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在臺經驗對兩岸化的影響:陸生觀點
The Impact of Taiwan's Experience on Cross-straitization:
Perspective From Mainland Chinese Students

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中華民國 106 年 7 月

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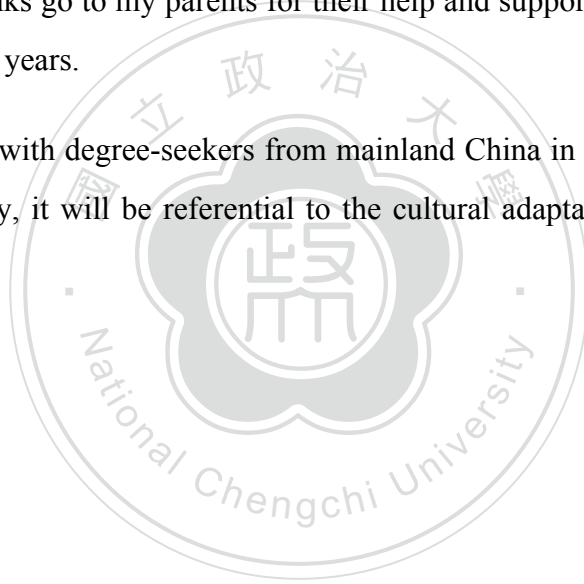
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The study is concerned with degree-seekers from mainland China in Taiwan, but not limited in this aspect. Hopefully, it will be referential to the cultural adaptation of all international students.



Abstract

After Tsai's administration took office in 2016, the cross-strait relationship between Taiwan and Mainland China has become quite unpredictable in terms of economic and political communication. Cultural and educational exchange is regarded as the only sustainable interaction, which makes mainland students studying in Taiwan, especially the degree seekers with a deeper and more extensive contact with Taiwan society, an appropriate subject of study when exploring cross-straitization—a model indicates that the growth of cultural and educational exchange raises the degree of peace between Taiwan and China. Based on previous research and existing theory of contact and cultural and educational exchanges, the study examines the possible impact of the Taiwan's experience on mainland Chinese degree-seeking student perspectives on cross-straitization. It employed questionnaires (838 valid samples) and in-depth interviews (13 samples) in 2016. The study found that Chinese students had a higher perception of socio-culture than the political and economic performance of Taiwan, as well as that time dimensions significantly impact on Chinese student perspectives of Taiwan and on unification; with the passing of time, these students' views on unification first falls then rises. More contact with Taiwanese students provides a better understanding and potentially closes gaps between China and Taiwan. Likewise, participation in social movement increases Chinese students' confidence in the democratization of China. In contrast, negative experiences, such as bullying and discrimination, impedes mutual understanding. The findings and discussion address the future research that is needed on cross-strait issues and recommends preventive and remedial measures, as well as policies to improve mutual communication and understanding.

Keywords: Chinese degree-seeking student, Taiwan's experience, cross-straitization, cultural and educational exchanges

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Background

1.1.1 The cross-strait relations under Tsai's administration

Since Tsai Ing-wen took power in administration from 20th May, 2016, the cross-strait relations between Mainland China and Taiwan turned to a sudden change for the worse, in terms of political and economic aspects. From the position of China, as the feedback to Tsai's ambiguous attitude on 1992 Consensus and One China Policy, Beijing pressured Taiwan in both bilateral and international stages, not only in terms of political aspects but also by financial strain (Lai, 2016).

In political terms, the leaders of both sides refused to have any official dialogue. Further, unlike Beijing's former attitude of turning a blind eye to Taiwan's participation in global organizations under Ma Ying-Jeou's administration, Beijing intensified the blockade of Taiwan's international space from multiple ways. For instance, Taiwan has already lost two diplomatic allies (the nation of São Tomé and Príncipe, as well as the Republic of the Gambia) since last year, which undoubtedly worsened the already grave situation (Huang & Steger, 2016).

In economic terms, Beijing utilized both hard and soft power to squeeze Taiwan. On the one hand, and concerning soft power, propaganda through traditional media and social media online worsen the image of Taiwan, causing mainland Chinese to believe that Taiwan is an unsafety society with dysfunctional politics. Plus, regarding the tour security accidents that occurred last year, Taiwan's attractiveness to mainland tourists greatly declined. On the other hand of hard power, Beijing also use some technical means under the table to control the number of visitors to Taiwan, thus meaning mainland Chinese tourist arrivals to Taiwan between May last

year and February dropped by 1.12 million from the same period a year earlier (Yeh, 2017); leading to a loss of more than NT\$55 billion dollars. Another transformation occurred in China's policy to Taiwan. Over the past eight years of Ma's presidency, China kept trying to win Taiwanese favour by giving economic preferential treatment, but the effect was counterproductive and only made young generations in Taiwan gain a stronger local identity; the percentage of people who identified themselves as Taiwanese rather than Chinese has increasing during the past eight years (see Graph 1). Especially after Sunflower movement , which regarded as a turning point in the political history of Taiwan. Mena(2015) concluded that the Sunflower movement's political generation have a sole Taiwanese identity and favour the independence of Taiwan, they support Pan-Green parties and dislike the Chinese government. The study by International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) showed that in 37 countries around the world in 2009, Taiwanese teenagers' (14 years old) evaluation scores in regards to 'trust in national government, political parties, media ,school' are much lower than the average, which is one of the reasons for Sunflower movement (Schulz, Ainley, et.al., 2009; Chou, 2014). Beijing's buying-out policy in Taiwan mostly failed, but - even worse - the long-term preferential policy on Taiwan also occurred through a dissatisfaction of the mainland Chinese, thus dubbed the Taiwan Affair Office 「跪臺辦」 (the office who bowed down to Taiwan). Ironically, more and more people stood for a tougher position towards Taiwan. As a result, the Taiwanese younger generation's strong desire for independence and mainland Chinese's desire for tough policies to Taiwan changed Beijing's Taiwan policy. According to the Strait Forum held in last year (2016), China's policy to Taiwan adjusted from benefiting the Taiwanese (惠臺) to benefiting pro-China Taiwanese (Huang, 2016). This is why after cutting the official communications with Tsai's government, China still signed several regional trade deals with Taiwan's local governments (Zheng, 2016), and China kept multiplying entrance channels for the Taiwanese youth to enter China (Jian, 2016). Instead of saying that China stopped benefiting the Taiwanese and elbowed the nation, it is more like

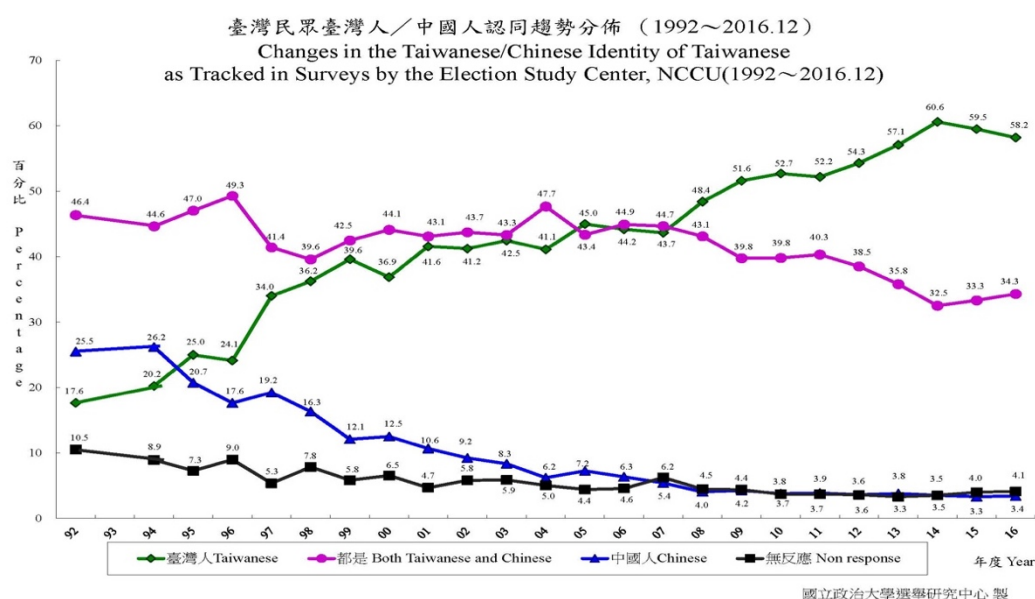
China aimed its target to be more articulate.

From the position of Taiwan, Tsai was bent on the New Southern Policy (*The first work*, 2017) and cooled the relationship with mainland China. Obviously, the honeymoon period during Ma's eight years has dissipated, meaning the cross-strait ties between China and Taiwan are more unpredictable than ever.

Graph 1: Changes in the Taiwanese/Chinese Identity of Taiwanese as Tracked in Survey by the Election Study Center, NCCU(1992-2016)

Source: Election Study Center, National Chengchi University

<http://esc.nccu.edu.tw/course/news.php?Sn=166>



1.1.2 Cultural and educational exchange: the only avenue for cross-strait mutual communication

With the stagnation of official relations between Taiwan and mainland China, the only sustainable mutual tie maintained were cultural and educational exchanges, while the main

group of cultural and educational exchanges are tourists and academic staff, including scholars and students. Although, compared to the situation under Ma's administration, the people-to-people exchange across the strait has declined under the pressure from Beijing. Still, it is undeniable that they are the only link between two sides of the strait, which could have a more compelling and broad influence than any hard powers, such as politics and economy.

From the aspect of cultural exchange, undoubtedly the tourists across the strait were the key group. The population of tourists from two sides, especially the Chinese tourists to Taiwan, dramatically increased after Ma Ying-Jeou opened the door to this group from the mainland, which established the direct flight across the strait. (*The Assessment on Ma*, 2016) (see Graph 2). Face-to-face communication can help people of both sides have a better understanding of each other. Several years ago, a report titled 'Taiwan's most beautiful scenery is her people' sparked the tourist heat in China (*Taiwan: The Most Beautiful*, 2013). The report greatly beautified Taiwan's image in the minds of mainland people. Taiwan was no longer a symbol on the textbook that only related to natural resources and cold figures, but a place known for a soft accent, enthusiastic hospitality and the kindness of strangers. A positive impression on Taiwan could be the most persuasive and word-of-mouth promotion to mainland people.

From the aspect of educational exchange, cross-strait scholars and students also play an important role. In addition to the short-term exchange students and scholars from both sides, there are many Taiwanese academic talents who have been hijacked into mainland China across multiple areas, as well as thousands of Taiwanese students studying in the mainland (Lin, 2012). The way these scholars and students narrate Taiwan would have a direct impact on mainland youth's impression of Taiwan. However, more direct impact is from those who come to Taiwan, live in Taiwan, contact the Taiwanese directly, those who spend at least two years in Taiwan to study for their degrees and those who know Taiwan; not only the nation's

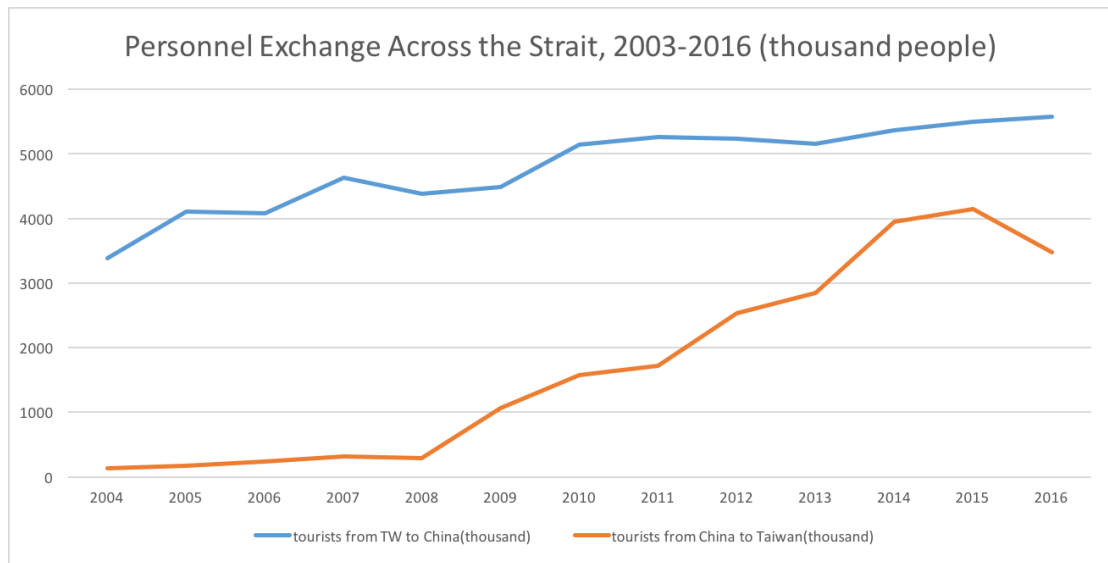
natural beauty, but also the social, political and ideological respects. Their assessment on Taiwan would have a profound and broad influence on mainland people's image of Taiwan, even on the cross-strait relationship in the future if they engaged in education or become the Key Opinion Leader back in China. They are more aware of Taiwan than short-term tourists and exchange students (Chou, Wang, & Wang, Unpublished) and have a better understanding of the way to conduct themselves in China than the Taiwanese scholars there.

From the preceding discussions, relations between Taiwan and mainland China became unpredictable once Tsai Ing-Wun took office in 2016. Political and economic ties may experience rough periods while cultural and educational exchange has become the only remaining link. It is argued that the degree-seeking students from mainland China, thanks to their long-term and diverse experience in Taiwan, could make difference on both sides; both in the mainland's impression on Taiwan and in the Taiwanese awareness of the mainland (Chou, Wang, & Wang, Unpublished). For this reason, it is necessary to study their experience in Taiwan and impact their perspective of cross-straitization.

Graph 2: People-to-people Exchange Across the Strait, 2003-2016

Source: Mainland Affairs Council, Taiwan ROC

<http://www.mac.gov.tw/lp.asp?ctNode=5723&CtUnit=3999&BaseDSD=7&mp=1>



1.2 Research Motivation and Objective

1.2.1 The importance of the cross-strait relations between Taiwan and Mainland China

The importance of cross-strait relations is quite noticeable. Specifically, it can be discussed from three aspects: Taiwan, China and the Asia-Pacific area.

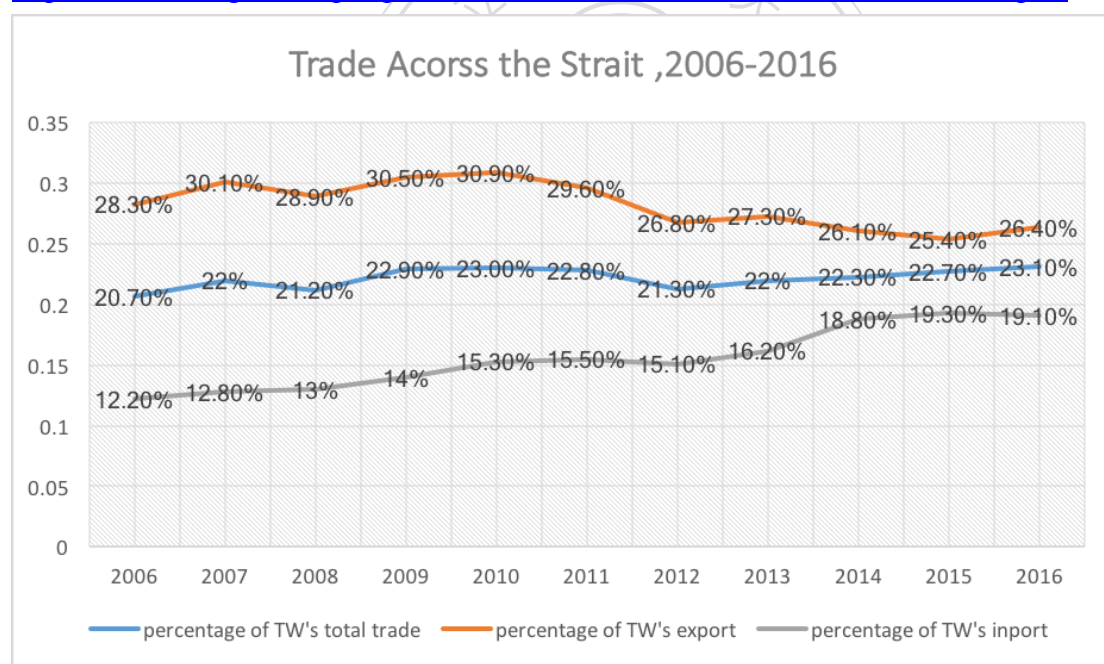
For Taiwan, China is the largest impacting factor in terms of political, economic, cultural and international relations. From a political point of view, the complexity of cross-strait relations deeply influences Taiwan's political ecology, as well as the political spectrum of Taiwanese--becoming independent or unification; is pan-blue or pan-green in the political profile? Economically, as the biggest trade partner of Taiwan (*World's Richest Countries*, 2016), the trade across the strait keeps a steady growth over the past 10 years, the total trades with China keeps in a high stage(20%+), and the percentage of Taiwan's imports from mainland China increased steadily since 2008 (see Graph 3). From a cultural point of view, as the clear majority (98%) of people living in Taiwan (World Population Review, 2017), the Hans share a similar language, culture and custom with the Hans of mainland China. When compared with

the political Chinese discourse, which is still not yet conclusive enough, the cultural Chinese discourse is more acceptable and even, in some sense, Taiwan has been the inheritor of the traditional Chinese culture rather than mainland China. From the respect of international relations, China, as a permanent member of the United Nations and the world's second-largest economy, plays a decisive role in Taiwan international space and global voice. The trend of cross-strait relations has a direct impact on Taiwan's politics, economy, culture and international space.

Graph 3: Trade Across the Strait, 2006-2016

Source: Mainland Affairs Council, Taiwan ROC

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Regarding China, Taiwan is always a core interest of the nation, not only for the geopolitical interest but also for national rejuvenation. The discourse of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation has always been centred on 'sovereignty and territorial unity' of Taiwan (*Xi Jinping's vision: Chasing the Chinese Dream*, 2013). According to Michael Cole (2016), the author of *The Convenient Illusion of Peace: Convergence or Conflict in the Taiwan Strait*, the

problem between Taiwan and China today is not an issue with history or politics any more, but a problem of identity and ideology. In addition, the Taiwan issue was no longer a simple interest about territory or military strategic position, but more related to the existence of national honour and disgrace, the metaphysical discourse and the part of the Chinese dream.

Concerning Asian-Pacific geopolitics and the international status, the importance of cross-strait relations can be discussed in both essence and form. The trends of cross-straits would affect the game of China and the United States - even the overall layout of the Asia-Pacific area. As one of the key factors between Sino-US relations, as well as the centre of the Asia-Pacific area, the fate of Taiwan also affects the distribution of power and geopolitical placement in the Asia-Pacific region (Jin, 2004). In terms of form, the development of cross-strait relations could be the possible solution for other rival countries around the world. At the same time, the direction of cross-strait relations is also the direction of democratic institutions; especially with the pessimism about democracy, the justice and superiority of democracy continue to be questioned. Taiwan, as the only practitioner of democracy in an ethnic Chinese society, the fate of it relates to the whole world of democracy awareness and expectations

1.2.2 The importance of the Mainland Chinese Degree-Seeking Students in Taiwan

The importance of Chinese degree-seeking students could be discussed regarding the time dimension.

In the past, the experience of the United States and the Soviet Union showed us that the cultural and educational exchange between rival states were helpful for both sides to understand and eliminate misunderstandings (Richmond, 2003). The experience of intergroup contact also advocated that the intergroup contact between different groups could help to eliminate prejudice and promote the collaborative development (Allport, 1954). In the case of China and

the United States, as two strongest and most influential countries in the world, the relationship between China and the US has been marred by misunderstanding and mistrust. However, this does not stop the cooperation and development of both sides. A future could be reshaped through education and therefore many student exchanges occur between the US and China, thus helping to change the inherent impression and prejudice of both sides, as well as being conducive to the recognition and infiltration of the two cultures (Lampton, 2014). If looking back to the history of Chinese-American exchange, more than 35,000 Chinese students came to the US in the first half of the 20th century, going on to play an essential role in their country's post-1949 development (Lampton, 2014), especially those who survived from the Mao era who became priceless human bridges between America and China. Scholars such as like Zhou Pei-yuan, who obtained his degree from the US and became a leader of the country's scientific and educational development after returning to China, became significant links between the two countries (Lampton, 2014). People-to-people exchanges cover a vast area in China-US relations, embracing tourism, cultural and media relations and exchanges in the realm of education. Among these, educational exchanges have been a leading and extremely dynamic element of these two countries, even preceding the normalization diplomatic relations between Beijing and Washington (Campbell, 2014). If the case can happen in Sino-US relations, it could also happen in the cross-strait relations.

The cross-strait educational exchanges have not been carried out for such a long time, as far. At the early stage, the educational exchange only targeted exchange students who spent four-eight months in Taiwan; the Taiwan's experience to whom was mainly about travel and natural scenery (Chou & Ching, 2015). Since Taiwan opened its door to mainland Chinese students studying for degrees in 2011, the first student group of so-called 'Zhi Tai Pai' ('Chinese know Taiwan well') appeared. Chinese degree-seeking students add great diversity in the Taiwanese classroom, in addition to advancing Taiwan's publication and research through contemporary

university research programs and mass media. Compared to exchange students, degree seekers stay in Taiwan for a longer time; their perspective on Taiwan not only came from the textbooks but also from practice, and not only from travel but also from daily life. Their points of view on Taiwan were more specific, including the kindness and discrimination from locals, the Taiwanese efforts on sustainable development and the living stories of local pollution, the freedom of expression but also the inefficiencies and disadvantages of democracy. Their diverse perspective on Taiwan pulls it down from ideology to reality. In addition, as the majority are internet users, their images of Taiwan could also have a more rapid and tremendous impact through internet than ever before (Bi & Hu, 2010).

If we look at the future of the students, the Taiwan experience would fade out with the halt of exchange and Taiwan would become only a memory in their minds. In the case of degree seekers, Taiwan is not only a piece of memory, it also relates to their personal interests. Upon graduating with a diploma from Taiwan universities and returning to China, some would have an essential influence on educational, commercial and political fields in China (Zhou, 2010). Their experience in Taiwan could be a double-edged sword to Taiwan and the cross-strait ties. A favourable image can be a political asset that is more valuable than territory or raw materials to a nation like Taiwan, while a negative image has the potential to deepen misunderstandings and cause to future crisis or even military conflicts (Nye, 2004).

The significance of mainland Chinese degree-seeking students can be proved from history and be predicted in the future. This group of students would have more profound and lasting influence than exchange students and visiting scholars on the cross-strait relations. Investing in young people is an investment in the future, as today's students are tomorrow's leaders. The importance of Chinese students and the cross-strait relations greatly contributes towards this study's motivation.

1.2.3 Research Objective

Economic cooperation has developed to an unprecedented level in the past 9 years, so do cultural and educational exchanges(Chou, 2014). With intensifying cross-strait interactions, will educational exchange eventually lead to a constant and closer relationships between Taiwan and China?(Hao, 2010) .This study intends to examine the possible impact of Taiwan's experience on mainland Chinese degree-seeking students' perspective of cross-straitization. It investigates on the degree-seeking students' following aspects: their background such as gender, major, school, hometown, and their Taiwan's experiences such as circle of friends, duration of stay, social participation and negative experience. Moreover, the author further elaborated how these experiences have reshaped Chinese students' perception about Taiwan from economic, political, and cultural respects which serves as the foundation of Cross-straitization. On the basis of above, the author also hopes that this study could be the complement for defects in studies on degree-seeking Chinese students, improving the cultural and educational exchange between Taiwan and China by looking for a possible solution for cross-strait relations and even for other states in conflict.

This study aims to survey (1) Chinese students' background and the experience in Taiwan ;(2) Chinese students' perspective on Taiwan and cross-straitization;(3) the relationships between their perspective on Taiwan and on cross-straitization; (4) the impact of Chinese student's Taiwan's experience on their perspective on cross-straitization.

1.3 Research Subject

The study is aimed at all degree-seeking students from mainland China who are studying in Taiwan, including the bachelor, master, PhD and Two-year program students; short-term

exchange students and visiting scholars are excluded. Firstly, the degree-seeking students are more important than short-term exchange students and visiting scholars; according to the existing research, the top two pull factors for exchange students to Taiwan are travelling and cultural experiences (Chou & Gregory, 2015) and they usually only spend four months in Taiwan, most of which involves traveling and entertainment. The perspective these students have on Taiwan and cross-straitization is seen here as being relatively superficial and shallow. On the other hand, degree seekers are different; those who stay in Taiwan for at least two years have a deeper and wider understanding of Taiwan. More importantly, Taiwan is sharing its common interests and values with those degree seekers, Taiwan could become a significant symbol after their graduation and return to China, and the nation's influence on their physical and mental capabilities are far greater than that seen in short-term exchange students. In addition, since most of the current research on mainland Chinese students focuses on short-term exchange students, specific study for the degree of research is rare; this has created a strongly motivation for study in this paper's case.

1.4 Operational Definition of Term

1.4.1 Taiwan's Experience

To those Chinese students who are studying for their degrees in Taiwan, the situation is more like the situation of the quasi-oversea study (Yang,1994;2001). The international mobility happened like other study-abroad cases, while the language and cultural adaptability is different with other cases. For Chinese students, it's ambiguous to define whether studying in Taiwan is abroad or not, the similar language and culture reduces the cultural shock, while different terms in language and political awareness are still distinguished from each sides. Therefore, this study seeks to cite the new conception of cross-straitization. According to the former studies and research on international students, the study-abroad experience is mainly

related to academic adaptation (Gang, Wei & Duanmu, 2010) and cultural adaptation (Zhu, 2011). The findings of academic adaptations focus on the impacts of gender, duration, home country and language; while the findings of cultural adaptations mainly concern the influence of gender, duration, language, psychological factors and social integration (Tallman, 1990; Sherry, Pettigrew & Chui, 2010; Ying & Lise, 1994). When considering the specificity of semi-study abroad and cross-straitization, the study attempts to discourse the Taiwan's experience from the concept and inspiration of both academic and cultural adaptations, reframing it into background including gender, major, hometown and so on, as well as Taiwan's experience, including circle of friend, duration, social participation.

1.4.2 Mainland Chinese Student

Mainland Chinese students are PRC citizens who are studying in Taiwan, ROC. The relevant legal amendments for Chinese students in the Republic of China school system include the Regulations Governing the Relations between the People of the Taiwan Area and the People of the Mainland China Area (Article 22, 3), the University Law and the University Act (Article 25, 3), and the Junior College Act (Article 32, 1). According to the acts mentioned above, the Ministry of Education opened the door to PRC citizens to allow them to seek a degree in Taiwanese universities in 2011. From the interpretation of the related acts, so-called mainland Chinese students only refer to the group who are seeking their degrees in universities or junior colleges - exchanging and visiting students are excluded. However, the term 'mainland Chinese student' used in mass media or academic researches includes both degree students and exchange students; the exchange students are engaged in the cooperation projects between mainland Chinese universities and universities in Taiwan who can stay at Taiwan for two semesters at most. Visiting students or scholars are students who are required to submit the application by themselves and most come to Taiwan for personal research needs. The visiting students can stay in Taiwan from one semester to one year; they are asked to pay tuition fees

to universities in Taiwan, yet the regulations to this group are not clear at yet.

In this study, the mainland Chinese students or Chinese students only refer to PRC citizens who are seeking their degrees in Taiwan universities or junior colleges.

1.4.3 Perspective

Perspective refers to the perception or awareness that he or she has a view of the world that is not universally shared, and this view of the world has been and continues to be shaped by influence. (Hanvey, 1979). It's not a quantum, but it could be described from certain modes of thoughts or sensitivities and decided by personal experience, specialized capacities and attitudes of the groups members. In this study, Chinese students' perspective refers to their ideas and perceptions towards their experience in Taiwan, what do they think about Taiwan's political, cultural and economic performance, what do they think about their experience in Taiwan,

1.4.4 Cross-straitization

Cross-straitization is an idea and a model distinguished from internationalization, globalization, regionalization and localization; it defines the process of the clash declining and peaceful development between rival states (Chou & Yang, 2012). Simply speaking, it means that the growth of educational and cultural communication could increase the degree of peace between China and Taiwan. Besides Taiwan and China, the two conflict zones can also refer to the status between North and South Korea, India and Pakistan, England and North Ireland and so on.

The peace could be divided into intrapersonal peace, peace between individuals, neighbours, ethnic groups, states and civilizations.(Dietrich, Ingruber & Echavarria, ed.,2011) Besides, scholars also believe that a state of peace can be more easily sustained between democratic nations than non-mutual-democratic nations (Rosato,2003) This study attempts to discuss from the dimension of peace between individuals, groups, states, and democratic peace. Specifically,

the study would survey Chinese students' perspective on cross-straitization from their perspective on unification, assessment on mutual communication, and democratization in China. The factors such as Chinese students' perception of unification, assessment on mutual understanding, confidence of democratization in China and personal willingness of relationship with locals represent cross-straitization in this study. In other words, the study hopes to answer the question such as whether or not communication across Taiwan strait can improve mutual understanding between China and Taiwan and consequently, this will lead to a unification eventually?



Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Policy and current situation of Mainland Chinese Degree Seekers in Taiwan

(a) The law of Chinese student in Taiwan

There are three laws related to the degree-seekers from the People's Republic of China, including the Act Governing Relations between the People of the Taiwan Area and the Mainland Area, the University Law of the Republic of China and the Junior College Law of the Republic of China. The so-called the law of the Chinese student is a combination of these three laws (陸生三法). The Taiwan government established the University Entrance Committee for Mainland Chinese Students to manage all application issues, which is governed by the Ministry of Education.

The regulation on Chinese degree seekers in Taiwan has been relaxed gradually over the past seven years in terms of admitted Chinese universities and the enrolment quota. The regulation was passed by the legislature in 2010, allowing (at most) 2,850 Chinese students to apply for Taiwan universities each year; around 1% of the total enrolment quota of Taiwanese students in that year - the number has increased to 2% since 2013. The number of admitted Chinese universities has risen from 55 in 2011 to 155 in 2016. Although the number of admitted universities has increased twofold, these 155 universities are still good if compared with all 2,305 universities in China (*Laws & Regulation*, 2011-2016).

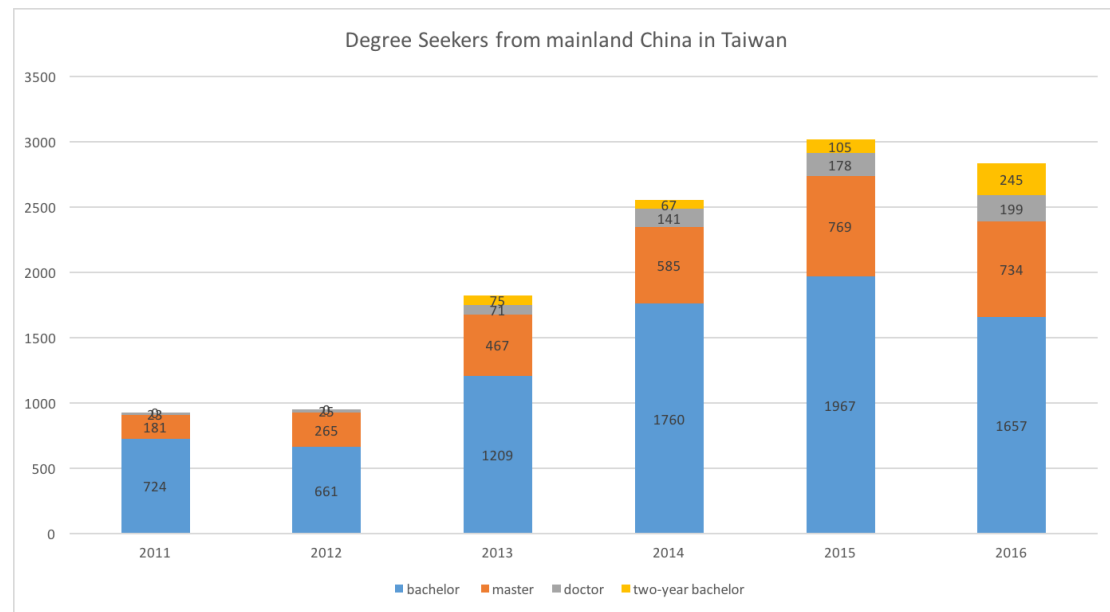
According to the University Entrance Committee for Mainland Chinese Students, there are around 9,000 Chinese degree seekers in Taiwan; most are undergraduate students in private universities until 2016. The number of Chinese students has increased gradually and stably between 2011 and 2015, while the number reduced for the first time in 2016 (see Chart 1); this

could be the result of DPP's winning in presidential elections on January 2016 and it could be a concern of Chinese students and their parents (Anonymous, 2016).

Chart 1: Degree Seekers from Mainland China in Taiwan(Newly recruited students)

Source: University Entrance Committee for Mainland Chinese Students

<http://rusen.stust.edu.tw/spf/review.html>



(b) Limitations of Mainland Chinese Students in Taiwan

To protect the rights of local students, there are some discriminated rules in place for Chinese students: the so-called ‘Three limitations & six prohibitions’ (三限六不) (see Table 1). Besides the well-known ‘Three limitations & six prohibitions’, there are other discriminations; for instance, Chinese students cannot be brought into the National Health Insurance program - once their studies are completed, they should leave one month after graduation.

The limitation has been released in line with the realistic needs. Nowadays, Chinese students can take practical courses or internships without pay if it is required by their colleges. Tsai's government also acted to improve Chinese students' health insurance situation in Taiwan.

Strictly speaking, the limitations maintained were concentrated on the majors: job and license.

Table 1: Limitation on degree seekers from China

3 limitations	limitation on university	only the students graduated from Chinese top universities can apply for Taiwan universities
	limitation on number	at most 2000 students from China can be admitted every year
	limitation on major	students can not apply for the majors related to medical, pharmacy, national security and high-tech
	no bonus point	students can not get any bonus point when they apply for universities
6 prohibitions	no influence on the recruiting of locals	quota of Chinese students will not impact the quota of local students
	no scholarship	government will not offer any scholarship to students
	no part-time job	Chinese students can not do any part-time job
	no license	Chinese students can not achieve any professional license in Taiwan
	no job	Chinese students can not get a job in Taiwan after graduation

2.2 The Taiwan's Experience of Mainland Chinese Students

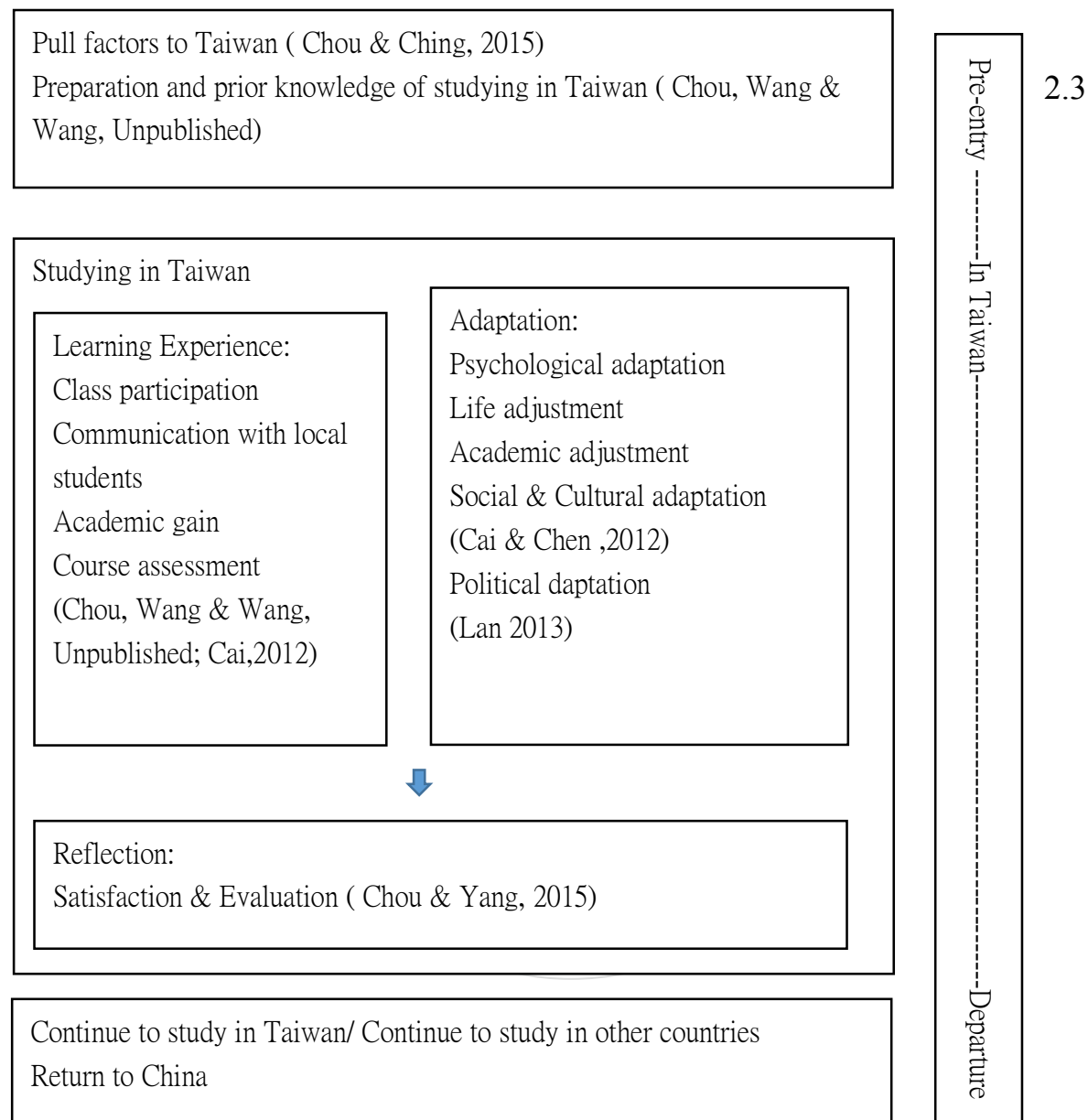
The adaptation and satisfaction of mainland Chinese students in Taiwan has always been the most important research topic for cross-strait scholars. Adaptation represents the current state of their life in Taiwan, while satisfaction represents their perception of Taiwan; both directly affect the trend of cross-strait youth exchanges and catches the eye of governments and universities.

As a result of the adaptation survey, Chen (2012) found that Chinese students' studying was recognized as the key adjustment in Taiwan, followed by social culture and daily life. The worst adaptation is the psychological adaptation. Any maladaptation of studying is due to the methods of assessment and Chinese students were not willing to participate in events conducted by Taiwanese students, which contributed to a maladjustment of social culture. Cai and Chen (2013) studied the adaptation of mainland students in Taiwan, in terms of political and cultural adaptations, finding that in the adaptation of political life, the initial adaptability of Chinese students was higher; students with a stronger sense of ideology could adapt better to the Taiwanese social culture. From the perspective of social life adaptation, Chinese students generally believe that the humanistic quality of Taiwan is high; the price is high but the quality is guaranteed, while Taiwan has serious class prejudice and discrimination against outsiders. Regarding the satisfaction survey, Cai (2012) found that Chinese students were quite satisfied with their studies and life in Taiwan, including a sense of achievement, academic capacity and psychology; Taiwanese education provided a positive learning experience for mainland Chinese students. Chou studied Chinese students from 2011 to 2016, examining the pull and push factors, as well as the satisfaction of Chinese students. These studies found that the major pull factors to Chinese students are an opportunity to travel and experience life in Taiwan. In addition, Chinese students are satisfied with the study experience, including the courses, teachers and academic freedom in Taiwan; they have a high evaluation on their impression of Taiwan, especially Taiwanese public morality and humanity, environmental awareness, service attitude and people's acceptance of multiculturalism. However, their assessment on Taiwanese international awareness is low: they felt the Taiwanese understanding of China is far from enough (Chou, Wang & Wang, 2012; Chou & Ching, 2015; Chou & Yang, 2015; Chou, Wang & Wang, 2016)

The studies on the Taiwan's experience of mainland Chinese students can be summarised into

the diagram below:

Diagram 1: Current Research Studies on Chinese Students studying in Taiwan



Intergroup Contact Theory

Social scientists began to theorize about intergroup contact after World War II (Watson 1947; Williams 1947). Among those, Allport 1954 study caused extensive attentions; he created a model of intergroup contact to relieve the tensions between different groups by specifying the critical situational conditions for intergroup contact to reduce prejudice. The conditions

included: (1) Equal status, which means within the contact situation, the two groups should have fair status and the relationship between them should be equal; (2) Common goals, meaning that the two groups in contact are not for the competition but for a common target and it asks the groups to work together to solve the problems and achieve this goal. After the cooperation, they are supposed to have condition 3: acquaintance potential, to provide more intimate and lasting cross-group contact and cooperation. The two sides could then gradually reduce hostility and prejudice, eventually becoming friends. Condition 4 is the support of authority, law or customs. With the help of external social assistance, intergroup contact is more readily accepted and has more positive effects. Authoritative support establishes norms of acceptance, in which it is easy for both members of the group to understand and accept each other's interest.

Based on Allport, Pettigrew (1998) further studied intergroup contact theory. He raised several problems concerning the theory raised by Allport. First, a selection bias limits cross-sectional studies, since prejudiced people avoid intergroup contact. Yet the research finds that the positive effects of cross-group friendship are larger than those of the bias. Secondly, the hypothesis fails to address the process. Lastly, the hypothesis does not specify how the effects can be generalised to other situations, the outgroups or the uninvolved outgroups. Pettigrew's outlined a longitudinal intergroup contact theory, which emphasizes different outcomes for different stages of contact. The stages can be divided into four processes: Learning about the outgroup; Changed behaviour; Affective ties, and; Intergroup reappraisal. According to Pettigrew's further study, both individual differences and societal norms shape the intergroup contact effect; here, the individual differences mean the groups with deep prejudice avoid any contact and the positive effect from it would be resisted, while the societal norms means the suffering and conflict of the intergroup restricts and undercuts the contact effect, finite resources and limited development spaces could intensify the anxiety between groups. At the

same time, he emphasizes the time dimension with different outcomes predicted for different stages of intergroup contact. The initial stages of intergroup contact always accompany anxiety and distrust; group membership can only become salient to maximize the generalization of positive effects after long-term contact, before re-categorization becomes possible if the participants adopt an all-encompassing group identification.

In the case of contact between mainland Chinese and Taiwanese, very few research was conducted in line with the theory of contact. Lee and Chen (2015) utilized qualitative methodology to examine whether the political tensions between Taiwan and China impact the interpersonal relationships between Chinese and Taiwanese international students. It was found that the political conflict between China and Taiwan appeared to create conflicts between Chinese and Taiwanese students, regardless of their similarities in their cultural background. Most students experienced subtle contentions regarding Taiwan's political status. Besides, Shen (2014) examined the impact of the frequency and time length, the language and culture similarity on contact under the frame of contact theory, knowing that the similarity of language and culture not always lead to a positive outcome and eliminate the bias between two groups. More importantly, she advocated that the improvement of contact between the young generations of the cross-strait should rely on true contact and more attraction offered by media to the Chinese students.

In summary, the effect of group contact could be positive only under certain conditions. Individual differences, social norms and contact duration have impacted upon the contact outcomes. The similarity of language and culture across the strait does not naturally eliminate group bias and bringing about a positive outcome. On the contrary, the political difference could create conflict in individual contact. This study aims to exam the outcome of the contact between Taiwanese and Chinese students from the view of Chinese degree-seeking students in

Taiwan, understanding their assessment on contact and their experience in Taiwan. Based on the findings above, this study aims to discuss the possible outcome of both negative and positive contact, as well as the impact on the cross-straitization.

2.4 Cultural and Educational Exchange in Rival States

Richmond (2003) studied the example of the US and USSR, concluding that cultural exchange has a gradual, yet compelling and long-lasting, effect over transforming people's attitude and mind-set. Therefore, it will change the relationship between rival parties and enemies. In the case of the US and USSR, Richmond believed that the cultural and educational exchange between these two countries shaped the Soviet elites in a key way, thus paving the path for the future changes of the Soviet system. The impact of studying in America upon citizens of the USSR has been discussed from several respects, including politics, economics and ideology. In terms of politics, it was thought that Gorbachev's policy of *perestroika* and the final collapse of Iron Curtain was brought about by contacts, as well as cultural and educational exchanges within the West. In terms of economy, it was believed that the difference in economic development between the two countries, as well as the backwardness of a regime saturated with ideology, was impossible not to be acknowledged. Russians staying in the USA had witnessed rapid developments of scientific and technological discoveries, which directly influenced the living standards of regular American citizens. It meant those Russians recognized the need for change and reform in the Soviet system. Regarding ideology, Russian political scientist Zevelev (2014) further verified that exchanges (between the US and USSR) helped to overcome the ideology of dogma regarding communism and capitalism, thus helping people to think differently and see the world as more complex than they had been taught to believe.

Eisenhower (1956) introduced the significant people-to-people exchange, believing that peaceful relations between nations required understanding and mutual respect between individuals, as well as that study-abroad programs and cultural exchanges were being discoursed as vital for gaining intercultural understanding and knowledge. At the same time it also commonly regarded it as an important contribution to the achievement of a culture of peace.

As previously mentioned, cultural and educational exchanges can reduce tensions between countries in conflict. The conflicts between societies are often derived from a lack of mutual understanding and trust; in many instances, the people-to-people exchange can effectively reduce tensions between conflict societies. Besides the case between the US and USSR, Israel and Palestine established a peace school to recruit both Arab and Jewish students to study in the same school; the attempt of peaceful education between these two countries became an important way to promote harmonious coexistence and ease the tension between the two sides (Bekerman & Horenczyk, 2004; Halabi, Nadler & et.al.2004). Considering the situation of the cross-strait, mutual communications are mainly concerned with economy and trade; the people-to-people exchange - especially the trend of Chinese people to Taiwan – commenced in 2008 and Chinese degree-seeking students have been allowed to study in Taiwan since 2011. The lack of mutual communication leads to a lack of mutual understanding, especially as it is hard for mainland Chinese to understand the Taiwanese. According to the cases that have occurred throughout history, the improvement of cultural and educational exchanges could be an opportunity to reduce the tension and build a mutual understanding and trust between the two sides. This study attempts to learn from the case study of the US-USSR, discussing the impact of mutual communication between students from Taiwan and China to the cross strait relations.

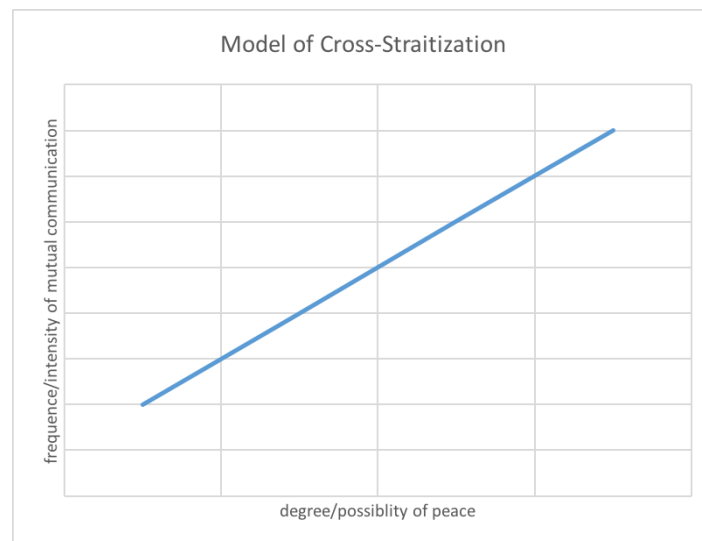
2.5 Discourse of Cross-straitization

The concepts of internationalization or globalization are quite complex to define. Usually, globalization refers to the free movement of goods, capital, services, people, technology and information (Albrow & King, 1990). It can be discussed from several aspects, such as economic, political, cultural and ideological interactions. Globalization is regarded as a paradigm shift, by the meaning of reducing the cost of movement in terms of people, goods, transportation etc. to lift the bans and to close the communication between different groups all over the world. Globalization could be a positive force to a unification or interaction of international capital, goods and ideas. Meanwhile, it also could be a challenge to local economy, traditional culture and customs, as well as being a potential danger factor in ethnic tensions and violence. From the aspect of education, in case of Taiwan as a vulnerable nation to the impact of globalization, the education policies in Taiwan must concentrate on nurturing international and transnational human resources with the capability of international mobility and competitiveness (Chou, 2014). Giddens (1990) mentioned the inseparable relations between globalization and localization, collectively reshaping national identity. There are unquestionable differences between different cultures, how to improve the connect and cooperation with foreign countries, while protecting local culture and language could be a task and challenge for all countries - especially passive small countries such as Taiwan.

The concept of cross-straitization, as an expansion of globalization, refers to the movement of people, goods, capital, culture between China and Taiwan. It defines the process of the clash declining and peaceful development between rival states, which means with growth of mutual exchange and communication in culture and education, as well as the degree of peace between Taiwan and China increase (Chou & Yang, 2012).

Diagram 2: Model of Cross-straitization

Source: Chou & Yang (2012), *The Cross-stritization in Globalization*. Education Vision 2020



Bell (2008) indicates that since Taiwan and China belong to the Confucian heritage culture, the belief of Confucian culture could help to establish mutual trust and eventually to achieve social harmony (Chou & Yang, 2012; Chou 2012). The similarity of language and culture could be a positive factor to the movement and interaction across the strait. Hao (2010) still doubt the outcome of mutual communication between Taiwan and China, since both focus on the control of national images identity. Therefore, Western scholars are still uncertain about the outcome of mutual communication between Taiwan and China: could educational and cultural communication of faculty, students and tourists between Taiwan and China can eventually bring a closer and intimate relationships? This study tries to answer these questions by investigating the connections between their experience in Taiwan and their perspective on degree of peace in terms of individual peace, state peace and democratic peace (Dietrich, Ingruber & Echavarria, 2011; Rosato, 2003).

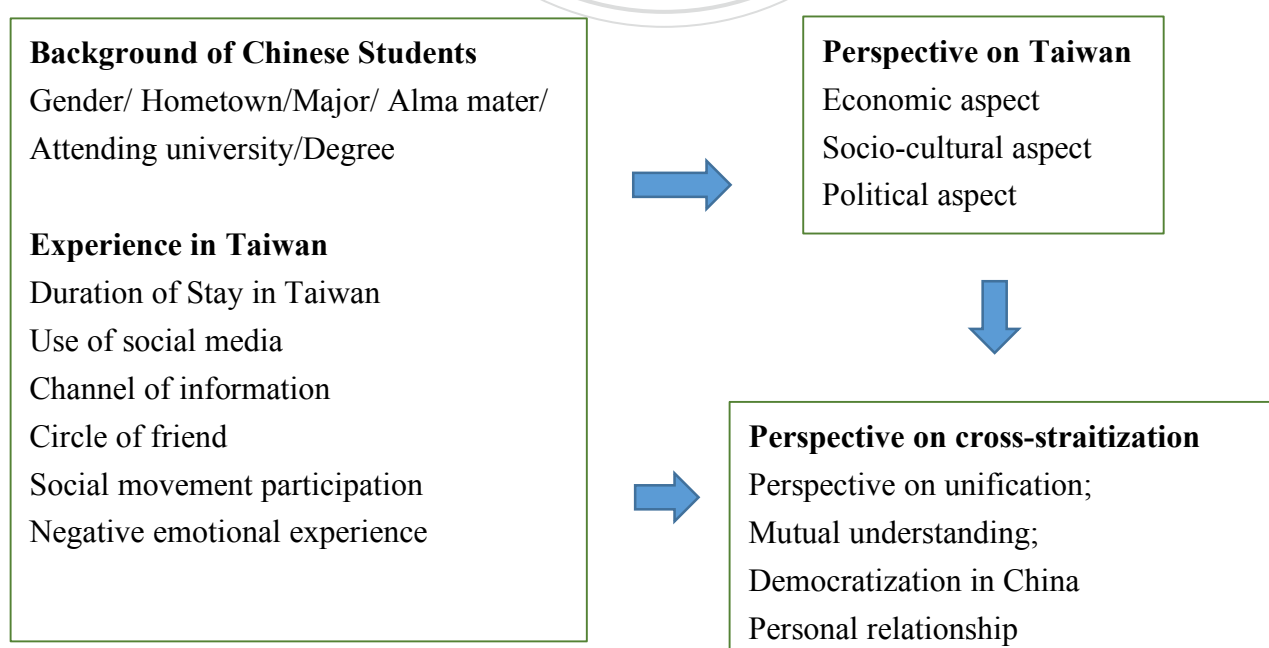
Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Research Framework and Research Questions

The study is conducted into the following three steps: First, it aims to survey the background and Taiwan's experience of degree-seeking students from mainland China, the background includes gender, hometown, major, degree, alma mater and attending school, and the Taiwan's experience refers to the circle of friends, duration, social participation and negative experience. Second, the study analyses Chinese students' perspective on economy, culture and politics of Taiwan, and their perspective on cross-straitization as well. Third, it investigates the relationship between the students' Taiwan's experience and their perspective on Taiwan and cross-straitization. Last, the study concludes findings above and discuss the possible reasons for these changes and potential influence. Furthermore, it hopes to propose some suggestions and implementations to better mutual understanding and cross-strait relationships.

Concretely speaking, the research framework is as followed :

Diagram 3: Research Framework



This study aims to explore the following questions:

1. What is the background and the experience in Taiwan of degree-seeking students from mainland China?
2. What is the perspective of degree-seeking students from mainland China on Taiwan and cross-straitization?
3. What is the relationship between perspective on Taiwan and cross-straitization?
4. How did Chinese students's Taiwan's experience affect their perspective on cross-straitization?

3.2 Research Methodology

This study uses both qualitative and quantitative research methods. In terms of quantitative methods, the questionnaire was from the project named Chinese Students' assessment on Taiwan from politic\economic\cultural and educational\social aspects sponsored by Strait Exchange Foundation in 2016 (Chou, Wang & Wang, 2016). The web-based questionnaires were sent by university document system online, and it uses the convenient sampling to collect data. It takes 35 days (from 2016/05/27 to 2016/06/30) to collect data, and 1617 valid samples has been collected, both exchange students and degree-seeking students are included. For this study, it only analysed degree-seeking students , which comprised 838 respondents. The questionnaire has been re-categorized into three parts, first is the background (gender/major/hometown/ graduate university/attending university) and their experience in Taiwan(duration/social media/channel of information/circle of friend/social participation); The second part regards their perspective on Taiwan from economic, cultural, and political aspects using a 5-point scale. The third part is their perspective on cross-straitization, by asking whether they agree or not about how contacts between Taiwanese and Chinese could lead to a closer cross-strait relationship which stands for the latter group's perception of the cross-strait

unification, mutual understanding and Taiwan's influence on China's democratization process. A series of descriptive statistics, independent T-test and one-way ANOVA were applied for data analysis.

In addition, 13 in-depth interviews were conducted among bachelor, master and PhD mainland Chinese students including one graduated left for China already.



Chapter 4: Findings and Discussions

4.1 Questionnaire Findings & Discussion

Survey was conducted from 2016/05/27 to 2016/06/30 and collected 838 valid samples. The web-based questionnaires were sent by university official document system online, and it uses convenience sampling. The reliability of the questionnaire is Alpha(α):0.903

4.1.1 Background and Taiwan's Experience of Chinese Student

4.1.1.1 Chinese Students Background

Table 2: The Background of Chinese Student

Background	Item	count	%
Gender	Male	359	42.8
	Female	479	57.2
Hometown	Zhejiang Province	186	22.2
	Fujian Province	182	21.7
	Guangdong Province	147	17.5
	Beijing	60	7.2
	Shanghai	39	4.7
	Jiangsu Province	69	8.2
	Liaoning Province	50	6
	Hubei Province	45	5.4
	Others	60	8.2
Alma mater	985 University in China	133	47.0
(master and PhD	General University in China	105	37.1

students only)	Vocational School in China	4	1.4
	University in foreign countries	26	9.2
	University in Taiwan	15	5.3
	missing	2	0.7
Attending university in Taiwan	Public University	348	41.5
	Private University	489	58.4
	missing	1	0.1
Major	Liberal Arts	337	40.2
	Social Science	195	23.3
	Science	156	18.6
	Engineering	150	17.9
Degree	Bachelor	553	66
	Master	234	27.9
	PhD	48	5.7
	Two-year program	3	0.4
Planning after graduation	Stay in Taiwan for further education	115	13.7
	Go to other countries for further education	374	44.6
	Job Search	276	32.9
	others	73	8.7

Table 2 shows the background of degree-seeking Chinese student in Taiwan, among which 57.2% were female, more than male students (42.8%) , and 66% were studying for their bachelor degrees, about 28% for master's and less than 6% for PhD degrees. Among Master and PhD students, there were 47% graduate from 985 universities, the universities belong to

the Project 985 were regarded as the Top 39 universities in China. Owing to the current constraint policy on designed recruitment areas, only students from Beijing, Shanghai, Zhejiang Province, Jiangsu Province, Fujian Province, Guangdong Province, Liaoning Province and Hubei Province are allowed to apply for Taiwan's universities. From the survey samples, 22.2% were from Zhejiang province, followed by Fujian province (21.7%) and Guangdong province (17.5%). The short distance, similarity of language, natural environment and socio-cultural could be the main reasons for the students from Zhejiang province, Fujian province and Guangdong province to come to Taiwan for their degree study.

In terms of study major constraint in Taiwan, anything related to national defence, high technology and medicine are not open to the Chinese students, and 70% of female students major in liberal art and social science, a significant difference between gender and major (see Table 3), which is the reason why more female Chinese students come to Taiwan than their male counterparts.

Table 3: Gender * Major Crosstabulation

		Major				Total
		Liberal art	Social science	Science	Engineering	
Male	count	112	85	66	96	359
	% within gender	31.20%	23.70%	18.40%	26.70%	100.00%
	% within major	33.20%	43.60%	42.30%	64.00%	42.80%
	% of total	13.40%	10.10%	7.90%	11.50%	42.80%
Female	count	225	110	90	54	479
	% within gender	47.00%	23.00%	18.80%	11.30%	100.00%
	% within major	66.80%	56.40%	57.70%	36.00%	57.20%

	% of total	26.80%	13.10%	10.70%	6.40%	57.20%
Total	count	337	195	156	150	838
	% within gender	40.20%	23.30%	18.60%	17.90%	100.00%
	% within major	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
	% of total	40.20%	23.30%	18.60%	17.90%	100.00%

Pearson Chi-Square Value: 40.188 df: 3 ***P 0.000<.05

And Table 4,5,6 explain the distribution of Chinese students in private and public universities. There are statistically significant differences between their attending universities in Taiwan and their degrees and future plans. The public universities opened doors to the bachelor seekers since 2014 and each public university can only admit 5 Chinese bachelor seekers every year, that's why almost 88% bachelor respondents were studying in the private universities, much more than the number of bachelor students in public universities(35%). In terms of the future plans, 13.7% of the Chinese Students planned to stay in Taiwan for their further education, 76.5% of which were from the private universities, which also means most of them were undergraduate. Compared to those who planned to go to other countries for further study(44.6%), the attraction of Taiwan higher education is quite feeble to Chinese students, especially to master and PhD students.

Table 4 : Attending University in Taiwan * Alma Mater Crosstabulation

			public	private	
			university	university	Total
Alma mater (Master and PhD students only)	985 university	count	113	20	133
		% within graduate school	85.00%	15.00%	100.00%
		% within attending university	50.2%	34.5%	47.0%
		% of total	39.9%	7.1%	47.0%
	General university	count	83	22	105
		% within graduate school	79.00%	21.00%	100.00%
		% within attending university	36.90%	37.9%	37.1%
		% of total	29.3%	7.8%	37.1%
	University in foreign countries	count	18	8	26
		% within graduate school	69.20%	30.80%	100.00%
		% within attending university	8.0%	14.8%	9.3%
		% of total	6.5%	2.9%	9.3%
	Taiwan	count	11	4	15
		% within graduate school	73.30%	26.70%	100.00%
		% within attending university	4.9%	7.4%	5.4%
		% of total	3.9%	1.4%	5.4%
	Total	count	225	54	279
		% within graduate school	80.6%	19.40%	100.00%
		% within attending university	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
		% of total	80.6%	19.4%	100.00%

Pearson Chi-square Value: 4.444 df: 5 12.5%<5 P:0.217>0.05

Table 5 : Attending University in Taiwan *Degree Crosstabulation

			public	private	Total
			university	university	
Degree	bachelor	count	122	430	552
		% within degree	22.10%	77.90%	100.00%
		% within attending university	35.10%	87.90%	65.90%
		% of total	14.60%	51.40%	65.90%
	master	count	184	50	234
		% within degree	78.60%	21.40%	100.00%
		% within attending university	52.90%	10.20%	28.00%
		% of total	22.00%	6.00%	28.00%
	PhD	count	42	6	48
		% within degree	87.50%	12.50%	100.00%
		% within attending university	12.10%	1.20%	5.70%
		% of total	5.00%	0.70%	5.70%
	Two-year program	count	0	3	3
		% within degree	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%
		% within attending university	0.00%	0.60%	0.40%
		% of total	0.00%	0.40%	0.40%
	Total	count	348	489	837
		% within degree	41.60%	58.40%	100.00%
		% within attending university	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
		% of total	41.60%	58.40%	100.00%

Pearson Chi-square Value: 262.281 df: 3 25%<5 ***P:0.000<0.05

Table 6 : Attending University in Taiwan * Future Plan Crosstabulation

			public	private	
			university	university	Total
Future plan	stay in Taiwan	count	27	88	115
	for further	% within planning	23.50%	76.50%	100.00%
	after study	% within attending university	7.80%	18.00%	13.70%
	graduation	% of total	3.20%	10.50%	13.70%
	go to other	count	123	250	373
	countries for	% within planning	33.00%	67.00%	100.00%
	further study	% within attending university	35.30%	51.10%	44.60%
		% of total	14.70%	29.90%	44.60%
	search for a job	count	176	100	276
		% within planning	63.80%	36.20%	100.00%
		% within attending university	50.60%	20.40%	33.00%
		% of total	21.00%	11.90%	33.00%
others		count	22	51	73
		% within planning	30.10%	69.90%	100.00%
		% within attending university	6.30%	10.40%	8.70%
		% of total	2.60%	6.10%	8.70%
		count	348	489	837
		% within planning	41.60%	58.40%	100.00%
		% within attending university	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
	Total	% of total	41.60%	58.40%	100.00%

Pearson Chi-square value: 86.755 df:3 0.0%<5 ***P: 0.000<0.05

4.1.1.2 Taiwan's Experience

For Chinese students' experience in Taiwan, the study examines the duration, using of social media, circle of friend, social movement participation and negative experience like bullying and discrimination.

Table 7: Taiwan's Experience of Chinese students

Taiwan's experience	Items	count	%
duration of stay in Taiwan	Less than 6 months	134	16
	From 6 to 12 months	295	35.2
	From 1 to 2 years	252	30.1
	From 2 to 3 years	80	9.5
	From 3 to 4 years	49	5.8
	More than 4 years	28	3.3
using of social media (first choice)	Weibo	65	7.8
	Facebook	97	11.6
	Twitter	3	0.4
	Wechat	608	72.6
	Line	29	3.5
	QQ	32	3.8
	Others	4	0.5
channel of information (first choice)	Internet	795	94.9
	TV	4	0.5
	Newspaper	2	0.2
	Friends Around	37	4.4
friend circle	Chinese Students	434	51.8
	Taiwanese Students	378	45.1
	Foreign Students	26	3.1
Have you experienced social movement in Taiwan	Yes	245	29.2
	NO	593	70.8
Have you ever been discriminated or bullied ?	Yes	289	34.5
	No	549	65.5

Table 7 indicates the Taiwan's experience of Chinese students, 16% of the respondents were freshmen, 35% of the respondents were going to finish their first year in Taiwan, and 49% of

the respondents have stay in Taiwan more than I year. Although they were studying in Taiwan, 80.4% of them maintained the preference of social media using(Wechat and Weibo), 72.6% answers their first choice of social media was Wechat, followed by Facebook(11.6%) and Weibo (7.8%). China's firewall intensified students' social media habits, because Facebook and Twitter were not available when they back to China, more importantly, more than half degree-seekers spent more time with Chinese students than Taiwanese students, which would increase the frequency of Wechat using. As expected, about 95% responds that Internet is their first channel of information, which should be considered during the relevant policy-making process and activity promotion. What's more, about 30% of the degree seekers took part in social movement before, and 34.5% experienced bullying or discrimination in Taiwan.

*Table 8: Gender * Personal Experience in Taiwan Crosstabulation*

		Gender	
		Male	Female
I've experienced bullying or discrimination	Yes(% within gender)	145(40.40%)	144(30.10%)
	No(% within gender)	214(59.60%)	335(69.90%)
Pearson Chi-Square Value:9.687 df:1			
**P:0.002<.05			

I'd like to have a love relationship with Taiwanese	Yes(% within gender)	278(77.4%)	265(55.3%)
	No(% within gender)	81(22.6%)	214(44.7%)
pearson Chi-Square Value:43.992 df:1			
***P=.000<.05			

The interesting thing is, there was a significant difference between gender and their personal experience, compared to the female students, more male students have experienced bullying or discrimination in Taiwan, however male students' willingness of romantic relationship with Taiwanese is still higher than female students(Table 8). Actually according to the interview,

Taiwanese females' tone of voice and accent was attractive to Chinese male students, it could be the reason for this relationship preference.

4.1.2 Perspective on Taiwan and Cross-Straitization

By the 5 dimension satisfaction scale, the study examines Chinese students' perspective on Taiwan from economic, socio-cultural, political and personal aspects. 1-5 represents very dissatisfied, dissatisfied, general, satisfied, very satisfied.

Table 9: Chinese students' Perspective on Taiwan

aspect	title	Ave
economic aspect	Medical service in Taiwan	3.82
	Infrastructure and transportation in Taiwan	3.62
	Price in Taiwan	3.31
	The future of Taiwan's economic development	2.86
	online shopping and mobile payment in Taiwan	2.35
	total	3.192
cultural aspect	Taiwanese environment awareness	4.18
	Gender equality in Taiwan	3.93
	Protection of traditional Chinese culture in Taiwan	3.73
	Taiwanese acceptance of difference ethnic groups	3.37
	Taiwanese international view	2.58
	Taiwanese understanding of mainland China	2.11
political aspect	total	3.31
	Freedom of speech in Taiwan	3.62
	Taiwan's legal construction	3.31
	social movement in Taiwan	3.12
	Taiwanese government credibility	3.06
	Taiwan's international influence	2.73
personal planning	total	3.168
	your assessment on the decision of studying in Taiwan	3.78
	would you like to search for a job in Taiwan if policy allowed	3.11
	the competitiveness of Taiwanese diploma in mainland China	2.91

Table 9 shows Chinese students' perspective on Taiwan, whose satisfaction with Taiwan's

political performance was the lowest one, lower than the economic performance and socio-cultural performance, especially dissatisfied with Taiwanese understanding of mainland China, online service and mobile payment in Taiwan, Taiwanese international view, and Taiwan's international influence. Above all, Chinese students were most satisfied with the Taiwanese environment awareness, gender equality and medical service in Taiwan. Considering their personal plan, though they were not regret with the decision of studying in Taiwan, they don't have confidence in the competitiveness of Taiwanese diploma.

*Table 10: Independent Sample Test of Gender * Perspective on Taiwan*

	gender	count	average	Std. Error	F	Sig.
economy	male	358	15.6397	0.18116	0.578	0.447
	female	475	16.1684	0.15075		
culture	male	351	19.698	0.22411	2.039	0.154
	female	467	20.0493	0.17767		
politics	male	356	15.3034	0.2352	6.342	0.012*
	female	470	16.2574	0.18275		
Overall	male	356	9.8258	0.14582	0.203	0.652
	female	467	9.7816	0.12205		

*P<.05

Table 10 shows that gender has a significant impact on Chinese students' political perspective on Taiwan. Female students had a higher perception on Taiwan's political performance than male students.

Table 11: Independent Sample Test of Attending university * personal plan

	Attending university	count	average	Std. Error Mean	F	Sig.
the competitiveness of Taiwanese diploma in mainland China	public university	341	2.86	0.055	4.658	0.031*
	private university	482	2.95	0.044		
would you like to search for a job in Taiwan if policy allowed	public university	341	3.18	0.074	0.21	0.647
	private university	485	3.07	0.061		
your assessment on the decision of studying in Taiwan	public university	343	3.74	0.056	0.535	0.465
	private university	485	3.81	0.047		

*P<.05

From Table 11, there was significant difference between attending university and their confidence in competitiveness of Taiwanese diploma. Students studying in private universities were more stratified with their degree attained from Taiwan in terms of the competitiveness. Because public Taiwanese universities were weak in propaganda in China, Chinese were not familiar with some public universities such as NCCT and NTNU, these universities have not yet been recognized by Chinese companies.

Table 12: Perspective on Cross-Straitization

	Yes(%)	NO(%)
Taiwanese experience convinces me the democracy could be achieved in mainland China as well	24.7	75.3
I think Taiwan and China would reunify in 50 years	58.6	41.4
I think Taiwanese have a better understanding of mainland China by communication with Chinese student	85.8	14.2
Do you want to date with Taiwanese?	64.8	35.2

From Table 12, there were 24.7% responded that they though Taiwan's experience convinced them democracy could be achieved in mainland China, and there were 58.6% of respondents thought Taiwan and China would reunify in 50 years. And 64.8% of respondents would like to date with Taiwanese. The good news was that most of the degree seeking students(85.5%) agreed that Chinese students' coming helped Taiwanese deepen understanding of China.

4.1.3 Relations between Taiwan's Experience and perspective on Taiwan and Cross-straitization

4.1.3.1 Relations Between Taiwan's Experience and their Perspective on Taiwan.

(a) Duration of Stay

Generally speaking, there is significant difference between the duration of stay and Chinese students' overall perspective on Taiwan.

Table 13: Duration of Stay * Overall Perspective on Taiwan (ANOVA)

	Count	Average		
less than 1 year	424	3.58		
1-2year	250	3.22		
2-3year	79	3.42		
3-4year	49	3.24		
more than 4 year	28	3.61		
total	830	3.44		
ANOVA	SS	df	MS	F
Between Groups	22.4	4	5.6	5.348
Within Groups	863.843	825	1.047	

***p=.000<.05

Graph 4: Duration of Stay * Overall Perspective on Taiwan

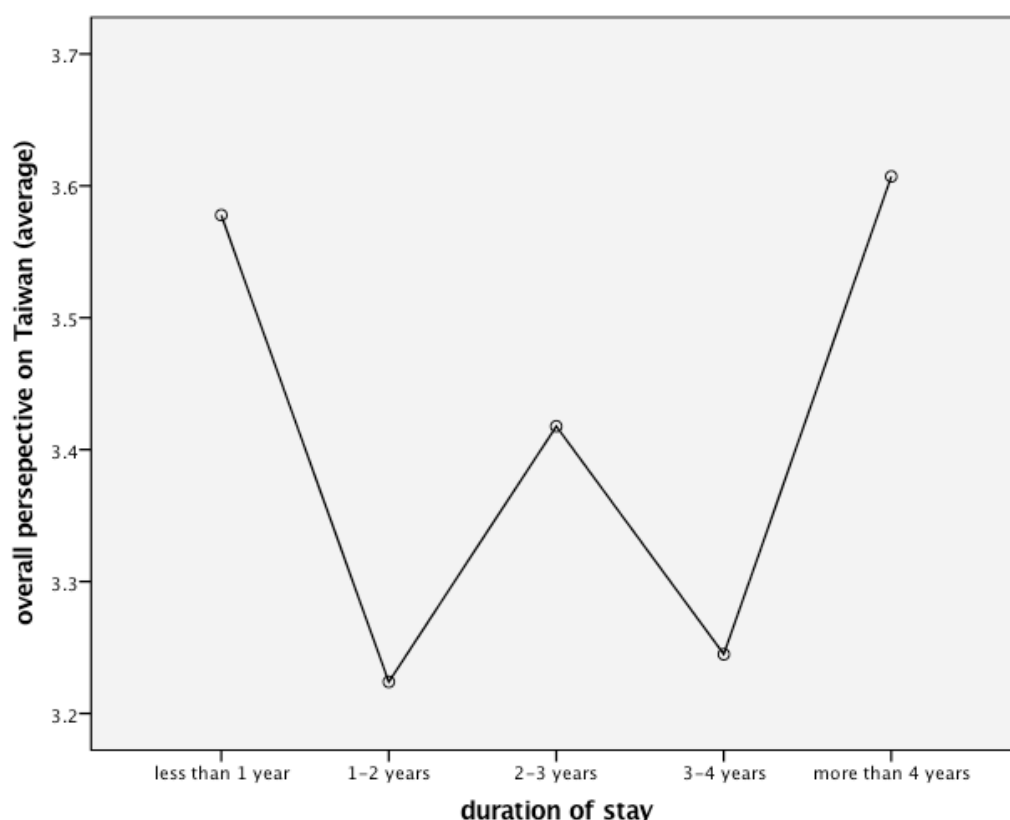


Table 13 shows Chinese students' overall perspective on Taiwan were affected by their duration of stay in Taiwan, and their perspective had a 'W' shape trend. Chinese students placed high value on Taiwan when they first arrived ; and their satisfaction decreased dramatically in their first year, then the perception rose slightly if they stay in Taiwan for two to three years, and it falls again. Their assessment on Taiwan were undulate when they stayed for one to four years, since when they stay longer and have deeper contact with locals, they had a further and wider understanding of Taiwanese society, their ideas changed by their individual experience and judgement; however there was a recovery after the fluctuation, when students spent more than 4 years in Taiwan, their perception on Taiwan were getting better again.

(b) Friend Circle

Table 14: Friend Circle * Overall Perspective on Taiwan (t-TEST)

	friend circle	N	Average	Std. Error Mean
overall	Chinese Students	427	3.41	0.052
perspective	on Taiwanese Students	377	3.49	0.051
Taiwan	t-Test: F= 1.450 P=.229			

Table 14 shows no causal relationship between the friend circle and the perspective on Taiwan, and the students whose friends are mainly Taiwanese do have a higher score evaluation of Taiwan than those whose friend circle are mainly Chinese.

(c) Personal Experience

Table 15: Personal Experience * Overall Perspective on Taiwan (t-TEST)

	I've experienced social movement in Taiwan	N	Average	Std. Error Mean
overall perspective	Yes	245	3.33	0.069
on Taiwan	No	585	3.48	0.042

t-Test F=1.720 P=0.190

	I've experienced bullying or discrimination	N	Average	Std. Error Mean
overall perspective	Yes	287	3.05	0.064
on Taiwan	No	543	3.64	0.041

t-Test F=1.024 P=.312

Table 15 shows no significant difference between Chinese students' personal experience and their perspective on Taiwan. While according to the descriptive statistic, students who does not have the experience of bullying or discrimination have a higher assessment on Taiwan, so does those who have not ever took part in social movement in Taiwan.

4.1.3.2 Relations Between Taiwan's Experience and their Perspective on Cross-Straitization

(a) Duration of Stay

Table 16: Duration of Stay * Perspective on Cross-straitization

	Less than 1 year	1-2 years	2-3 years	3-4 years	More than 4 years	Pearson Chi-Square	
						Value	P
I think Taiwan and China would unify in 50 years (duration)	62.90%	55.60%	46.30%	55.10%	60.70%	9.617	0.047*
I think Taiwanese have a better understanding of mainland China by communication with Chinese students(% within duration)	85.30%	87.30%	83.80%	85.70%	85.70%	0.826	0.935
Taiwanese experience convinces me the democracy could be achieved in mainland China as well(% within duration)	26.10%	20.60%	28.70%	28.60%	21.40%	3.957	0.412
I'd like to date with Taiwanese? (% within duration)	61.31%	64.7%	77.5%	67.3%	78.6%	10.422	0.034

Graph 5: Duration of Stay * Perspective on Cross-straitization

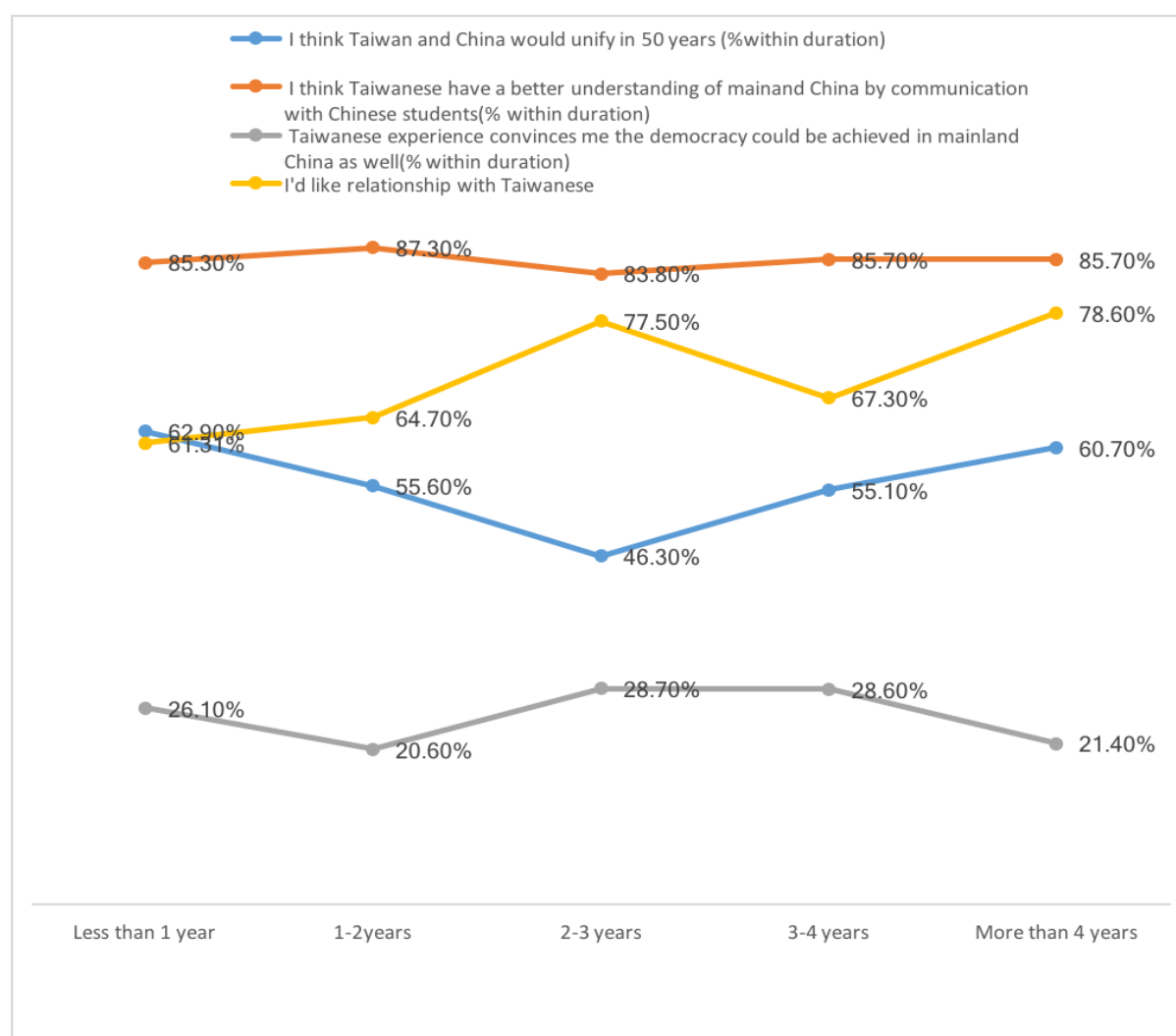


Table 16 shows that the duration of stay significantly affected Chinese students' perspective on unification, and their love concept. In terms of unification, when students stayed in Taiwan less than 3 years, with passing of time, less and less students agreed that Taiwan and China would unify in 50 years; while after they studied in Taiwan more than 3 years, their approve of unification increased with time. On contrary, in the first three years in Taiwan, the longer they stay, the more of them want to date with Taiwanese, the percentage decreased since the third year, and then rose again.

(b) Friend Circle

Table 17: Friend Circle * Perspective on Cross-straitization

				Pearson	
				Chi-	
	Chinese	Taiwanese	Foreign	Square	
	students	students	students	Value	P
I think Taiwan and China would unify in 50					
years (%within friend circle)	62.00%	55.00%	53.80%	4.277	0.118
I think Taiwanese have a better					
understanding of mainland China by					
communication with Chinese					
students(%within friend circle)	83.20%	89.20%	80.80%	6.475	0.039 *
Taiwanese experience convinces me the					
democracy could be achieved in mainland					
China as well(%within friend circle)	23.30%	25.90%	30.80%	1.296	0.523
I'd like to have relationship with					
Taiwanese(% within friend circle)	57.6%	72.8%	69.2%	20.544	0.0***

*P<.05 ***P<.000

Table 17 shows a significant difference found between the friend circle and the perspective on contact outcome and relationship preference . If the friend circle are mainly Taiwanese students, people prefer to think the mutual communication makes understanding of China better and they also prefer a romantic relationships with Taiwanese. At the same time, more contact with Taiwanese makes their perspective on possibility of unification in the coming 50 years lower. For those whose main friend circle are foreigners, 30.8% of them think democracy is suitable

for mainland China after they came to Taiwan, the percentage is higher than those friend circle are Taiwanese and Chinese.

(c) Personal Experience

Table 18: Personal Experience * Perspective on Cross-straitization

	I've experienced social movement in Taiwan			I've experienced bullying or discrimination		
	Pearson Chi-square			Pearson Chi-square		
	Value	P	Phi(P)	Value	P	Phi(P)
Possibility of unification	2.646	0.104	0.104	2.965	0.085	0.085
Better understanding by the mutual communication	1.087	0.297	0.297	8.449	0.004	0.004**
Possibility of democratization in China	10.592	0.001**	0.001	0.162	0.687	0.687
I'd like relationship with Taiwanese	3.793	0.051	0.051	1.987	0.159	0.159

**P<.01

According to the Table 18, the social movement participation has a significant impact on the promotion of democracy. In practical terms, for Chinese students who have experienced social movement in Taiwan, 32.2% of them think democracy is suitable for China, significantly higher than the percent of those have no social movement experience in Taiwan(21.6%). Besides, negative emotional experience significantly effects the outcome of mutual communication, 19% of the respondents who have experience of discrimination think Chinese

students' coming can not bring Taiwanese a better understanding of China, higher than who don't have those negative experience(11.7%).

4.1.4 Relations between the Perspective on Taiwan and on Cross-Straitization

Table19: Perspective on Taiwan * Perspective on Cross-straitization (t-TEST)

		Economic perspective on Taiwan			Cultural perspective on Taiwan			Political perspective on Taiwan		
		Average	F	Sig.	Average	F	Sig.	Average	F	Sig.
Possibility of unification	unification	15.91			19.98			15.76		
	non-unification	15.98	1.06	0.304	19.78	0.85	0.357	15.97	2.34	0.126
Better understanding by the mutual communication	Yes	16.15			20.23			16.09		
			2.28	0.131		6.93	0.009		3.03	0.082
	NO	14.70			17.87		**	14.37		
Possibility of democratization in China	Yes	17.14			21.43			17.93		
			1.90	0.169		1.52	0.219		3.20	0.074
	NO	15.55			19.40			15.16		
I'd like to date with Taiwanese	Yes	16.29			20.42			16.37		
			1.21	0.27		2.36	0.125		0.16	0.693
	No	15.30			18.97			14.89		

**P<.01

According to the Table 19, there is only a significant difference between cultural perspective on Taiwan and the outcome of mutual contact, which means a higher evaluation of Taiwanese cultural performance brings a more positive view on the outcome of the mutual communication. Besides, the assessment on the economy, culture and politics would not impact on their perspective on cross-straitization. In other words, from Chinese students' perspective, a better impression on Taiwan would not lead to a closer relations between Taiwan and China, while a better impression on Taiwan can not promote democracy in China neither.

If Chinese students' assessment on Taiwan would not change their perspective on cross-straitization, what about the influence of their personal interest?

Table 20: Working Willingness * Perspective on Cross-straitization (t-TEST)

		Working Willingness		
		Average	F	Sig.
Possibility of unification	unification	3.05	0.77	0.3820
	non-unification	3.21		
Better understanding by the mutual communication	Yes	3.19	1.78	0.1830
	NO	2.63		
Possibility of democratization in China	Yes	3.63	4.15	0.0420 *
	NO	2.94		
I'd like to date with Taiwanese	Yes	3.42	1.17	0.280
	No	2.55		

*P<.05

According to the Table 20, there is significant difference between the personal working willingness and their perspective on democratization in China, for those who think the

Taiwanese Experience convinces them democracy could be achieved in China, they have stronger willingness to search for a job in Taiwan. It can be speculated that democracy of Taiwan could be a reason for Chinese students to search for a job in Taiwan.

4.1.5 Summary

Based on the survey result, the study can be summarised as follows:

- (a) Among the degree-seekers, more female students than male students chose to study in Taiwan thanks to the limitation on majors in science and technology. There are approx. 63% of Chinese students major in liberal art and social science, most of whom are females. Students from the Zhejiang province and Fujian province are more prevalent than other cities and provinces in China. 47% of the Master and PhD students are graduate from 985 universities regarded as the top universities in China, most of them are studying in public universities. Public university can only recruit five bachelor students every year and the policy was implemented since 2014 (three years later than private universities), that is why here is a significant difference between attending university and degrees and future plans; predominant students in public universities are Masters and PhD students, while students from private universities are clearly more willing to stay in Taiwan for further study than public school students.
- (b) 51.2% of the respondents stay in Taiwan less than one year. 30% of them have spent one-two years in Taiwan already. More than half of Chinese students' friends are mainly Chinese as well, leading to their first choice of social media being WeChat. Different from the speculation before, which indicated that a similar language and culture could bring Taiwanese and Chinese closer, according to the findings, Chinese students still maintain their habits of social media and stay in their comfort zone; this may be because most respondents are undergraduates studying in private universities, who can easily make

Chinese friends and who do not need to make friend with local students as Masters and PhD students in public universities do. About 96% of Chinese students receive information through the internet and 30% of Chinese students experience social movement in Taiwan. One concern is that approx. 35% of students respond that they have been discriminated or bullied before, similar with the percent of respondents who refuse to have relationship with Taiwanese. In other words, negative experience like bullying or discrimination remarkably decrease their willingness to build intimate relationship with local students. However, there is a gender difference between the negative experience and willingness of intimate relationship; though more male students have experienced bullying or discrimination than female students, their willingness to build intimate relationship are still stay in a high percent (77%).

(c) Chinese students have a higher perception on Taiwan's socio-culture than economy and politics. Their positive impression on Taiwan is mainly about Taiwanese environment awareness, gender equality and medical service. On the contrary, they have a negative impression on Taiwan mainly because they think the Taiwanese understanding of mainland China is not real or objective; they are dissatisfied with online shopping and mobile payment in Taiwan. Female students are more satisfied with the political performance of Taiwan than male students. In terms of the personal interest, the average assessment on Taiwanese diploma is not good, while private school students have significant higher confidence on the competitiveness of their diploma than public school students.

(d) Richmond (2003) found that the cultural and educational exchanges between the US and USSR resulted in closer relations and lead to a better mutual understanding. Zevelev (2014) expanded the findings into ideological aspects, indicating that US's experience made a difference on students from Russia in terms of ideology of dogma regarding communism

and capitalism. Before Taiwan opened doors to Chinese degree-seeking students, some scholars estimated that their Taiwanese experience could be a promotion of democracy; it could be a push for democratisation in China. Unfortunately, according to the survey, only 24.7% respond their experience in Taiwan convince them democracy is suitable for China as well, with 58.5% of respondents thinking that Taiwan and China would be a unification in 50 years. The gratifying thing is that most of them think Taiwanese know China better due to their coming and the mutual contact and communication.

- (e) Duration of stay has a significant influence on Chinese students' perspective on Taiwan and cross-straitization. There is a W-shape regarding the Chinese student's perspective on Taiwan. Like the assumption by contact theory, the initial stages of contact always accompanied anxiety and distrust; that is why the assessment on Taiwan by students stay for one-two years is worse than those who spend less than one year; when they stay in Taiwan for two-three years, their satisfaction with Taiwan is the lowest; While group membership can lead to positive effects after long-term contact, after a fluctuation during two-four years, students who stay here for more than four years increase their evaluation score again. For the cross-strait relationship, there is a V-shape regarding the percentage of students who believe in unification. In the first three years, the longer they stay in Taiwan, the percentage of agreement with unification is lower; after three years, the percentage of students who think Taiwan and China would unify rises again. And for the personal relationship, with the passing of time spent in Taiwan, the percentage of willingness of relationship first rises then falls.

Friend circles remarkably impact the outcome of contact and relationship preference. When a Chinese student's friends are mainly Taiwanese, their approval of the positive outcome of the mutual communication and willingness of relationships are significantly stronger

than Chinese-dominated friend circle.

Personal experience also has influence on students' perspective on cross-straitization.

Experience of social movement in Taiwan could be a positive promotion of democracy, the students who have took part in or looked on social movements have a clearer and stronger approval of democratization in China than those who have no experience. On the other side, negative experiences such as bullying or discrimination leads to a negative outcome of mutual contact. For those who have ever been discriminated or bullied, they do not think Chinese students' arrivals closes any gaps between Taiwanese and Chinese or provides a better understanding of China for Taiwanese.

Besides the factors of Taiwanese experience, there are some other factors have significant difference with perspective on cross-straitization. Compared with the economic impression and political impression, a better cultural impression brings a significantly better approval of contact outcome. Personal interest would impact on the attitude of democracy, as those who believe that democracy could be achieved in China, their work willingness in Taiwan is apparently higher than students who think democracy is not suitable for China.

4.2 In-depth Interview Findings and Discussions

Findings from questionnaire offer an overview of Chinese students' background and experience in Taiwan which refers to their duration, friend circle and personal experience. And it indicates the relationships between Taiwan's experience and their perspective on cross-straitization and on Taiwan. There are some factors have remarkably impact on the cross-straitization, such as duration of stay, friend circle, personal experience and interest. On the basis of above, the study conducts in-depth interview to explain why and how those Taiwan

experience reshape Chinese students' perspective on cross-straitization.

The study interviewed 13 mainland Chinese students studying in Taiwan, all of which are degree seeking students, and one has graduated from Taiwan and works in China, including bachelor, master and PhD students. The interviewees were contacted by personal relations and friends introduce. A list of questions is prepared before the interview.

Table 21 : Information of the Interviewee

Num ber	Gender	Major	Degree	Duration in Taiwan	University in Taiwan
1	M	Law	MA	3.5	NCCU
2	F	Communication	MA	2.5	NCCU
3	F	Communication	PHD	5	NCCU
4	M	Business	MA	1	NCCU
5	M	Psychology	MA	2	FJU
6	F	Vision	MA	4	NCCU
7	M	Chinese	MA	2	NTU
8	M	Religion	MA	1	NCCU
9	M	IR	BA	3	DongWu
10	F	PR	BA	4	MingChuan
11	F	Education	PHD	3	NCU
12	M	Secret	PHD	1	FCU
13	M	Secret	MA	2	NCCU

4.2.1 Perspective on Taiwan

Most students are impressed with the kindness and passion of Taiwanese, like the saying that the most beautiful scenery in Taiwan is the human connection, Chinese students are quite satisfied with Taiwanese social minds and humanity.

'I enjoy my life here, it is a n orderly society, everyone lined up in an orderly fashion and I

don't need to beware of thief or liars anymore, the people around me are very nice. Because I worked on the Tao culture study here, local students will lead me to folk ceremonies sometimes and share their family experience of religion with me.' (Interviewee 8)

Lots of students mentioned about the pretty environment here as well, tiring of the terrible air quality in China, they really admired the climate and environmental protection in Taiwan.

'I have to say every time when I fly to Beijing from Taipei, the huge drop of air quality shocked me again and again, sometimes I felt shame of my hometown since I can not retort anything to the critics of air pollution, personally, I think it's a political problem rather than a simply environmental problem, the government should do everything they can do to stop pollution' (Interviewee 11)

'I really like the specific natural landscape here, I travelled a lot with my lover whenever we have a break. Taiwan is a small island with unexpected natural scenery and cultural heritages' (Interviewee 7)

Meanwhile as degree seekers, academic atmosphere is an important factor. Though criticism of the education system has been mounting by local commenters, students from China are still inspired by this same language speaking but different cultural atmosphere.

'Sharing the same language help me easier to study here, I don't have the boundary of language, I have the experience what I can't afford in my own country here. By studying the law system here I can rethink about my own country, what more important is I'm kind of closer to local's identity through the learning of law, I can partly understand why some youths want to be independent from China. Meanwhile, rich and colorful social life and sleek and competitive

learning atmosphere, make me all aspects of exercise and get a different degree test.'
(Interviewee 1)

'As Fujianese I grew up with Taiwanese popular culture for the dramas I watched, the songs I listened to, to the books I read, it is a familiar society to me. I watched the TV shows hosted by Lee Yan-qiu 李豔秋 with my dad every night during my high school, anchors like Lee Si-duan 李四端, Fang Nian-hua 念華 and Zhan Qing-ling 詹慶玲 are the enlightenment of my journalism study. The study in Taiwan encouraged me to walk further in my academic career.'(Interviewee 3)

'It's no wonder that Taiwan has much higher academic freedom than mainland China. In China, only the project related with CPP or Xi can apply for the sponsor from the government. And scholar would be questioned if your study is related to democracy. You don't have any concern on politics in Taiwan' (Interviewee 8)

In despite of the positive impression, there are quite lots complaint about both the daily life and Taiwanese, including the mobile payment, people's international view and mass medias.

'I feel disappointed about the academic work in Taiwan, I have to say Taiwanese students are less competitive than students from China. Maybe the stable social environment results to the decline of competition. I have met quite a lot shallow students. I'm a little bit regret for the decision to come to Taiwan.' (Interviewee 5)

'I'm so angry at the false reports in Taiwanese media, they are politically based and being manipulated by political or business interests. We called the media in China the mouth of the political propaganda, but it seems like the media in Taiwan are just the same, the media from

each side have already been unified before politics , (laugh) ’ (Interviewee 12)

‘The mobile payment system should be improved as soon as possible in Taiwan, it really drive me crazy every time when I came to Taiwan from my hometown. You know, nowadays, you can pay everything by the smart phone in China, it’s too heavy to carry the cash for me.’

‘To be honest, I think most of Taiwanese know nothing of mainland China. Some of them still think China is very poor and dirty, and Chinese people are suffering with their daily life. Their understanding of China are very superficial. And Taiwanese students’ English capability are not so good as I thought before I came here’ (Interviewee 9)

‘I’ve never experienced discrimination in real life, but Taiwanese used to call Chinese 426, 強國人 on Facebook or PTT, which really makes me angry.’ (Interviewee 2)

‘It’s hard to watch international news on TV in Taiwan, and they (Taiwanese) know nothing about what happening in China. Even for those who want to search for a job in China, I don’t think they have preference of China, all they care about is money’ (Interviewee 6)

‘Taiwanese society is more friendly to foreign labours than to us (Chinese student), they don’t have any restriction like NHI, and oversea Chinese students could have part-time job and apply for scholarship. Only we are not allowed to do so’ (Interviewee 11)

‘Chinese students policy is a totally discriminatory one, it would decrease Chinese’s willingness of studying in Taiwan. The situation of Chinese students here is quite embarrassing, we are not welcomed by Taiwan government, and even not welcomed by Chinese companies. It’s not easy to search for a dream job with the diploma attained from Taiwan.’ (Interviewee 8)

4.2.2 Perspective on the cross-straitization

(a) Students who agree that intensifying contact could bring a better relationship across the strait.

Some respondents think with the contact between Taiwanese and Chinese, the cross-strait relationship would be closer than ever. And their experience in Taiwan like political observation and social movement lead to a more obvious sympathy on Taiwanese and Taiwan society.

'In despite of personal interest that Taiwan should maintain her independent status quo, I have to say there's nearly impossible for Taiwan's independence. With the rising of China, she will do everything she can including military force to recover this place once she got enough power. The so-called peaceful diplomacy is just an excuse to guarantee the economic development, norms can be broken for state interests, as the political problem can make for economics, what I mean is that when China rise to as powerful as the U.S.A, the perceptions of Taiwanese will change as well, they won't contradicts China anymore.' (Interviewee 3)

'The impression of my exchange study experience in NTU encourages me to apply for Taiwan university to achieve my master degree. I found it's different from the stereotypical images I saw on China's TV shows about Taiwan's chaotic society for my first time in Taiwan, contrarily I realize that it is an orderly democracy and one in which the president frequently apologizes when things go wrong. It's not difficult to see a thousand people protesting here, but it's a reflection of Taiwan's democracy, it's their rights, I'm envious of such rights. The people of Taiwan and the people of China are very different from each other after hundreds years division, why force people to be a certain way? It's a issue should be only decided by Taiwanese people.' (Interviewee 4)

'Taiwan is a evidence of the success of democracy in Chinese-speaking society, there is no reason to destroy the system. One country two system policy is a sort of fail according to the current protesting happened in HongKong, it's hard for two different systems to survive with different ideology in a same country. Taiwan maintain lots of traditional Chinese cultural heritages in this small island, I admire the way people live here and want the government will respect Taiwanese's choice.' (Interviewee 1)

'The generation of mine has changed a lot, compared with the older generations we are open-minded and willing to accept dissenting words. Lots of friends around me have experience of oversea study, they have critical thinking skills and judgement sense, most of them make decisions by themselves rather than at the mercy of their parents or teachers. National interest in Taiwan can change significantly, it's hard to predict but the relations between Mainland China and Taiwan should more stable than now.' (Interviewee 6)

'Democracy is the base of Taiwanese value system, which is the biggest distinguish from mainland China as I think. We have to protect democratic system, it's a belief. Only democracy could bring mutual respect and support, and also transparency. Unlike the situation in China, you are forced to praise government's performance even though you don't actually agree with what they are doing.' (Interview 2)

'Most of my friends are Taiwanese, I really think they have boarder view of the whole world, the international awareness are much better than Chinese students, I think it should thanks to the democracy, which allow them think and express independently.' (Interviewee 7)

'As you know social movements are not anti-government, before I came to Taiwan, I always

though democracy is throwing slippers against each other (laugh) , because that what our TV has showed, and the image of members of legislative yuan is almost like that. But I've observe the presidential election last year, which changes my ideas totally, I was touched by the live phenomenon even though I against DPP, but I'm not refuse to talking with pan-green people anymore.' (Interviewee 2)

(a) Students who disagree that intensifying contact could bring a better relationship across the strait.

It's easy for students to lost their confidence in the outcome of mutual communication between Chiness and Taiwanese when they have negative experience. Some of the interviewees shared their experience of discrimination as followed:

'Until today I still feel vigilance to Taiwanese students even though I know my terrible experience was just a single case, and I have met lots of nice locals after that incident. I'm the sole student in my group, my group member always discussed the readings without me, although I participated in the discussion, they just ignored my words and discuss by themselves, after the discussion, they went to have something to eat and left me there. They didn't answer a word or give any feedback if I asked them questions in the class. It's so despairing and helpless, I felt isolated during that period' (Interviewee 2)

'I went to psychological counseling centers several times, I felt angry and hopeless. Whenever I think of that I need to stay here at least 3 years I got too frightened. The partners in our lab never said anything to me, there are 4 students in the lab, 3 of them are always being together. I have no ideal whom I can talk with.' (Interviewee 13)

'I take a course related to on-line business this semester, I have lots of views to share with the

teacher since I have worked for ALIBABA before I come to Taiwan. However I think the teacher treated me differently with local students, he is fastidious and doubtful about my saying related to the on-line business in China. Personally I think there is no doubt that China's e-business is more developed and improved than Taiwan, maybe the teacher just can't accept this truth'
(Interviewee 10)

'I felt very curious about democracy in Taiwan at the first time I came here, I think it's good for Taiwanese to express themselves freely. But after the honeymoon stage, I started to feel sick and impatient, what they are saying is not always true, sometimes they just want to against you, they have no idea what they are talking about. It's not the problem of democratic system, it's the problem of people here, I don't think Taiwanese are ready for a high level democracy.'
(Interviewee 12)

'I participated the sunflower movement, I talked with local students a lot about the cross-strait issues and the political perceptions during that time. I have confusions about the so-called political correct. Once I said anything about the positive impression of CCP, they would think that I am deeply ingrained by political propagandas in China, the political understanding of local students are too absolute, which makes me afraid of discussing anything related to political with them. China is too huge to summarized in a specific definition, every places in China are different with each other, sometimes their understanding to China is really narrow and extreme, but the gap is too wide to make up and I don't want to be the nationalist bigot in their eyes, as a result I tried my best to avoid touching political, the future will tell us the truth'
(Interviewee 6)

4.2.3 Discussion and Summary

(a) Chinese students' positive impression on Taiwan focuses on the socio-cultural aspect, such as Taiwanese social minds, social security and humanity, as well as natural environments being attractive for Chinese students; especially compared with the current air pollution in China. Besides, respondents also praise Taiwanese academic freedom and democracy. The respondents think democracy brings mutual respect and a better international view. Chinese students' negative impression is mainly about the mass media, a lack of understanding of China and a lack of international news; some have complained about mobile payments in Taiwan.

(b) Time dimensions have impacted on Chinese students' perspective on cross-straitization. Like the four stages of cultural adaptation raised by Torbiorn (1982): (1) When they stay in Taiwan for a short period, most of the things are fresh and new for them. During this honeymoon stage, they were willing to try new things like social movement and presidential election, and they showed a sincere effort to acclimate and to get to know new local friends; (2) Then they began the stage of disillusionment or cultural shock, they experienced impeded from local students and societies. Sometimes it happened in their daily life, like being isolated by classmates in the labs; sometimes it happened online, like being called 426 or 強國人 on Facebook or news reports. Sometimes it happens on certain events, like students who have experienced sunflower movement in Taiwan expressed she can feel against and hostility even though she has done nothing wrong; (3) The third stage is the adjustment stage, but adaptations do not occur on everyone, some of them just refused to have any further contact after the second stage. For those who insisted to have communication and participation, they found the motivation and reason of Taiwanese behaviour and thinking model. That is why they showed more sympathy and understanding of local people. Then, they stepped into the fourth stage, the stage of mastery. Most Chinese students went back to mainland China during vacations and naturally attempted to compare the situation between Taiwan and China in terms of convenience of life, freedom of academy and speech, as well as social and natural environment.

(c) Besides the time dimension, someone speculated that the liberal environment provided by Taiwanese society makes it possible for Chinese students to develop a much deeper understanding of Taiwan's society and appreciation of its liberties and democracy. Unfortunately, democracy and liberties also show the aspects of inefficiency and disorder. However, for those who have experienced social movement in Taiwan, their understanding of social movement is different from those who do not. Social movements are not something serious or anti-government, it is a normal social phenomenon and not always related to violence or extremes. As Chinese news prefer to show the chaos of Taiwan society and government, after personal practice or observation of social movement, students have more confidence of democracy.

(d) Experience of bullying or discrimination have a persistent influence on students' perspective. Once they have been bullied, their stereotype on Taiwanese is hard to change and reshape, despite knowing what happened to them is only an individual case. The interesting thing is the negative of experience to Chinese students sometimes are very special. Some interviewees felt offended when Taiwanese students or teachers disagreed with the one-China policy. One of the interviewees even said he want to call the police when a Taiwanese student attempts to discuss Tiananmen Square Massacre with him. Political sensitiveness is varied with everyone and the so-called discriminations are not always like what we thought. There are several uncontrollable factors during cultural and educational exchanges; people-to-people communication does not always lead to mutual understanding. Negative experiences, like bullying and discrimination, impedes mutual understanding and even makes people refuse to have any further contact with different groups (Pettigrew, 1986).

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 Conclusion

This study intends to examine the possible impact of Taiwan's experience on mainland Chinese degree-seeking students' perspective of cross-straitization. It investigates the degree-seeking students' background and their Taiwan's experiences. Moreover, it further elaborated how these experiences have reshaped Chinese students' perception about Taiwan. According to the research questions, the study found conclusions as follows:

5.1.1 Chinese student's background and experience in Taiwan

Among the degree-seekers from mainland China, female students are more numerous than male students, due to the limitation on majors in science and technology, more than half students major in social science and liberal arts - most of whom are females. Students from the Zhejiang province and Fujian province are more numerous than other cities and provinces in China; most of China's top graduates are studying in public universities in Taiwan. Since public university can only recruit five bachelor students every year, predominant students in public universities are studying for a Masters and PhD degree, with students from private universities being more willing to stay in Taiwan for further study than public school students.

More than half of Chinese students most frequently use WeChat as their social media platform of choice, as more than 50% of the students reply that many in their friendship circles are Chinese. This may be because most respondents are undergraduates studying in private universities; they can easily find Chinese friends and do not need to make friends with local students as Master and PhD students in public universities typically do. There are approx. 96% of Chinese students who receive information though the internet and 30% of Chinese students have experienced social movements in Taiwan. One concern is that approx. 35% of students

have been discriminated or bullied before; more male students have experienced bullying or discrimination than female students.

5.1.2 Perspective of Chinese students on Taiwan and Cross-straitization

Chinese students place higher values on Taiwan's socio-culture than the economy and politics. Their positive impression on Taiwan is mainly about Taiwanese environment awareness, gender equality and medical service. In contrast, they have a negative impression on Taiwan mainly because they think the Taiwanese understanding of mainland China is not real or objective; they are dissatisfied with online shopping and mobile payments in Taiwan, since Taiwan's mobile payment service is relatively lagging when compared to China. When returning to China during vocation, they highly rely on the mobile payment and it is easily addictive. In terms of personal interest, the average assessment on the Taiwanese diploma is not good, while private school students have significant higher confidence on the competitiveness of their diploma than public school students.

According to the survey, only 24.7% of respondents said their experience in Taiwan convinced them that democracy is suitable for China as well; 58.5% of respondents think Taiwan and China would be unified in 50 years, which is very different with the former speculation that their Taiwanese experience could be a promotion of democracy. This could be a push for the democratization in China. The gratifying thing is that most think that the Taiwanese know China better due to their coming and the mutual contact and communication.

5.1.3 Relationships between perspective on Taiwan and cross-straitization

Compared with the economic impression and political impression, a better cultural impression provides a significantly better approval of contact outcome. Similar cultures means that Chinese students feel comfortable and safe. A better assessment on Taiwanese socio-culture,

such as good performance on environmental protection, social mind and social care inspires the Chinese to make contact with local students, and which could close the gaps and reduce prejudices between two sides. In addition, personal interests would impact the attitude of democracy, for those who believe the democracy could be achieved in China and their work willingness in Taiwan is apparently higher than students who think democracy is not suitable for China. Even though some Chinese students think that excessive freedom leads to chaos and in inefficiency - many appreciate Taiwan's liberty and democracy. China cannot just copy the democratic model directly from Taiwan, but what is happening in Taiwan could be a reference for the future of China.

5.1.4 Impact of Taiwan's Experience on cross-straitization

Unlike Richmond (2003)'s study between the US and USSR, the experience in Taiwan does not always contribute to a better mutual understanding; factors such as duration of stay, friendship circles, negative experience and social participation have impacts on the outcome of cultural and educational exchanges. According to the discourse of cross-straitization, the study examined the cross-straitization by factors, such as perception of unification, assessment of mutual understanding, love concepts and perception of China's democratization.

Duration of stay has a significant influence on Chinese students' perspectives of Taiwan, as well as their views on unification and love concepts. Like the assumption by contact theory and cultural adaptation model: (1) When they stay in Taiwan for a short period, most of the things are fresh and new for them. During this honeymoon stage, they showed a sincere effort to acclimate and to get to know new local friends; (2) Then, they began the stage of disillusionment or cultural shock accompanied with anxiety and distrust, they experienced impeded from local students and societies. That is why the perception of Taiwan by students staying for one-two years is worse than those who spend less than one year; (3) The third stage

is the adjustment stage, but adaptations do not occur on everyone. Some of them just refused to have any further contact after the second stage. For those who insisted to have communication and participation, after a fluctuation during two-four years. Students who stay here for more than four years increase their evaluation score again. By deeper and further contact with Taiwan, they understand locals better and show more sympathy and understanding of local people. As for the cross-strait relationship, there is a V-shape in the percentage of students who believe in unification. When students stay in Taiwan for less than three years, their views on unification decrease; while after three years, their perception of unification is higher. In terms of the love concept, during the first three years, the longer they stay the more they want to stay in Taiwan; the percentage decreases after the third year and then rises again. And for the love concept, with the passing of time spent in Taiwan, the percentage of willingness of relationship first rises then falls.

A friendship circle remarkably affects the outcome of contact. When a Chinese student's friends are mainly Taiwanese, they have stronger empathy to Taiwanese and more easily to think from Taiwanese standpoints, leading to the result that they prefer to think that a mutual contact leads to a better understanding and closes gaps between Taiwanese and Chinese tensions. However, for those who have been discriminated against or bullied, they do not think Chinese students' coming will help to provide a better understanding of China, not reduce prejudice. The interesting thing is the negative of experience to Chinese students sometimes are related to political sensitiveness.

Experience of social movements in Taiwan could be a positive promotion of democracy; students who have taken part in - or looked on - social movements have a clear, stronger approval of the democratisation in China when compared to those who have no experience. For those who practice social movements by themselves, they have different concepts of social

movement from the stereotypes gleaned from China's TV shows and reports. Social movements are not something serious or anti-government; it is a normal social phenomenon and not always related to violence or extremes. A better image of social movement provides students a stronger confidence of democracy.

5.2 Suggestions

Suggestions for future studies and implementations are as follows:

- (a) For public universities in Taiwan, they must optimize the promotion strategies. they should rethink why private school students have stronger confidence on their diplomas. Public universities should extend their publicity in mainland China, since Chinese students highly rely on the internet and WeChat. Taiwanese universities could set up official accounts on WeChat or Weibo to promote themselves. This would not only recruit more excellent and divers students from mainland China, but would also help to optimize the brand image of university.
- (b) For universities in Taiwan, they should provide more opportunities and common platforms to close the relationship between Chinese and Taiwanese students. Schools should provide more chances for Chinese students to communicate with local students. Most universities have a buddy policy for foreign students - but not for Chinese students; this is also necessary for Chinese students. Although the Taiwanese and Chinese share a similar language and culture, diversity of culture and identity is still distinguished between them, local buddies could help students to adapt to the new environment and help to blend into local groups. More importantly, local friends can offer more opportunities for local experiences, like social movements, which could help to build a better image of democracy.
- (c) For the Ministry of Education, they should display superiority of soft power to promote a better mutual understanding. Compared to the economic and political impression, cultural

experiences can lead to a more positive attitude on mutual contact. Taiwan should utilise the cultural advantages to promote itself. There are some unique cultural experiences in Taiwan, such as religious experiences, indigenous cultures and homo-sexual marches. Soft power, such as cultural experiences, have compelling and deeper influences in student life, as well as help to increase the sympathy and understanding of Taiwan.

(d) A further study of cross-straitization model: By the model of cross-straitization, communication across the strait can close the relationship and improve the degree of peace between China and Taiwan, while the degree of communication being discussed from several dimensions. From the time dimensions, an increase in communication not only brings a better understanding, it also impacts their duration of stay. After the freshman stage, mutual contact and communication is accompanied with anxiety and distrust. Only long contact (more than 3 years in this study) and communication can bring a better understanding and mutual trust. In addition, contact and communication does not always have positive outcomes; negative experiences can deepen the distrust and indifference between two sides.

5.3 Research Limitations

The study has limitations in its content and sample restrictions during the in-depth interview stage. Most interviewees were contacted through personal relations and friends, their perspective is not always representative. And Chinese students are not willing to discuss political issues, especially cross-strait relationships in case of the potential monitoring. Therefore, sensitive questions, such as ‘what is your opinion of the future relations between China and Taiwan’ would be refused sometimes during in-depth interviews; most of the interviewees would not respond to ‘I support Taiwan’s independence’ directly, and answers could only be deduced by their tone of voice and facial expression.

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Appendix 1: Questionnaire

The Impact of Taiwanese Experience on Cross-straitization: From Chinese Students' perspective

Background

1. gender : ☐male ☐female
2. Hometown : _____ Province (city)
3. Alma mater (master and PhD students only): _____
4. Attending School : _____
5. Major : ☐ Liberal Art ☐ Social Science ☐ Science ☐ Technology
- 6 Degree
☐ Bachelor ☐ Master ☐ PhD ☐ Two-year Programme
7. What's your planning after graduation : ☐ stay in Taiwan for further study ☐ go to other countries for further study ☐ search for a job ☐ others _____

Experience in Taiwan

8. How long have you been in Taiwan :
☐ less than 6 month ☐ 6-12 months
☐ 1-2 years(included) ☐ (2-3years) ☐ (3-4years) ☐ more than four years.
9. What's your first choice of social media:
☐ Weibo ☐ Facebook ☐ Twitter ☐ Wechat ☐ Line ☐ other
10. What's your first channel of information
☐ internet ☐ TV ☐ Newspaper ☐ Radio ☐ Friend
11. Who is your main circle of friends (你朋友圈主要是誰)
☐ Chinese ☐ Taiwanese ☐ Foreigners
12. Have you experienced social movement in Taiwan
☐ yes ☐ no
13. Have you ever been discriminated or bullied ?
☐ yes ☐ no

Perspective on Taiwan

(1-5): very dissatisfied to very satisfied

aspect	title	1	2	3	4	5
economic aspect	Medical service in Taiwan					
	Infrastructure and transportation in Taiwan					
	Price in Taiwan					
	The future of Taiwan's economic development					
	online shopping and mobile payment in Taiwan					
	total					
cultural aspect	Taiwanese environment awareness					
	Gender equality in Taiwan					
	Protection of traditional Chinese culture in Taiwan					
	Taiwanese acceptance of difference ethnic groups					
	Taiwanese international view					
	Taiwanese understanding of mainland China					
	total					
political aspect	Freedom of speech in Taiwan					
	Taiwan's legal construction					
	social movement in Taiwan					
	Taiwanese government credibility					
	Taiwan's international influence					
	total					
personal planning	your assessment on the decision of studying in Taiwan					
	would you like to search for a job in Taiwan if policy allowed					
	the competitiveness of Taiwanese diploma in mainland China					

Perspective on Cross-straitization

	YES	NO
I think Taiwan and China would reunify in 50 years		
I think Taiwanese have a better understanding of mainland China by communication with Chinese student		
Taiwanese experience convinces me the democracy could be achieved in mainland China as well		
Do you want to date with Taiwanese?		

Appendix 2: In-depth Interview Questions

1. How long have you been in Taiwan? What's the change since you have came to Taiwan?
2. What's your opinion on Taiwan's economic development?
3. What do you think about socio-culture of Taiwan?
4. What do you think about political performance of Taiwan?
5. Is there anything you can not adapt to since you have came to Taiwan?
6. Do you think Taiwanese and Chinese have objective understanding of each other?
7. Have you ever took part in or observe social movement in Taiwan? How did you feel?
8. Have you ever experienced bullying or discrimination by Taiwanese?
9. What's your the positive and negative impression on Taiwan?
10. Will you still come to Taiwan for study if you have second chance?