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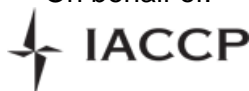
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Changing Boundaries of Ethnic Identity and Feelings Toward Ingroup/ Outgroup: Examining Taiwan Residents From a Psycho-Historical Perspective

I-Ching Lee[1] and Felicia Pratto[2]

Abstract

Subjective group identification may not always be based on common biological origins or group salience, but rather, due to changes in group power. The present cross-temporal meta-analysis documents the transformation of Taiwan residents' identification as both Taiwanese and Chinese during recent decades, in which the legitimacy of Chinese power over Taiwan was changed. The relations between identification and feelings toward Taiwanese and Chinese were also examined. Results suggest that historical memories and the political ascendancy of Taiwanese culture, rather than relative size of groups, increased identification with Taiwanese over Chinese. Historical and ethnic differences are compared to address ingroup favoritism, outgroup derogation, and other issues in social identity theory.

In a century marked by human migration and conflicts, social identification and the content of social identities have become important and complex. Social identification and the content of social identities have profound effects on individual actions, crowd behavior (Reicher, 1996), as well as political policies domestically and internationally. For example, after gaining independence from the United Kingdom, Pakistan split from India and the tension and conflicts between the two have persisted.

In the literature, ethnic identities and national identities are often conflated and sometimes used interchangeably (e.g., L. L. Huang, 2007); the distinction between the two can become subtle and empirically complex (see Smith, 2001). However, people with the same ethnicity can have different nationalities, and people with different ethnicities can have the same nationality.

[1]National Chengchi University, Taipei, TAIWAN
[2]University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT, USA

Corresponding Author:
I-Ching Lee, Department of Psychology, National Chengchi University, 64 Zhi-nan Rd. Sec. 2, Taipei, Taiwan, 116, TAIWAN
Email: iclee@nccu.edu.tw

Therefore, examining ethnicity and nationality separately allows one to examine their relation-ship (Smith, 1996). Because the present research focuses on Taiwan's residents, whose nationality is contested, Chinese[1] and Taiwanese are referred to as ethnic identities, not national identities in our article, for two reasons. First, Chinese and Taiwanese have been commonly understood as ethnic identities in the literature (Borchigud, 1997) and among lay people (e.g., C. Huang, 2005), in which Chinese represents ethnic Han. Secondly, research in Taiwan found a positive but mod-erate relation between ethnic and national identities. You (1996) found that 70% of those who identified as Chinese supported unification with People's Republic of China, whereas only 30% of those who identified as Taiwanese supported Taiwanese independence. The distinction of ethnic and national identities will allow the examination of their relation, although such an attempt is beyond the scope of our study.

Two major opposing perspectives have been proposed to understand ethnic identity: primor-dialism and social construction. Based on sociobiology, Van den Berghe (1978) argued that ethnicity is ascriptive, defined by common descent, and functions as a form of kin selection. Common practices reflect the primordial beliefs of ethnicity, such as using ancestry (e.g., one drop rule in the United States) or DNA screening (e.g., in Israel) to determine one's ethnicity/race. Primordial beliefs are also linked to one's physical appearance. In a bicultural sample, Japanese European Americans were found to identify more with Japanese American identity if they looked distinctively Japanese, whereas those who looked distinctively European identified more with European American identity (Ahnallen, Suyemoto, & Carter, 2006).

Conversely, social constructionism holds that ethnicity is constructed and that ethnic identities are malleable and defined in situ. Scholars have suggested that groups use different ways to define ethnic boundaries, including cultural values, social status, historical memories, social movements, legal policies, religious customs, and language (Barth, 1969; Nagel, 1994; Rutter & Tienda, 2005; Waters, 1990). However, ethnic groups who share many features, including religion, language, cultural values, and historical experiences, can still subjectively define what distinguishes them. Likewise, groups who think of themselves as sharing an ethnicity can refrain from embracing a common identity when their interests or values do not align. For example, the American colonies of the United Kingdom declared independence and established a new country, the United States, when they dissented over taxes and political liberty.

J. H. Liu and Hilton (2005) emphasized the importance of history in shaping identities and proposed a theory of representations of history. They suggested that history defines a group's identity and argued that group members amend and renegotiate historical memories around their *charter*, in which group origin and historical mission are documented. For example, Taiwanese consciousness has been suggested to have evolved in three stages, determined by three major historical events: Japanese colonialism, resistance of the Kuomintang (KMT) rule, and the lifting of martial law and the increasing threat of China (M. Liu & Hung, 2002). The theory of represen-tations of history incorporates an instrumentalist view, in which threat and social order may motivate groups to reinterpret historical events. Groups construct social representation of who they are by selectively elaborating certain historical events. For example, in history, Chiang Kai-shek, who led China and Taiwan through wars but was generally considered responsible for the February 28th incident, was evaluated positively by the Mainlanders but was evaluated some-what negatively by Min-nan despite their similar knowledge (L. L. Huang, Liu, & Chang, 2004).

Such an instrumentalist view in M. Liu and Hilton's (2005) theory is consistent with anthro-pological evidence in Taiwan, in which declaring one's ethnicity can be considered a strategy for personal or group gains (Lyman & Douglass, 1973). Anthropologist Melissa Brown (2004) observed that some aboriginals in Taiwan identified themselves as Han (i.e., Chinese) although they acknowledged that their ancestors were aboriginals (i.e., descendants of Malayo-Polynesians). Brown reasoned that it was beneficial for the aboriginals to pass as members of Han due to the

stigma attached to aboriginals and protective policies geared toward Han. Thus, the identification of own ethnicity is closely tied to the incentives and costs or barriers attached to the identity. Perhaps as a result, the boundary delineating a given ethnicity is constantly being redefined (Nagel, 1994; Waters, 1990).

Studying ethnic identity among different groups is important in distinguishing the interrelations among physical features, historical experience, and social status, which are often conflated when studying identity boundaries (Barth, 1969; Knutsson, 1969; Nagel, 1994). For this reason, we chose to study four main ethnic groups in Taiwan that differ on some of the aforementioned factors but not the others to differentiate and evaluate the importance of each factor in determining one's ethnic identity. We targeted Taiwan because it has recently experienced major social changes and those changes provided a unique opportunity to examine identity change. The changing social contexts and international situations allowed us to examine whether four factors determine identity boundary: appearance, history, changing political power, and population size.

In addition to examining potential reasons for ethnic boundaries, we also tested the consequences of embracing certain ethnic identity. Identifications have private ramifications regarding preferences toward the target groups and for personal feelings (Brewer & Brown, 1998). According to social identity theory, because individuals strive for positive self-regard, when group membership is internalized as an aspect of their self-concept, individuals may favor their ingroup over outgroups to produce positive self-regard (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, 1987). Favoring one's ingroup over outgroups can be achieved by simply preferring one's ingroup without particular feelings toward outgroups (ingroup favoritism explanation), by derogating outgroups without particular feelings toward one's ingroup (outgroup derogation explanation), or both processes (Brewer & Brown, 1998; Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002; Sassenberg, Kessler, & Mummendey, 2003).

Despite this dynamic prescription from social identity theory, the link between constructing identity and individual feelings following from the construction of identity has rarely been explored over time (Breakwell, 1996; Reicher, 2004). Few studies examined the relations between social contexts and the construction of social identity, and when they did, they examined it at one specific time point (Hurtado, Gurin, & Peng, 1994; J. H. Liu, Lawrence, Ward, & Abraham, 2002; Li, 2003a; L. L. Huang et al., 2004). Because individuals tend to reconstruct the past consistently with their current identity or with what they expect their identity to be (e.g., Leichman, 2001), exploring the relation of identity boundary and feelings over time may reveal evidence for what determines identity construction and how that relates to individual feelings toward the target groups.

To document the changes of ethnic identity, reveal the reasons behind the changes, and examine the relations between ethnic identity and feelings toward ingroup (Taiwanese) and outgroup (Chinese), we adopted a meta-analysis approach. In particular, we conducted a cross-temporal meta-analysis study (Twenge, 1997, 2000; Wells & Twenge, 2005) to document changes of ethnic identity to reveal time effects that may be obscured in nonlongitudinal approaches. Rather than being a conventional qualitative review or "vote-count" of study outcomes, the cross-temporal meta-analysis converts empirical measures across studies to a common metric for which time is also recorded so that systematic empirical trends can be compared over time. Unlike traditional meta-analysis that typically tests differences between two groups (e.g., effect size *d*) or strengths of relations between variables (e.g., effect size *r*), a cross-temporal meta-analysis examines the changes in mean scores over time (Wells & Twenge, 2005). Moreover, to examine the strengths of associations between identification and feelings toward Taiwanese and between identification and feelings toward Chinese, a traditional meta-analysis that tests strengths of relations between variables (effect size *r*) was also adopted.

The Present Study

There are four main ethnic groups in Taiwan: Min-nan (64%), Ha-kka (20%), Mainlanders (14%), and aborigines (2%[2]; CIA, 2006; Taiwan Government Information Office, 2006). The Min-nan, Ha-kka, and Mainlanders emigrated from China and are all of Han ethnicity; thus they are indistinguishable by appearance. Conversely, aboriginals are descendants of Malayo-Polynesians from Southeast Asia and most are distinguishable by appearance from the other three groups. With regard to historical memories, however, the Mainlanders differ from the other groups because they are the most recent immigrants who accompanied the Nationalist party's retreat to Taiwan in 1949 and had been given privileges under the Nationalist state's government. Because Min-nan, Ha-kka, and aboriginals had been colonized by multiple racial/ethnic groups including Dutch, Spanish, Manchu (Qing), Japanese colonialists, and the Chinese, they share the colonization experience that provided them with a mixture of Chinese, Japanese, and Western cultures. In terms of their historical memories, Min-nan, Ha-kka, and aboriginals are more alike than Mainlanders because they shared the colonization experience, were of relative lower status under the KMT's rule, and experienced threat posed by China. Politically, the Min-nan gradually gained political power during the 1980s and eventually overtook the Mainlanders in political power in the late 1990s. In terms of population size, Min-nan people are the majority.

One would derive different predictions about how these four groups identify depending on whether the groups focus on physical appearance, history, political power, or numerosity in the population (see Table 1 for a list of the hypotheses). From a primordial perspective, because Min-nan, Ha-kka, and Mainlanders are considered Chinese descendants, aboriginals would be hypothesized to identify most strongly with Taiwanese over Chinese, followed by Min-nan, Ha-kka, and Mainlanders (Primordial Hypothesis 1). Moreover, ethnic identity was hypothesized to remain stable, according to the primordial perspective (Primordial Hypothesis 2).

Conversely, a constructivist view of ethnic identity would predict that history, cost-benefit analysis (e.g., gaining political power), or numerosity could affect how people identify with groups. A brief explication of Taiwan's history will illuminate which groups should be similar in their collective identification. Under the Nationalist regime, all four groups were educated to be traditional Chinese (Ang, 1993; Tu, 1996). However, Taiwanization, a localization movement to value Taiwan on its own and not as a part of China, has become a strong cultural movement since the 1980s. In 1995 and 1996, the People's Republic of China launched missile exercises intended for Taiwan, thus challenging Taiwan residents' idea of China as the motherland. Given this history, all groups might identify themselves as either Taiwanese or Chinese, although the degree to which they do so might differ. However, the Mainlanders were the most recent immigrants from China, whereas Min-nan, Ha-kka, and aboriginals had coexisted in Taiwan since the 17th century. Because Min-nan, Ha-kka, and aboriginals shared historical events argued to relate to Taiwanese consciousness, according to a historical explanation, Min-nan, Ha-kka, and aboriginals might identify with Taiwanese over Chinese more than the Mainlanders (Historical Hypothesis).

Another plausible constructivist explanation for subjective identification is based on population size. Lin, Ching, Hsieh, Ho, and Chang (2005) analyzed the similarities and differences between Min-nan and Ha-kka and pointed out that a substantive number of Ha-kka were assimilated by Min-nan and lost their language and identity. Because the Min-nan is the largest group in Taiwan, they may pride themselves in representing the island and identify with Taiwanese most strongly compared to other ethnic groups (Population Hypothesis).

The constructivist view of ethnic identity can also be examined by investigating how ethnic identification changed over time. Because Taiwanization became strong after 1980s, a general pattern was expected in which all residents in Taiwan increasingly identify more strongly with Taiwanese over Chinese over time (Taiwanization Hypothesis). Moreover, Taiwanization coincided

Table 1. Hypotheses: Identification With Taiwanese Over Chinese and Feelings Toward the Taiwanese and Chinese

Type of hypothesis	Predictions	Results
Relative identification with Taiwanese over Chinese		
Group effect		
Primordial Hypothesis 1	Aboriginals > the others	No
Historical	Min-nan, Ha-kka, Aboriginal > Mainlanders	Partially
Population	Min-nan > Ha-kka, Mainlanders > aboriginals	No
Time effect		
Primordial Hypothesis 2	Stable identification over time	No
Taiwanization	All residents in Taiwan identify more strongly with Taiwanese in recent years	Yes
Changing Political Power	Min-nan and Mainlanders differ the most: Strongest relative identification among Min-nan and weakest relative identification among Mainlanders	Yes
Favorable feelings		
Ingroup Favoritism	Stronger identification with Taiwanese over Chinese was associated with more favorable feelings toward Taiwanese	Yes
Outgroup Serogation	Stronger identification with Taiwanese over Chinese was associated with less favorable feelings toward Chinese	Yes
Changing Content Hypothesis	Changing relations between relative identification and correspondent feelings toward Taiwanese in distinction from China over time	Yes

with the Min-nan's increasing political power and the reform of the autocratic Nationalist government. In 2000, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), generally considered a Min-nan-based party, became the ruling party, despite the threat and disapproval from Communist China on the matter. Because contexts that determine group status have implications on group identity (Ellemers, Wilke, & van Knippenberg, 1993), it is plausible that the levels of ethnic identity should vary according to the changes of group status. After the political change that challenged the status quo, we predicted largest difference in Min-nan's and Mainlander's identification with Taiwanese over Chinese (Changing Political Power Hypothesis). In particular, because research showed that Chinese identity was associated positively with beliefs of social hierarchy, whereas Taiwanese identity was associated negatively with beliefs of social hierarchy (J. H. Liu, Huang, & McFedries, 2008), we predicted strongest identification of Taiwanese over Chinese among the ascendant Min-nan, whereas weakest identification of Taiwanese over Chinese among the formerly dominating Mainlanders.

Furthermore, the proposed identity changes were expected to result in changes in how favorable feelings were toward Taiwanese and Chinese culture. Examining identification and feelings toward Taiwanese and Chinese, respectively, allows us to examine the ingroup favoritism and outgroup derogation explanations based in social identity theory. We hypothesized that stronger identification with Taiwan should accompany more favorable feelings of Taiwanese (Ingroup Favoritism Hypothesis) but less favorable feelings toward Chinese (Outgroup Derogation Hypothesis). Moreover, because of Taiwanization and the tensions between Taiwan and China since the late 1980s, the contrast between Taiwan and China in defining Taiwan identity should become increasingly important. We predicted stronger relations between identification and favorable feelings toward Taiwanese in distinction from Chinese, which may suggest changing content of the identity (Changing Content Hypothesis).

Method

To examine what might account for Taiwan residents' ethnic identity, a cross-temporal meta-analysis approach was adopted. Furthermore, to examine Taiwan residents' ethnic identity and their corresponding feelings toward the Taiwanese and Chinese, a conventional meta-analysis was conducted to examine the relations between ethnic identity and corresponding group feelings in a subset of studies.

Sample of Studies

Studies conducted from 1980 to 2003 that examined identification with being Taiwanese or Chinese were included. The only exceptions were: (a) if the study measured only qualitative aspects of intergroup relationships, (b) if studies were written in languages other than English or Chinese, (c) if data were reported aggregating across multiple years, and (d) if the reported results were insufficient to calculate effect sizes. The following Chinese and English databases were searched in 2006: Chinese Journal Indices System, Chinese Dissertation and Thesis Network, PsycInfo, Dissertation Abstracts, and Survey Research Data Archive located in the Academia Sinica of Taiwan.

To evaluate the importance of methodological and theoretical variables, the following information was coded for each sample: (a) data collection year (if missing, the data collection year was estimated as 2 years prior to publication year), (b) the area or discipline of the study (psychology, political science, sociology, and other), (c) sampling strategy (random selection, convenience sample, or purposive sampling), (d) sample characteristics (high school students, college students, community residents, and national data), (e) collection method (phone, interview, mail, face to face), (f) study design (longitudinal or panel study, cross-sectional, one-time measurement, or experiment), (g) whether respondents answered individually or in groups, (h) types of identity question (think vs. feel about their identity), (i) responses of identity question (categorical or Likert scale), and (j) types of favorable feelings toward Chinese or its culture (expressing in ways such as toward Chinese in general or toward its landscape, toward Chinese despite its lack of development and poverty, and toward Chinese culture) and types of favorable feelings toward Taiwanese and its culture (Taiwanese in general, Taiwanese in distinction from Chinese, and being citizens of Republic of China).

Also, we coded specific sample characteristics: (a) ethnicity of each sample, determined by both parents' ethnicity (Mainlanders, Min-nan, Ha-kka, aboriginals, mixed-including a Mainlander parent and a non–Mainlander parent, and other-including those who responded with other answers, such as category not relevant to ethnicity or missing data); (b) whether respondents' ethnicity was estimated (e.g., by the official rule, which is determined by father's ethnicity); (c) education (no education, elementary, high school, college, graduate, or other); (d) number of male and female respondents; (e) respondents' religions (Buddhism, Christian, Catholic, atheist, and folk or other religions); (f) political affiliation (Kuomintang, KMT or Democratic Progressive Party, DPP); (g) age (mean age, median age, standard deviation of age); and (h) personal income. Two coders coded 95% of the study feature variables and their agreement was high (77% to 100%, with a mean of 92%).

Measures

Three main outcome variables of interest were included: relative identification with Taiwanese over Chinese, the association between relative identification and favorable feelings toward Taiwanese, and the association between relative identification and favorable feelings toward Chinese.

The relative identification measure was calculated using the data reported by the researchers with respect to each ethnic group when possible. Studies that did not allow for mean scores to be calculated by each ethnic group were recorded as a grand mean. In both cases, the percentages of the ethnicity groups from which the mean score was calculated were recorded. Because participants in every study were asked to choose between identifying with Taiwanese or with Chinese, we adopted a bipolar scale (from –2 to +2) to transform all the data. Because a majority of studies used a single-item relative identification question, to keep the data comparable, we only used the results from the most comparable single item in all of the studies. About two thirds of the samples reported this measure as a categorical variable; we scored the measure according to the number of choices and the content of the choices. For example, for a categorical item with five potential choices, the responses were scored: Taiwanese identity only (+2); Taiwanese first, Chinese second (+1); Taiwanese and Chinese, no difference (0); Chinese first, Taiwanese second (–1); Chinese only (–2). For a categorical item with three potential choices, the responses were scored: Taiwanese only (+1); Taiwanese and Chinese, no difference (0); Chinese only (–1). Items with different scales were transformed as described in the next section. To test whether our created variable, which orders categories, corresponds reasonably well to truly continuous direct measures of identity, we calculated a correlation between our transformed identity measure and separate identity questions that used Likert scales (e.g., indicating how strongly you identify with Taiwanese) that were available in a limited number of samples for each ethnic group ($k = 5$, $n = 1,125$). The transformed continuous variable correlated highly positively with identification with Taiwanese based on a 1 to 5 Likert scale, which ranged from .84 to .92 among different ethnic groups. Likewise, the transformed continuous variable correlated highly negatively with identification with Chinese based on a 1 to 5 Likert scale (ranged from –.89 to –.97). These correlations indicate that our ordered scaling of the categorical identification variables is suitable.

Computation and Analysis of Effect Sizes

Two types of effect sizes were calculated: mean effect size for identification measure and Fisher's *Zr* transformation. Mean effect size reflects the degree to which respondents identify as Taiwanese over Chinese. The higher scores, departing from the midpoint (which is zero), indicate stronger identification of Taiwanese over Chinese; the lower scores, departing from the midpoint, indicate stronger identification of Chinese over Taiwanese. Results of samples using different types of scaling were transformed to a 5-point scaling (–2 to +2). For example, for a sample with a mean score of 3.5 based on a 1 (lowest point) to 6 (highest point) scaling, the transformed score would be (Mean – lowest point) / (range of the scaling) – 2 = (3.5 – 1) / (6 – 1) × 4 – 2 = 0. The standard deviation was also scaled to a 5-point scaling.

The Fisher's *Zr* transformation documents the associations between relative identification and favorable feelings. The stronger transformed positive correlations indicate stronger associations between high relative identification and high favorable feelings; the stronger transformed negative correlations indicate stronger association between high relative identification and low favorable feelings. Bivariate correlations between relative identification measure and favorable feelings toward Taiwanese and between relative identification measure and favorable feelings toward Chinese were transformed to Fisher's *Zr* (Lipsey & Wilson, 2001) to avoid problematic statistical properties of *r*s (Alexander, Scozzaro, & Borodkin, 1989; Hedges & Olkin, 1983). For example, for a sample reporting a correlation between identification and favorable feeling toward Taiwanese at .30, its *ESzr* = 0.3095. To enhance interpretation, the mean ESzr was transformed back to a correlation (*r'*).

To obtain an overall estimate of the mean levels on identification of Taiwanese over Chinese, and its relations to favorable feelings toward Taiwanese or toward Chinese, the study outcomes

were combined by averaging the effect sizes (ES_m or $ESzr$) adjusting for the reciprocal of their variance based on a fixed-effects model. A fixed-effects model assumes that each observed effect size differs from the population mean by subject-level sampling error randomly distributed (Lipsey & Wilson, 2001). To determine whether each set of effect sizes shares a common effect size, a homogeneity statistic, Q, was calculated. The homogeneity statistic has an appropriate chi-square distribution with $k\text{-}1$ degrees of freedom, k being the number of effect sizes (Hedges, 1981; Hedges & Olkin, 1985).

In the absence of homogeneity, the variability of mean effect sizes was accounted for by relating them to study features, characteristics of the samples, and variables in the proposed hypotheses. To determine the relation between characteristics of the samples and the magnitude of the mean effect sizes, categorical and continuous models based on a fixed effects model were tested (Hedges, 1982a, 1982b). The categorical models provide a between-class effect (analogous to a main effect in an ANOVA) and a homogeneity test of the mean effect sizes within each class. The continuous models are least squares regressions, which examine whether continuous or dichotomous methodological variables significantly account for the variation of the mean effect sizes and whether significant variation remains unexplained in the regression models. The effect sizes were first regressed on each methodological variable adjusting for the reciprocal of their variance, respectively. After each significant methodological variable was identified, effect sizes were regressed on all significant methodological variables, barring multicollinearilty, while adjusting for the reciprocal of their variances. Such analyses indicate what factors are associated with smaller or larger effect sizes.

Results

Study Characteristics

Overall, 282 independent samples from 64 reports qualified for inclusion, which were conducted from 1989 (the earliest study we found) to 2003. In a subset of the samples, 35 independent samples were included in examining the relations between identification and feelings toward Taiwanese and 60 independent samples were included in examining the relations identification and feelings toward Chinese. Most of the samples were reported in theses, in dissertations, and from Survey Research Data Archive. Most samples (96.5%) utilized some randomization techniques to recruit representative samples. Similarly, for the subsets of samples used in testing the relations between relative identification and feelings toward Taiwanese and toward Chinese, the majority of the samples used some randomization (100% and 93.3%, respectively). The majority of the samples included national samples (73.0% in all samples, 74.3% and 61.7% for feelings toward Taiwanese and Chinese). On the whole, the data were collected by face-to-face interview with a structured questionnaire (78.0% in all samples, 100% and 93.3% in the subsets of samples for feelings toward Taiwanese and Chinese, respectively). Detailed descriptive descriptions regarding the samples characteristics can be seen in Table 2.

Identification of Taiwanese Over Chinese

Across 282 samples, a small proportion (4.2%) of the respondents provided other or no responses on identification with Taiwanese over Chinese and their data were not analyzed. The general trend of identification showed that participants gradually identified more strongly with Taiwanese over Chinese over time (see Figure 1). Figure 1 also shows large increase in relative identification with Taiwanese over Chinese after tensions between China and Taiwan became intense in 1996. Overall, people in Taiwan identified slightly more with Taiwanese than Chinese ($ES_m = 0.09$ on

Table 2. Descriptive Analysis of Samples in the Three Subsets of studies

|	Identification	Identification and feelings toward Taiwanese	Identification and feelings toward Chinese
Total sample size/male	79,623/39,935	98,93/5,009	16,285/8,180
Percentage of ethnicity			
Min-nan	70.8	71.3	70.8
Mainlanders	10.1	7.9	8.2
Ha-kka	10.2	10.2	9.5
Aboriginals	1.0	1.0	1.0
Education (%)			
Elementary or lower	27.6	23.6	22.6
High school	41.8	35.5	36.8
College or higher	15.8	27.2	26.6
Average monthly income	31,031	37,352	33,697
Average age	40.9	39.7	41.2
Religion (%)			
Buddhism	34.5	29.1	33.7
Folk or other	39.4	45.8	37.2
No religion	21.2	20.5	24.2
Political party (%)			
Kuomintang	22.1	13.9	14.9
Democratic Progressive Party	10.2	6.1	11.2
Total number of samples	282	35	60
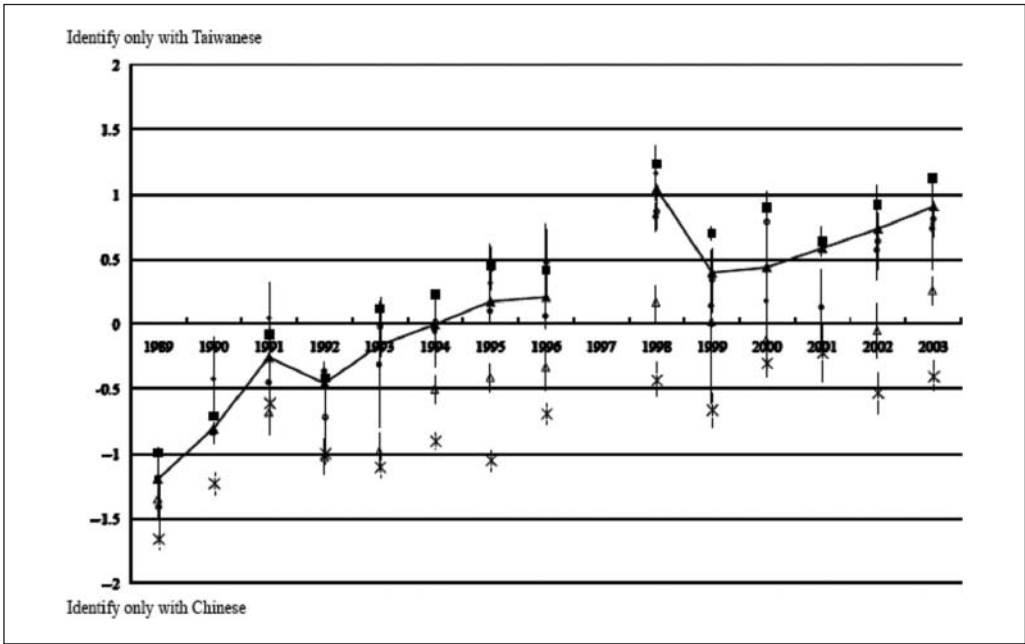
Figure 1. Changes of relative identification of Taiwanese over Chinese over time among different groups: Means and confidence interval

Note: Solid line and solid triangle: identity of all samples across time; solid square: Min-nan; solid circle: Ha-kka; star: Mainlanders; solid diamond: aboriginals; hollow triangle: Mainlander mixed with other ethnicity; hollow circle: other ethnicities.

a –2 to +2 scale, 95% confidence interval [CI] = 0.08, 0.10, k = 282). The mean effect sizes were heterogeneous, suggesting that the magnitudes of the mean effect sizes varied across samples.

As is typical in meta-analysis, we first tested each study feature or sample characteristic independently before entering the significant ones simultaneously to identify important moderators. If any predictors had been found to be highly correlated with other predictors, problematic predictors were not entered and were reported in the notes of the tables. Study features and sample characteristics that reliably moderated the effect sizes were statistically controlled when we then entered predictor variables pertaining to our theoretical hypotheses. Following Hedges and Olkin's (1985) statistical procedures, categorical and continuous models were adopted to fit the effect sizes within ethnic groups.

Categorical and continuous models using all samples showed that several study features and sample characteristics were significant moderators. Respondents identified more strongly with Taiwanese in nationally representative samples (ES_m = 0.14, 95% CI = 0.13, 0.15) than in other samples (ES_m = –0.05, 95% CI = –0.07, –0.04). Respondents in face-to-face interviews (ES_m = 0.06, 95% CI = 0.05, 0.07) identified less strongly with Taiwanese than in other methods (ES_m = 0.20, 95% CI = 0.18, 0.21). Respondents who had been asked to indicate how they think about their identity (ES_m = 0.31, 95% CI = 0.30, 0.32), rather than how they feel (ES_m = –0.46, 95% CI = –0.48, –0.45), identified more strongly with Taiwanese. Samples with more men had weaker identification with Taiwanese (b = 3.79, p < .0001), whereas samples with younger respondents had stronger identification with Taiwanese (b = –.01, p < .0001). Consistent with our earlier finding, the nature of identity measure (categorical or continuous) did not moderate the magnitude of the mean effect sizes after accounting for other methodological variables (p = .48). Separate tests for each ethnic group and for each sample characteristic were also ran and the detailed results regarding how methodological variables modified the magnitude of the effect sizes within each ethnic group can be seen in Table 3. To control for methodology artifacts, all the aforementioned significant moderators were included simultaneously in latter continuous model analyses.

To evaluate what accounts for changing identification with Taiwanese over Chinese among those groups, theoretical hypotheses were tested. Overall, Min-nan, aboriginals, and other ethnicities (i.e., mixed ethnicities except for with Mainlanders) identified most strongly with Taiwanese over Chinese (ES_m = 0.32, 0.37, and 0.32), followed by Ha-kka (ES_m = –0.08) and people with mixed Mainlander/other ethnicities (ES_m = –0.41), with Mainlanders identified least strongly with Taiwanese (ES_m = –0.89). Group effects can also be evaluated by the moderation effects of the percentage of ethnic groups after controlling for methodological variables (see mean effect sizes and moderation effect of percent of each ethnic group in the bottom part of Table 3), such that Min-nan identified most strongly with Taiwanese over Chinese (i.e., strongest positive unstandardized coefficient), followed by aboriginals and then Ha-kka, least by Mainlanders. The pattern of group differences provided support to Historical Hypothesis and Changing Political Power Hypothesis, in that Min-nan, aboriginals, and Ha-kka were more similar to each other than to Mainlanders, and the largest difference was between Min-nan and Mainlanders.

Moreover, if a primordial perspective on ethnic identity is to be supported, no identity change should be observed for Taiwan residents over time. Instead, data collection year was a reliable predictor of Taiwanese versus Chinese identification (see the unstandardized coefficient for Data Collection Year in Table 3). This significant time effect was found for all groups, such that groups increasingly identified with Taiwanese over Chinese over time, supporting the Taiwanization Hypothesis.

Favorable Feelings Toward Taiwanese and Chinese, Respectively

According to social identity theory, one's identification with a group is expected to produce intergroup bias in which one's ingroup is favored. The intergroup bias can be achieved through

Table 3. Moderator Analysis on Identification of Taiwanese Over Chinese Among Ethnic Groups

	Groups					
	Min-nan	Mainlanders	Ha-kka	Aboriginals	Mixed	Other
k for effect sizes/k for moderator model	55/50	57/52	54/49	29/26	37/37	36/35
Unstandardized coefficients of continuous moderator analysis by each ethnic group						
National sample[a]	0.11***	0.15****	0.26****	0.25	0.04	0.14+
Interview[a]	0.19****	−0.13***	0.16**	0.22	0.24	−0.03
Measure type (think, 0; feel, 1)[a]	−0.45****	0.06	−0.29****	−0.28	−0.23****	−0.60****
Males in the sample[a]	1.45****	−0.50+	−0.19	−0.59	−0.23	0.40
Mean age[a]	0.01****	−0.03****	0.00	−0.02	0.01	0.01
Data collection year[a]	0.11****	0.10****	0.11****	0.07***	0.09****	0.09****
Average effect sizes by each ethnic group						
Mean effect sizes[b]						
95% confidence interval	0.32 (0.31, 0.33)	−0.89 (−0.91, −0.86)	−0.08 (−0.10, −0.05)	0.37 (0.27, 0.46)	−0.41 (−0.45, −0.37)	0.32 (0.26, 0.37)
Unstandardized coefficients for percentage of each ethnic groups among all samples (k = 250)						
Percentage of each group[c]	0.24****	−0.66****	−0.09**	0.10+	−0.68****	—

Note:
a. Entered simultaneously.
b. On a scale of −2 to 2 (stronger identification with Taiwanese over Chinese).
c. Controlling for data collection year and methodological variables, including national sample or not, face-to-face interview or not, cognitive-based or feeling-based response, percentage of male in the samples, and mean age.
+ < .10; **p < .01; ***p < .001; ****p < .0001.

13

favoring one's ingroup without derogating the outgroup (ingroup favoritism), through derogating one's outgroup without favoring the ingroup (outgroup derogation), or both. We tested all three explanations for intergroup bias by examining the relations of relative identification and measures of feelings toward Chinese and toward Taiwanese. We also explored the relations of relative identification and corresponding feelings over time. In particular, we examined the relations of relative identification and feelings toward Taiwanese in general and Taiwanese in distinction from Chinese.

To test the explanations for intergroup bias, we first examined the relations of identification and different types of measures regarding favorable feelings. We then examined group differences and time effects. Because participants indicated their feelings toward Taiwanese and toward Chinese separately, we were able to test, independently, ingroup favoritism and outgroup derogation explanations. The ingroup favoritism explanation would be shown if positive correlations were found, indicating that stronger identification of Taiwanese over Chinese corresponded with stronger favorable feelings toward Taiwanese. Outgroup derogation would be shown if negative correlations were found, indicating that stronger identification of Taiwanese over Chinese corresponded with weaker favorable feelings toward Chinese. Moreover, we examined the relations between relative identification and contents of feelings toward Chinese and Taiwanese, which would suggest changing content of the identity.

As predicted by Ingroup Favoritism Hypothesis, the more respondents identified with Taiwanese over Chinese, the more favorable feelings they showed toward Taiwanese (see numbers of the first row of Table 4). The overall correlations between identification with Taiwanese over Chinese and favorable feelings toward Taiwanese were reliably positive (rs = .16 and .29). Specifically, the relation was strongest when the question asked: "The most honorable and proudest thing is to be rid of ancient Chinese history and culture and be a new Taiwanese." When examining all groups, this relation was similar across ethnic groups except for Mainlanders (see Table 4). The more Mainlanders were in the samples, the less the samples reported being proud of Taiwanese, severing ties with Chinese. Moreover, when participants were asked to report feelings of being citizens of Republic of China (R.O.C., the official government name for Taiwan), the more they identified with Taiwanese, the less they felt proud of being citizens of R.O.C. After controlling for data collection year, the relation between identification and favorable feelings toward R.O.C. became homogenous (p = .96), suggesting that methodological explanations were unlikely to account for the finding. The difference between these ways of evaluating Taiwanese identity suggests that respondents do not view Taiwanese culture and Taiwanese nationality the same way.

The more respondents identified with Taiwanese over Chinese, the less favorable feelings they showed toward Chinese, supporting the Outgroup Derogation Hypothesis (see numbers of the first row in Table 5). The relations were equally strong when respondents were simply asked to indicate how proud they felt of being Chinese and toward the grandeur of the landscape in Mainland China, as well as when they were asked to indicate how proud they felt of being Chinese, despite how undeveloped China was. Interestingly, when respondents were asked to indicate how strongly they support that "the world will become a beautiful place if everyone were to follow and obey Chinese culture," the relation became weak. The differences in these correlations also suggest that respondents differentiated between Chinese culture and the nation of China.

The relations among different groups were largely similar with one another, with only one exception (see Tables 4 and 5). Compared to other ethnic groups, Mainlanders showed weaker ingroup favoritism when the question asked their feelings with reference to Chinese. When Mainlanders were asked about their favorable feelings toward Taiwanese in a way that required renouncement of their Chinese roots, they were less likely to express favorable feelings than other ethnic groups (b = –0.18 in Table 4).

Table 4. Correlations of Taiwanese Identity on Favorable Feelings Toward Taiwanese and Unstandardized Coefficients of the Moderators

	Proud of being Taiwanese	Proud of being Taiwanese, serving ties with Chinese	Being citizens of R.O.C.[a]
Averaged correlation (95% confidence interval)	0.16 (0.13, 0.19)****	0.29 (0.26, 0.33)****	−0.15 (−0.18, −0.11)****
Moderators			
Mean age	0.00 (−0.01, 0.01)	−0.01 (−0.02, 0.02)	0.004 (0.001, 0.007)**
Percentage males in the samples	0.28 (−0.45, 1.02)[a]	-0.22 (−1.05, 0.61)	−0.50 (−1.37, 0.37)
Data collection year	−0.03 (−0.04, −0.02)****[a]	0.04 (0.01, 0.07)**[b]	0.01 (0.03, 0.01)**
Percentage Mainlanders in the samples	0.03 (−0.09, 0.15)	-0.18 (−0.31, −0.04)**[b]	0.03 (−0.15, 0.21)
Percentage Min-nan in the samples	−0.06 (−0.14, 0.02)[c]	0.09 (−0.01, 0.18)+[b]	−0.04 (−0.12, 0.04)
Percentage Ha-kka in the samples	0.07 (−0.02, 0.17)	−0.02 (−0.14, 0.10)	0.05 (−0.06, 0.17)
Percentage aboriginals in the samples	−0.14 (−0.39, 0.12)	0.36 (−0.24, 0.95)	0.18 (−0.10, 0.46)
Model variance[d]	Q(3, k = 17) = 53.45****[c]	Q(3, k = 15) = 30.48****[b]	Q(1, k = 9) = 8.52****[e]
Residual variance (QE)[d]	Q(13, k = 17) = 62.69****[a]	Q(11, k = 15) = 12.15[b]	Q (7, k = 9) = 1.95[e]

Note: Significant moderators after accounting for other methodological variables were entered simultaneously in separate models; nonsignificant moderators were reported in numbers without superscripts, which indicated its regression coefficient without controlling for other moderators.
a. Due to the small number of studies, variables were not entered simultaneously.
b. Accounting for data collection year, percentage of Mainlanders, and percentage of Min-nan in the samples.
c. accounting for data collection year, percentage of male, and percentage of Min-nan in the sample.
d. Because a sample can provide for multiple measures of feelings toward Taiwanese, the total sample size across the three measures was larger than the total sample size (k = 35).
e. Accounting for data collection year.
+p < .10; **p < .01; ****p < .0001.

Lastly, we found that relations between identification and feelings were not stable over time. When data collection year was regressed on the correlations between identification and feelings, there was evidence suggesting that the association between relative identification with Taiwanese over Chinese and favorable feelings toward Taiwanese severing ties with China increased over time ($b = 0.04$, $p < .01$, $k = 15$), suggesting stronger ingroup favoritism toward New Taiwanese in more recent years. Similarly, we found that the negative association between relative identification with Taiwanese over Chinese and favorable feelings toward being citizens of R.O.C. became weaker over time ($b = 0.01$, $p < .01$, $k = 9$), suggesting increasing acceptance of R.O.C. citizenship. The gradually weaker negative relation between identification and proud feeling of being citizens of R.O.C. may indicate that the Taiwanese embraced R.O.C. more and more after the transition of the R.O.C. from an authoritarian state (e.g., putting Taiwan under martial law and in a white terror era) to a democratic state. Conversely, we found decreasing association of relative identification and general favorable feelings toward being Taiwanese, suggesting declining ingroup favoritism toward conventional Taiwanese. Interestingly, the association between relative identification with Taiwanese over Chinese and general favorable feelings toward Chinese also increased over time ($b = .03$, $p < .0001$, $k = 29$), suggesting declining outgroup derogation. Together, these findings suggest changing contents of Taiwanese identity. Taiwanese identity was originally constructed against KMT authoritarian ruling and against the Chinese at the beginning of the study period. That is, stronger identification of Taiwanese over Chinese was associated with weaker favorable feelings toward being citizens of R.O.C. and with weaker

Table 5. Correlations of Taiwanese Identity on Favorable Feelings Toward Chinese and Unstandardized Coefficients of the Moderators

	Proud of being Chinese or toward its landscape	Proud of being Chinese despite its undevelopment and poverty	Proud of Chinese culture
Averaged correlation (95% confidence interval)	−0.31 (−0.34, −0.29)****	−0.30 (−0.32, −0.28)****	−0.08 (−0.13, −0.04)****
Moderators			
Percentage males in the samples	0.05 (−0.44, 0.55)	0.70 (0.24, 1.17)*[a]	−0.51 (−1.41, 0.39)
High school education	−0.62 (−0.77, −0.46)****[b]	0.20 (−0.26, 0.65)	0.30 (−0.50, 1.11)
Data collection year	0.03 (0.02, 0.03)****[b]	−0.001 (−0.01, 0.01)	−0.00 (−0.03, 0.02)
Percentage Min-nan in the samples	−0.00 (−0.07, 0.06)[b]	−0.04 (−0.09, 0.01)[c]	−0.03 (−0.14, 0.08)[d]
Percentage Mainlanders in the samples	−0.02 (−0.11, 0.06)	0.05 (−0.09, 0.19)[c]	−0.05 (−0.20, 0.10)
Percentage Ha-kka in the samples	0.08 (−0.02, 0.17)[b]	0.04 (−0.04, 0.11)[c]	0.16 (0.01, 0.32)*[d]
Percentage aboriginals in the samples	0.18 (−0.04, 0.39)[b]	0.22 (−0.14, 0.57)[c]	−0.29 (−0.80, 0.22)
Model variance[e]	Q(5, k = 29) = 95.45****[b]	Q(1, k = 35) = 8.70**[a]	Q(2, k = 12) = 8.01*[d]
Residual variance (QE)[e]	Q(23, k = 29) = 64.77****[b]	Q(33, k = 35) = 44.21[a]	Q(9, k = 12) = 9.25[d]

Note: Significant moderators after accounting for other methodological variables were entered simultaneously in separate models; nonsignificant moderators were reported in numbers without superscripts, which indicated its regression coefficient without controlling for other moderators.
a. Only percentage male as the model moderator.
b. Accounting for data collection year, percentage high school education, percentage Min-nan, percentage Ha-kka, and percentage aboriginals in the samples.
c. Controlling for percentage males in the samples.
d. Accounting for percentage Min-nan and percentage aboriginals in the samples.
e. Because a sample can provide for multiple measures of feelings toward Chinese, the total sample size across the three measures was larger than the total sample size (k = 60).
*p < .05; **p < .01; ****p < .0001.

favorable feelings toward Chinese. In recent years, Taiwan became a democratic state and Taiwanese identity was constructed as new and independent from Chinese identity. So, the respondents were able to appreciate Chinese culture while embracing Taiwanese as their own.

Discussion

Our meta-analysis study examined several alternative factors concerning what produces ethnic identity, including biological, historical, changing political, and population size, that are often conflated. Although our study was a naturalistic, historical study, it also contained elements of a quasi-experiment in that alternative theories of identification would be expected to result in different patterns of similarities among the Min-nan, Ha-kka, aboriginal, and Mainlanders. We found that history (both objective occurrence and subjective experience) and political competition were most important in understanding changes of ethnic identity.

Consistent with social representations of histories (J. H. Liu & Hilton, 2005), we found evidence that the occurrence of historical events and historical memories experienced by different groups may affect their ethnic identity. Min-nan, Ha-kka, and aboriginals, who share similar historical memories even though they differ in biology, were found to identify more strongly with Taiwanese over Chinese compared to other groups. Because of the historical memories the Mainlanders shared with the Chinese in China (e.g., fighting against Japan, experiencing the

Nationalist party's ruling, and having close relatives across the Strait) and the status that they have (i.e., the Kuomintang party's official stand is to achieve unification), the Mainlanders would have difficulty in cutting ties with their Chinese roots. As a result, the Mainlanders had the weakest identification with Taiwanese over Chinese. However, when historical events occurred that threatened all Taiwan residents, the trend of the identity change was found to be similar across all groups. That is, when the relation between China and Taiwan became strenuous during the late the 1990s, Mainlanders, like all other groups, increased their identification with Taiwanese over Chinese. Evidently, in addition to one's representations of history, the occurrence of political events may determine the scope and direction of one's social construction of identity.

Our results also suggest that political competition between groups prompts ethnic identification even among groups who share biological and cultural heritage. The Min-nan and Mainlanders share Chinese biology and culture, but we found that the Min-nan showed the strongest identification as Taiwanese over Chinese, whereas the Mainlanders showed the weakest. It has been found that Chinese identity and Taiwanese identity were differentially associated with beliefs of social hierarchy (e.g., J. H. Liu et al., 2008). It is plausible that the major political conflict between the formerly dominating Mainlanders and the ascendant Min-nan had a strong influence on respondents' conceptions of their ethnic identity. The Mainlanders who enjoyed privileges in the Nationalist ruling may embrace Chinese identity more, where the ascendant Min-nan may embrace Taiwanese identity more as a way to challenge the perceived illegitimate group status. Political dissension was, then, an important spur for ethnic identity differentiation.

The finding that the significance of group identifications increases when situations produce political competition between groups is compatible with early research in realistic group conflict theory (Sherif & Sherif, 1966) and with analyses of the Rwandan genocide (Staub, 1989), among other examples. In recent Taiwanese history, though, this political competition and ethnic identity change has not resulted in civil war, but rather, in a collective change in the predominant kind of ethnic identification. We saw that over time all groups became more strongly identified as Taiwanese relative to Chinese. The existence of democratic political processes and the possibility that any Taiwan resident can be Taiwanese may be essential in this peaceful shift toward Taiwanese identity. Many nations, however, still confer nationality and a sense of belonging based primarily on restrictive ethnicities (e.g., Israel, Germany). Our results demonstrate a need for further systematic comparative research to test whether situations that allow more permeable than exclusionary definitions of ethnicity are associated with peaceful political contests rather than violent conflict.

The present study also tested tenets of social identity theory in assessing whether relative identification was associated with ingroup favoritism and outgroup derogation. In particular, we tested a rarely examined question in the relation between identity and feeling measures over time that may reflect changing content of ethnic identity. Overall, we found that stronger relative identification of Taiwanese over Chinese was associated both with stronger favorable evaluations of Taiwanese and with weaker favorable evaluations of Chinese, supporting both the ingroup favoritism and outgroup derogation explanations.

More interestingly, however, we found these identity biases may hinge on whether identifying with one social category necessitates disidentifying with another category, or whether people can maintain dual identities. We found that Mainlanders showed similar ingroup favoritism with Taiwanese as other groups when such feelings did not require them to deny their Chineseness. However, when they were asked to show positive feelings toward Taiwanese in ways that implied they had to detach from being Chinese (i.e., New Taiwanese), the Mainlanders embraced Taiwanese identity less. Conversely, when Mainlanders were asked about their feelings toward Chinese, they showed outgroup derogation like other groups. Often, people who have to negotiate dual identities are immigrants or others with low status within their societies (e.g., Ethier &

Deaux, 1994). Our study is important for showing that a group who enjoyed political domination for many decades, Mainlanders, also have to grapple with dual identities.

There are several situations in the world in which fanning the flames of ethnic differentiation is seen as a strategy to incite political opposition (e.g., Rwanda, Ireland, Palestine). In Taiwan, it appears that in the early period, increased Taiwanese (vs. Chinese) identity reflected an opposition to KMT rule inasmuch as Taiwanese identification was negatively related to feeling favorable about being R.O.C. citizens. However, in recent years, this relation has weakened. Arguably, then, ethnic differentiation is less politicized than it was. This may have occurred because as Taiwanization developed, Taiwanese identity expanded beyond mere political stances, for example, opposition to KMT rule. It is also possible that because of the democratic political processes in Taiwan, the authoritarian party, the KMT, was gradually perceived to be a democratic party and that the polity they established, the R.O.C., bears less of the negative connotation of dictatorship and oppressions.

The active construction of Taiwanese identity boundaries and feelings toward Taiwanese, Chinese, and Chinese culture suggest that ethnic identification may change as a result of the socio-political atmosphere. It is possible that in other socio-political atmospheres (e.g., the KMT being the ruling party, immediate unification with China, or immediate Taiwanese independence), ethnic identity boundaries and favorable feelings will change again. However, such change should be understood as the interplay between mainstream identity discourse and individuals' searching for meaning, such as from historical memories, not as an imposition of political condition on social identification.

Taiwan residents' ethnic identification and feelings not only affect their ethnic relations and political views, but also international relations. A recent poll conducted by Taiwan Thinktank (2007) showed that more than 55% of the respondents supported a referendum that calls for the decision in choosing the country name in joining the United Nations, even if the American officials explicitly opposed it. Thus, it is important to understand, not to ignore, the construction of Taiwanese identity and feelings so that peace and democracy in East Asia can be maintained.

Notes

1. We use *Chinese* to refer to people with roots from China or Chinese culture.
2. There are currently 12 major aboriginal tribes in Taiwan (Taiwan Government Information Office, 2006), who are descendants of Malayo-Polynesians and have resided in Taiwan for thousands of years. For the brevity of the article, we did not further distinguish these aboriginal tribes.

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Bios

I-Ching Lee received her PhD in social psychology at the University of Connecticut in 2006, along with graduate certificates in women's studies and quantitative research methods. She has received research grants to study gender issues and intergroup relations. Her research examines cultural ideologies and social-cognitive factors in support of discriminatory beliefs and power use. She is now assistant professor of psychology at National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan.

Felicia Pratto earned her PhD in social/personality psychology from New York University in 1988 and she is now a professor of psychology at the University of Connecticut, a fellow of APA and APS, and a vice president for the International Society for Political Psychology. Her research examines the causes of group inequality, including social-cognitive and power biases, and in determining unequal outcomes for different groups across cultures, and how ideologies and gender relations are similar and different across cultures.