

From Discord to Harmony? A Textual Analysis of Political Theme Songs in Contemporary Taiwan

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Taiwan, like other previous colonies, has been experiencing rapid political, cultural, and social movements after World War II. After departing from the control of martial law in the late 1980s, the room for developing democracy had given Taiwanese people a chance to break the old identity and then reconstruct an alternative identity. In fact, the movement of localization has directly agitated the identity and political conflicts among people who have different political tendencies and ethnic backgrounds. In 2004 and 2006, two large political movements—the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally and the Red Clothes movement—presented different political voices. The theme songs sung in these two movements, however, revealed subtly similar claims. The purposes of this paper are to discuss and answer, in the process of localization, how Taiwanese people relocate their identity as well as what kind of identity consciousness is generally shared in contemporary Taiwan. By applying textual criticism, two theme songs of the above political movements will be evaluated.

The struggle of identity is an inevitable issue that many previous colonies have faced in the process of decolonization. When people with colonial memories have chances to make their own choices, they suddenly face a series of enormous challenges: how do they re-read the history that they were forced to forget? How do they break away from the influences—politically, socially, and culturally—of previous colonizers? What is the meaning of an independent state? How do they face the complex domestic and international relations after they achieve independence? In fact, all of the above questions refer to an essential issue: How do they identify themselves when they are facing a new epoch?

As the first country that was colonized by a non-Western country, Taiwan was a Japanese colony for 50 years (1895-1945). Taiwan was returned to China after World War II, and Taiwanese people immediately received governance from their previous enemy—China. Taiwanese people, therefore, faced a series of huge differences in terms of political system, language, identity, and even the level of civilization. After World War II, Taiwanese people have changed their identities, both culturally and nationally, from Japanese to Chinese and then recently to Taiwanese. Because of the popularity of post-colonialism and the trend of globalization, more and more Taiwanese people are aware of their sense of identity. Especially after Taiwan was released from martial law in 1987, people have held much more freedom than before in terms of the rights of press, speech, and assembly. Taiwanese people finally have the chance to re-examine the history that was covered and distorted by previous colonizers and authorities, as well as to recall the memories and pains while Taiwan was colonized.

However, the processes of breaking the old identity and then reconstructing an alternative identity have not always been peaceful. In fact, this process has agitated the identity and

political conflicts in contemporary Taiwanese society. In addition, the wave of Taiwanese local consciousness, starting from the post-martial law period, has caused a new round of hegemonic ideology. In order to answer the critical questions more systematically, this study is separated into the following sections. The first section explains the power of political songs as the rhetorical artifacts in social movements and the rhetorical functions of applying textual criticism. The second section briefly reviews the current ethnic and identity conflicts in Taiwan and the reasons of choosing two large political movements, the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally in 2004 and the Red Clothes movement in 2006, as the major social movements to focus on. The analysis in this section is to reveal the contemporary crises that have been aroused because of the identity-breaking and reconstructing processes of the past 20 years in Taiwan. Then, by analyzing two theme songs sung in the movements, the third section discusses and answers, in the process of decolonization, how the Taiwanese people relocate their national identity as well as what kind of identity consciousness is generally shared in contemporary Taiwan.

The Rhetorical and Political Functions of Music

The rhetorical artifacts analyzed in this paper are two theme songs sung in two large social movements in contemporary Taiwan. By analyzing the lyrics of the theme songs, the critic attempts to discuss the identity crisis and consciousness revealed in Taiwanese society in order to compare and evaluate the hidden meanings of the select theme songs. In fact, the power and influence of music has been discussed over centuries. In his book *The Republic*, Plato (n.d.) indicated that “any musical innovation is full of danger to the whole state, and ought to be prohibited” (p. 135). In Chinese history, philosophers, scholars, and politicians also discuss the relationship between music and politics. The ancient Chinese believed that music was one instrument for an imperial government to educate people, to influence social customs, and to reform abuses. For instance, one Confucian book stated that:

The music in the piping times of peace is harmonious and joyful, and demonstrates the harmony of politics; the music in troubled times is sad and angry, and demonstrates the turmoil of politics; the music in a subjugated nation is grieved, and demonstrates the people’s predicament. Music and politics have a direct relationship. (*Li Ji Zhu Shu*, 1993, p. 663)

Therefore, the power of music easily serves as a rhetorical tool to achieve political purposes. Thus, it can be seen that both Western and Chinese philosophers noticed the power of music in a society and treated music as a rhetorical tool served for political purposes.

When Stewart, Smith, and Denton (2001) discussed the function of music in social movements, they expressed that singing songs together or along with a leader can make protestors become active participants rather than passive listeners in such social movements. As they state, “Active participation may aid self-persuasion” (p. 201). In fact, not only limited to social movements, the statement made by Stewart, Smith, and Denton can also apply to political activities. One political task of music is to gather collective consensus. Accordingly,

music presents an intimate relationship of shaping and developing people's identity and self-image. According to Frith (1997), "Identity is . . . an experiential process which is most vividly grasped *as music*. Music seems to be a key to identity because it offers, so intensely, a sense of both self and others; of the subjective in the collective" (p. 110). Politically, on one hand, music is easy to be utilized by politicians or propagandists to achieve political goals. On the other hand, the words, lyrics, and repetitions of songs can reflect people's feelings, emotions, or even resistance to the authorities.

Textual Analysis

In order to investigate the mutual relations between the theme song lyrics and the selected social movements in recent Taiwan, a methodological approach of rhetorical criticism is applied in this study. As Foss (1996) indicated, "Rhetorical criticism is the process of systematically investigating and explaining symbolic acts and artifacts for the purpose of understanding rhetorical processes" (pp. 6-7). In this process, rhetorical critics examine, interpret, describe, or judge a series of rhetorical acts of communication. Therefore, critics try to look for rhetorical elements beyond one or a series of discourses, and then make an evaluation or judgment. Briefly, the object of rhetorical critics, as Boulton (1968) expressed, is to analyze "why does who say what to whom with what effect?" (p. 30).

As one method of rhetorical criticism, textual analysis focuses on analyzing:

The historical and biographical circumstances that generate and frame its composition, the recognition of basic conceptions that establish the co-ordinates of the text, and an appreciation of the way these conceptions interact within the text and help determine its temporal movement. (Leff, 1986, p. 380)

Leff also mentioned the importance of the external situation when critics analyze rhetorical texts because one discourse is presented under specific circumstances. As Leff later noted, rhetoric has both an intentional and an extensional element. Textual criticism, therefore, concentrates on interpreting "the intentional dynamics of a text" (Leff, 1992, p. 223). Textual critics are primarily interested in the finished text itself rather than the person who presents it. However, the extensional dimension is not wholly ignored in textual criticism. In the same article mentioned above, Leff (1992) indicates that each discourse must be treated as "a functional intervention in a local context" (p. 229). Therefore, textual critics focus on intertextual issues rather than the single performance. Accordingly, textual analysis is an adequate critical method in this paper. By considering the current identity crisis and the incongruity among different ethnical groups in today's Taiwan, as well as the different political standpoints of the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally in 2004 and the Red Clothes movement in 2006, the discussions in this study tend to understand the dynamic identity-building development in the process of decolonization and, accordingly, to answer the critical questions.

The Status Quo in Taiwan

The Mixed-Ethnic Society

According to Smith (1991), there are six elements of an ethnic community: “a collective proper name; a myth of common ancestry; shared historical memories; one or more differentiating elements of common culture; an association with a specific ‘homeland’; and a sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population” (p. 21). The ethnic issue in Taiwan is more complicated than Smith’s explanation. Because of Taiwan’s unique situation and the special dialect distinctions of the Han culture, the meaning of “ethnic” group in Taiwan might be partly different from a common-shared definition made by the West. According to Shih (2002), it is generally accepted that Taiwan has four major ethnic groups: indigenous Taiwanese, Holo, Hakka, and Wai Sheng. In the same article, Shih reported that Holo is the majority of the total population in Taiwan; Holo proportional share is 70%. Of other ethnic groups: indigenous Taiwanese is around 2%, Hakka is 15%, and Mainlanders (here, meaning *Wai Sheng*) is 13%.

There are at least five ways to express the complexity of the Taiwanese ethnic problem. First, if differentiated from the biological, anthropological sense, Taiwan has two major races: Han people and indigenous Taiwanese. Second, if divided by historical memories, Holo, Hakka, and indigenous Taiwanese are in the same category because they had experienced Japanese colonization. Wai Sheng, on the contrary, indicates a large number of people who followed the ROC government to retreat to Taiwan in 1949. In other words, the first generation of Wai Sheng people maintained a strong Chinese identity because their homeland was the Chinese mainland. Third, if separated by language, Holo, Hakka, Wai Sheng, and indigenous Taiwanese speak different dialects. Fourth, if different groups are distinguished by the time their ancestors immigrated to Taiwan, indigenous people are aboriginals. Holo and Hakka are in the same category, which is often called *Ben Sheng*. Ben Sheng is a contrast of Wei Sheng; Ben Sheng refers to that people whose ancestors moved to Taiwan over hundreds of years. In Chinese, the meaning of *Ben* indicates local or internal; *Wei*, on the contrary, means outside or external. Last, if separated by a myth of common ancestry and a sense of common culture, there are only two major cultural groups in Taiwan: Han culture and indigenous Taiwanese culture. In this sense, Holo, Hakka, and Wai Sheng should be treated as secondary ethnic groups of the Han culture because all of them are highly influenced by traditional Han customs.

The above explanations show the complicated ethnic issues in Taiwan. Especially when politicians have utilized the sense of ethnicity as the label to judge people’s identity, it has caused serious confrontational standpoints among people who belong to different ethnic groups. In addition, it has caused severe divisions of national identity among Taiwanese people. The discussion below will address the current identity crisis in Taiwan, and the oversimplified Blue versus Green political labels in Taiwanese society.

The Identity Crisis

In today's Taiwan, the identification of *Taiwanese* and *Chinese* is a highly sensitive topic and is one of the reasons for tension among different ethnic groups in the society. The post-colonial situation is very complicated in Taiwan, and the major cause is that Taiwan had experienced two colonial authorities consecutively. The release from martial law in 1987 offered Taiwanese people an opportunity to exercise political rights. However, the freedom of presenting different voices reinforces the conflicts and different identities among people who have different colonial memories and backgrounds.

Historically, according to Ching (2001), people in Taiwan did not have a clear national identity of Chinese before Japan colonized Taiwan. Depending on which provinces of China people immigrated from, Taiwanese people had more provincial or dialect identities, such as Holo versus Hakka or Zhang Zhou versus Quan Zhou, than a clear and common national identity. In addition, people who emigrated from China (the Han people) could be treated as the whole in order to differentiate from the indigenous Taiwanese. In his book, *Becoming Japanese*, Ching argued that Taiwanese people had created a clearer sense about the Taiwanese identity during Japanese colonialism in order to resist the rule of a foreign race. Thus, he made such a statement: "The specifically historical and political character of Taiwanese neonationalist thought is truncated and complicated not only by its colonial relationship to the Japanese colonial power, but also by its historical and cultural relationship to semicolonized mainland China" (Ching, 2001, p. 52). However, the emerging Taiwanese identity was not welcomed by the Japanese colonial government because it raised people's sense of resistance.

After World War II, the Chiang Kai-shek authority especially focused on removing Taiwanese people's Japanese identity and constructing the Chinese identity. The change of political climate that caused important influences in Taiwanese society started in the late 1970s. Culturally, according to Liao (1995), the release from an authoritarian regime has given Taiwan a great possibility to develop into a multicultural society. However, it has also caused an identity crisis. On the one hand, the break of traditional Chinese identity highlights the presence of cultural differences that were purposely ignored by the authoritarian government. On the other hand, the developing local consciousness has presented a trend of exclusiveness and ghettoization.

In Taiwan, the majority of the population (Han people) lives in the same territory, shares the same culture, has diverse dialects, and holds different historical memories. Therefore, they have struggled to construct an imagined community. The resistance to the Kuomintang (KMT) authoritarian government has reinforced local consciousness. However, when the development of local consciousness has been utilized by politicians for reconstructing a sense of national identity, the meaning of nativism is simplified (maybe oversimplified). After Taiwan was released from martial law, a newly-formed national identity has been revealed in terms of, for instance, the weights of Taiwanese history versus Chinese history in textbooks, the words used to describe the Taiwanese history under Japanese colonization, or the standard to judge whether people love Taiwan or not.

Blue Versus Green

Currently, Taiwanese people show a tendency to use colors to label people who have different political views. Blue is the representative color of the KMT; green, on the contrary, is the representative color of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), which is currently the major opposition party in Taiwan and was the ruling party between 2000 and 2008. The original meaning of Blue versus Green conflicts refers to the competition between the KMT and the DPP. However, these political color labels have extended to cover more factors to stimulate the hostilities among Taiwanese people who have different backgrounds. In general, the blue label can be explained to include the following elements: placing more value on Chinese culture, supporting the political claims held by the KMT, holding a political view of not supporting Taiwanese independence. On the other hand, the green label usually means that people have been more influenced by Japanese culture, support the DPP, maintain strong local consciousness, and possibly seek future independence. This kind of distinction presents a dichotomy of political ideologies. In fact, it is an unhealthy development for reconstructing a sense of national identity in Taiwan because it deepens or even emphasizes the hatred among different ethnic groups.

In today's Taiwan, the diverse senses of belonging make it very difficult to create a sense of nation and, accordingly, influence the stability of the society. In one report posted on *Global Views Monthly* (Xu, 2008), a survey shows that 34.7% of Taiwanese people believe that the Blue versus Green conflicts are the most serious social issue, surpassing the issues of economic development, education, unemployment, and the Taiwan-China relationship, that needs to be resolved in Taiwanese society. However, from recent social and political movements, a tendency has revealed that Taiwanese people, no matter what kind of political standpoints they hold, have shared an emerging identity consciousness. This tendency may have a positive influence because it shows the possibility for Taiwanese people to transcend the oversimplified Blue versus Green conflicts. In addition, it may help Taiwanese society to overcome the identity crisis and maintain stable development in the near future.

In order to cover two major political voices in Taiwanese society, this paper selected two large political movements that showed different political standpoints. The 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally in 2004 was usually considered as a Green movement because it was held by a related DPP organization and associated with the 2004 presidential election. The Red Clothes Movement in 2006, on the other hand, did not present a very obvious color label at the beginning, but later it had attracted more Blue protesters to join the movement. Even though these two movements presented different political claims, the two theme songs sung in each movement revealed similar political meanings. From analyzing the theme songs in these two movements, the discussion will answer the critical questions in this study.

The Analyses of Two Theme Songs

The 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally

Event background. In 2004, the ROC president at that time, Chen Shui-bian, and the KMT chairperson, Lien Chan, were candidates of the presidential election. The 2004 election was an opportunity for the KMT to take the ruling power back since 2000. Chen, on the other hand, needed to maintain the ruling power of the DPP and to start his second presidency. Under this condition, the Peace Memorial Day, held February 28, 2004, was full of political sensitivity, especially since it was a Saturday. Superficially, both parties organized a series of activities in memorizing the 228 Incident. The purpose of these political activities, nevertheless, was to associate with the presidential election. In the activities held by the two major political parties, the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally is the one that needs to be discussed because it was the largest social rally in Taiwanese history. There were different records about the exact number of attendees. For instance, according to a news report of *United Daily News* on February 29 (“228,” 2004), the attendees of the rally numbered 1.2 million people. A news article posted on *Taipei Times* (Chen, 2004) indicated that over 2 million people attended the rally. No matter how many people exactly attended the activity, the main point was that the success of this political movement had raised the voice of supporting the DPP candidate, President Chen, shortened Lien’s leading position, and became one of the very important reasons for Chen to win the election in March 2004.

On October 31, 2003, the former ROC president, Lee Teng-hui, cooperated with the DPP and other related organizations to promote a rally to be held on February 28 in order to support the DPP presidential candidate, President Chen. The vice chief secretary of the DPP, Lee Ying-yuan, provided the idea of forming a human chain starting from the northernmost Taiwanese city to the southernmost tip of the island. The length of this human chain would be around 500 kilometers, and this rally was expected to attract at least one million people to join. According to a news report on the *United Daily News* (Lin, 2004), Lee’s idea was questioned at the beginning but, later, called into action. In November, 2003, the rally office, the Hand-in-Hand to Safeguard Taiwan Alliance, was established; on the occasion, the office formally called for Taiwanese people to attend the rally on February 28, 2004. On December 24, the rally office announced the logo and the theme song of the activity; also, the chief organizer announced that the goals of the rally were to “love peace and oppose the missile threat from China” (“Million People,” 2003).

On February 2, 2004, the rally office organized a rehearsal in Tainan, which is Chen’s hometown. This rehearsal attracted over 80,000 people and formed a 62.3 kilometer long human chain (Yang, Wang, Wang, & Chen, 2004). In the following two weeks, the rally office organized other rehearsals at different cities around Taiwan. From the beginning, this rally did not attempt to hide its strong support of the DPP candidate—President Chen. However, in a news conference for international media on February 21, the chief organizer identified this rally as a protection to Taiwan, a unification of different ethnic groups in Taiwan, and an opposition to China; also, it had no relation with the presidential election (Li, 2004). On February 28, over one million Taiwanese people stood side by side across 14

counties on the Western side of Taiwan. Attendees, from the northernmost to the southernmost tip of Taiwan, held their hands at 2:28 pm, and this long human chain announced the success of the rally.

The political influences of the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally are not the issues discussed in this paper. Instead, this paper pays more attention to analyzing the rhetorical meaning of the theme song of this rally. Especially when this rally is compared with the theme song of the Red Clothes movement in 2006, the lyric analyses will present what kind of identity consciousness is shared in contemporary Taiwanese society. Thus, the following section will examine the theme song, “She is Our Baby,” of the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally from 2004, in order to reveal the hidden political messages of the lyrics.

The theme song analysis. The theme song of the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally is “She is Our Baby.” The lyrics and music are made by Chen Ming-zhang. The lyrics were written in *Holo hua* (the major Taiwanese dialect). The original purpose for Chen to compose this song was to support the charitable works of saving young prostitutes. Later, the 228 Rally office selected this song to be the theme song. The lyrics of this song are:

A flower grows from the ground
 She is cherished most by her father and mother
 If the wind blows
 Be sure to cover her with a blanket
 Never let her fall to the dark
 Before the flower blossoms
 She needs the care from you and me
 Give her good land to grow
 Hand in hand
 Heart linked to heart
 We stand together
 She is our baby

When this song was used to save young prostitutes, the lyrics “flower” and “she” mean young girls that needed to be cared for by parents and loved ones. The gist of this song is the line, “Never let her fall to the dark.” In other words, the lyrics convey a message, which is very simple and direct, that young girls deserve dear love from parents in order to be protected from dangerous situations. Many girls are lucky, but there are always some girls who cannot receive care from their families. For these young girls with a miserable destiny, people in the society need to work together and protect them because they are our babies.

When this song was used on a political occasion like the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally in 2004, the subject of the song would be changed to a political claim. Thus, when such political meaning was given, the lyrics “flower” and “she” can be transformed to refer to the island of Taiwan. In addition, the nouns such as “father,” “mother,” “you and me,” and “we” signify Taiwanese people. Because the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally was considered as an opposition to China’s missile threat, the phrase “if the wind blows” can refer to the threat from China.

Thus, the lyrics rationalize the proper reason of holding this rally because “she [Taiwan] needs the care from you and me [Taiwanese people].”

Therefore, when this song is used as a political song, the messages the lyrics deliver is to ask Taiwanese people to hold their hands and stand together because “she [Taiwan] is our baby.” In addition, the hidden meaning of the lyrics presents people’s worry about Taiwan’s weak position in international relationships. When the lyrics say “never let her [Taiwan] fall to dark” and “give her [Taiwan] good land to grow,” they especially appeal to Taiwanese people’s emotions while facing the political reality. Thus, this theme song successfully called for Taiwanese people to stand hand-in-hand, which corresponds to the title of the rally, and make a human chain to present their determination of opposing China’s missile threat and protecting the land they are living on. The success of the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally had raised the confidence of the DPP and its supporters. After two days of the rally, a survey made by the *United Daily News* (The Survey Center, 2004) shows that people who expected Lien to be elected were reduced from 19% to 11%; also, more people refused to declare their voting intentions (from 23% to 27%). The result of the 2004 president election was that the DPP candidate, Chen, won the election and continued his second presidency. After the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally in 2004, “She is Our Baby” has become popular and been applied to different occasions. Politically, this song is generally used by the DPP candidates at different levels of elections in Taiwan.

The Red Clothes Movement

Event background. During his second presidency (2004-2008), President Chen Shui-bian and his family members have been involved in a series of scandals of corruption. For instance, in 2006, Chen’s son-in-law was detained for almost two months because he was accused of playing a part in a case of insider trading in 2005. Chen’s wife had also been questioned about her abuse of power and was redressed by the Control Yuan because of suppressing stock incomes.

Accordingly, a former DPP chairperson, Shih Ming-teh, announced that he wanted to organize a series of demonstrations to force President Chen to step down in August, 2006. The demonstration organized by Shih was soon named the Red Clothes movement by the mass. Shih adopted a unique way to attract attention and gain power from the public. On August 11, 2006, he called on people who agreed with his aims to donate 100 NT dollars to the headquarters of the protestation. If the headquarters could receive 100,000,000 NT dollars within one month, Shih would bring people’s anger into action. After Shih’s announcement of encouraging donations, his headquarters achieved the required amount within seven working days, and the Red Clothes movement had officially started.

The duration of the Red Clothes Movement was more than one month. Shih and the movement headquarters organized three major waves of demonstrations. The first wave happened on September 9th. Following the headquarters’ request, the demonstrators wore red clothes and followed the design of Taiwan’s “Nazca Lines” to start the demonstration routes. On September 15th, the second wave of demonstrations attracted even more people to surround Taipei and the presidential office. Starting from September 26th, Shih began the

journey around Taiwan to diffuse his claims and to walk to Taipei (“Qi Tian,” 2006). Then, on October 10th, the national day, the third wave of demonstrations disturbed the official ceremony held in front of the presidential office. During the period of the Red Clothes movement, protesters adopted the method of 24-hour sit-in to present their voices. On October 14th, Shih announced that the Red Clothes movement would minimize the size of demonstration. Since then, Shih had not organized any large protests asking President Chen to resign.

As well as the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally in 2004, the Red Clothes movement was also an important event in the history of Taiwanese social movements, although the latter one did not achieve its political claims. As an important social movement that attracted many people to donate money in a short period and to attend the demonstrations, the theme song that the demonstrators sang repeatedly during the movement certainly conveys important messages. Thus, the section below will examine rhetorical meaning of the song lyrics, “The Red Flower Rain,” of the Red Clothes movement in 2006.

The theme song analysis. The lyrics of “The Red Flower Rain” were written by Xiao Chong and Hong Yu, and the music was composed by Xiao Chong and Johnny Chen. The lyrics of this song were written in Mandarin. When the lyrics and music composer, Xiao Chong, was interviewed (Jian & Lu, 2006), he stated that, originally, this song was made for children. Later, the headquarters of the Red Clothes movement contacted him, and he composed the lyrics for the movement. The lyrics of “The Red Flower Rain” are:

Blossom red Blossom heart
 Beauty lies within
 I'll be here Wait for you
 No matter rain or tears
 People changed Flowers withered
 Where truth lies beneath
 Abandoned soul Never leaves
 Red flower rain's falling

Blossom red Blossom heart
 Beauty lies within
 Wishing you turn back time I will still be here
 Can recall the day you left Tears on rosy cheeks

Your smile Your shadow
 Blowing in the wind

Hand in hand Side by side
 Wish upon the stars
 How lucky we can meet Nothing can defeat
 Blowing wind stormy rain We know there comes peace

You and I keep in mind Home is always here

Red is the representative color of the Red Clothes movement in 2006. Therefore, the first phrase of the song, "Blossom red/Blossom heart," refers to the demonstrators who wore red clothes and joined the movements. When Taiwanese society has labeled a certain political ideology with a particular color, some people may question whether "red" is a newly-formed political ideology. Nevertheless, as a short term movement, the color of "red" may not be as distinct as the meaning of "blue" and "green." An editorial ("She Lun," 2006) by the *United Daily News* states, at the level of organization, this movement maintains a structure of "Green head, blue body; at the level of ideology, this movement presents a structure of primarily blue and secondary green." (p. A2). This statement indicates that the Red Clothes movement did not exactly break the hedge between the dichotomous political ideologies (Blue vs. Green) in Taiwan.

However, as a social movement that had attracted over 100,000,000 Taiwanese people to donate 100 NT dollars within seven working days, it illustrated that anti-corruption has become a common sense across different social classes and ethnic/secondary ethnic groups. In fact, the lyrics of "The Red Flower Rain" appeals to people's emotions to support the movement from different perspectives. First, the lyrics encourage demonstrators to insist their claims until they are achieved; so the lyrics say: "I will still be here" and "How lucky we can meet/Nothing can defeat." In addition, Chong and Yu asks people to stand together "no matter rain or tears." Here, "rain" and "tears" refer to the difficulties that people faced or are facing. From describing the reverse side, Chong and Yu pointed out the desires and claims of the demonstrators in which they hope other people would not leave them alone.

As stated above, the original purpose of forming the Red Clothes movement was to protest President Chen and his family members' corruption cases. Thus, the lyrics of the theme song also use a lot of space to describe people's sorrowful, perplexed, and disappointed emotions toward the political status quo in Taiwan, such as "People changed/Flower withered/Where truth lies beneath." The last stanza, however, conveys the demonstrators' hope for defeating the severe challenges and wanting a better future; so the lyrics say: "Blowing wind, stormy rain/We know there comes peace." The above lyric also provides a reason ("there comes peace") for rationalizing the political claims held by the demonstration leaders and supporters. In general, the lyrics of this song value the sense of unity. So Chong and Yu ask Taiwanese people to stand "Hand in hand/[and] side by side" and to remember that "Home is always here."

Discussion

As mentioned in the previous section, similar to other countries that departed from previous colonizers, Taiwanese people have struggled with the difficulties in relocating and reconstructing the national identity. Especially the different historical memories among different ethnic groups in Taiwan, associated with severe diplomatic predicaments and the unstable relationship with the Chinese government, have complicated reconstructing the Taiwanese identity. In the late 1980s, the *United Daily News* conducted a survey ("Tong

Dou,” 1989), and the results revealed that 52% of Taiwanese people identified themselves as Chinese, 16% labeled themselves as Taiwanese, and 26% recognized themselves as both Taiwanese and Chinese. After 14 years, a survey made by the same institution presented the results, in which 62% of interviewees identified themselves as Taiwanese, and 19% Chinese (The Survey Center, 2003). In today’s Taiwan, however, there is still a great amount of Taiwanese people who identify themselves as “both Taiwanese and Chinese.” For instance, the Election Study Center (ESC) at National Chengchi University in Taiwan tracked the changes in Taiwanese/Chinese identity between 1992 and 2009. According to this record (“Important Political,” n.d.), a poll made by the ESC between June and December in 2007 indicated that 43.7% of Taiwanese people identified themselves as Taiwanese, 5.5% identified as Chinese, and 45.8% identified as both Taiwanese and Chinese.

From the above survey results, the trends of self-identification in Taiwan have shown two outcomes: first, less Taiwanese people recognized themselves as Chinese, and more people identified themselves as Taiwanese only. However, for those who identify themselves as both Taiwanese and Chinese, it is very hard to judge which one is the cultural identity and which one is the political identity. The chaotic self-identification in Taiwan has provided a possibility of developing oversimplified political ideologies (Blue vs. Green). In addition, such dichotomous political labels agitate abnormal political competitions between two major political parties, damage the democratic development in Taiwanese society, and negatively influence the process of reconstructing the Taiwanese identity.

From analyzing lyrics of the two theme songs in the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally and the Red Clothes movement, however, the results revealed a possibility that an emerging identity consciousness is shared in Taiwanese society. As discussed above, the two social movements presented obviously different political standpoints. Nevertheless, the lyrics of these two theme songs convey very similar messages, which are the geographic connection with Taiwan and the sense of unity. In terms of the geographic connection, from analyzing the two theme songs, the lyrics of both theme songs show their deep love to the land. Thus, in a rally supporting the DPP candidate, President Chen Shui-bian, the lyrics of the theme song say: “She [Taiwan] is cherished most by her father and mother [Taiwanese];” “Never let her [Taiwan] fall to the dark;” and “Give her [Taiwan] good land to grow.” In a social movement being against President Chen, the lyrics of the theme song directly portray that “Home is always here” (“here” meaning Taiwan).

Another important rhetorical meaning presented in these two theme songs is the sense of unity. So the lyrics ask people to hold “hand-in-hand” (both theme songs), to let “heart linked to heart” (“She is Our Baby”), and to stand “side by side” (“The Red Flower Rain”). All of the above lyrics represent the desire of coming together to face a better future.

In short, the diverse senses of national identity have torn the harmony across different ethnic groups during the post-colonial period in Taiwan. Also the sharp identity crisis has obstructed the stability and even the economic development of the society. In addition, the dichotomous political ideologies have become the criterion for judging social values, and it presents an unhealthy development for Taiwanese people to understand the spirit of democracy. It may not be easy to solve the identity crisis in a short time. However, by analyzing the theme songs in the 228 Hand-in-Hand Rally and the Red Clothes movement,

the results showed that Taiwanese people, even though they have different political standpoints, have gradually shared identity consciousness in contemporary Taiwan, in which they present the sense of unity across different ethnic groups and the strong geographic connection with Taiwan. Since the post-martial law period, Taiwanese people have successfully resisted the KMT government, abandoned a Chinese identity that was constructed by the authority rather than the people, and reconstructed an alternative Taiwanese identity to replace the old one. In today's Taiwan, people enjoy rights and freedom from a democratic political system. However, it is the time for Taiwanese people to rethink what the meaning of being Taiwanese is, to reconsider the benefits and defects of the Taiwanese democratic development, and to review the ways they reconstruct their cultural and national identities.

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