)”.
16. Please describe your view of “Quemoy’s culture”, “South Min’s culture”, and “Taiwan’s culture”.