



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

**Public diplomacy as a contributing factor to solving managing identity-based conflict: Taiwan repositions its identity and security status (2000-2020)**

Lin, Y.

**Citation**

Lin, Y. (2025, December 2). *Public diplomacy as a contributing factor to solving managing identity-based conflict: Taiwan repositions its identity and security status (2000-2020)*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4284142>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4284142>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

**Public Diplomacy as a Contributing Factor to Managing Identity-based Conflict: Taiwan Repositions its Identity and Security Status (2000 – 2020)**

Yung Lin

**Public Diplomacy as a Contributing Factor to Managing Identity-  
based Conflict: Taiwan Repositions its Identity and Security  
Status (2000 – 2020)**

**Proefschrift**

ter verkrijging van  
de graad van doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,  
op gezag van rector magnificus prof.dr.ir. H. Bijl,  
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties  
te verdedigen op 2 december 2025  
klokke 11:30 uur

door

**Yung Lin**

geboren te Taipei, Taiwan  
in 1993

## **Supervisors**

Prof. dr. M. O. Hosli, promotor

Dr. F.P. van der Putten, co-promotor

## **Doctorate Committee**

Prof. dr. A.C. Verdun, Leiden University

Prof. dr. O. Yi, Seoul National University

Prof. dr. T. Okagaki, Dokkyo University

Dr. S. Vukovic, Johns Hopkins University

Dr. M. Bobic, Leiden University

**Statement on financial support:** PhD scholarship from Taiwan's Ministry of Education in the period May 2021 – May 2023

## **Acknowledgments**

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Prof. Madeleine Hosli, and my co-supervisor, Dr. Frans-Paul van der Putten, for their support and encouragement at every stage of the research process. After agreeing on the research project at the beginning of 2020 with Prof. Madeleine, the outbreak of COVID-19 disrupted our original schedule. Moreover, just as the research process was going to start, my father passed away. It took me some time in the grieving process, but with great support from Prof. Madeleine, I embarked on the project with a fresh start in 2021. It has been a wonderful research journey to learn from Prof. Madeleine about the significance of academic values promoted through education. While unwrapping each concept in identity, security, and conflict, Dr. Frans-Paul encouraged me to deepen concepts from a historical and cultural perspective. My supervisors made me realize the importance of understanding a conflict issue from an encompassing perspective, from political economic to historical, and cultural views.

Many thanks to the Institute of Security and Global Affairs PhD committee for the regularly held research seminars that motivate all researchers to pursue their work. In addition, many thanks to the tutorial lecturers' team at International Studies in the Faculty of Humanities for their expertise shared and knowledge exchanged that inspires me at all stages of my research journey.

I thank my late father for his last words before passing away, in encouraging me to do the PhD. Moreover, I thank my mother for her support in doing my PhD and, most importantly, taking care of herself well so that I can fully concentrate on the research journey. Their love, support, and encouragement gave me the strength and motivation to complete this project.

## **List of Acronyms**

APEC – Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation  
ASEAN – Association of Southeast Asian Nations  
BRI – Belt and Road Initiative  
CCP – Chinese Communist Party  
CEPD – Civic-embedded Public Diplomacy  
CPTPP – Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership  
DPP – Democratic Progressive Party  
ECFA – Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement  
EU – European Union  
FTAs – Free Trade Agreements  
ICT – Information Communication Technology  
KMT – Kuo Min Tang  
RCEP – Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership  
THAAD – Terminal High Altitude Area Defense  
TPP – Trans-Pacific Partnership  
US – United States of America  
WHA – World Health Assembly  
WTO – World Trade Organization

## **Key Terms in Translation (in the Order of Appearance)**

台灣外交年鑑 – Taiwan’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs Annual Diplomatic Report  
天下 TianXia – All Under Heaven  
中國國民黨 Zhong Guo Kuo Min Tang – Chinese Nationalist Party  
中國共產黨 Zhong Guo Gong Chan Dang – Chinese Communist Party  
中國 Zhong Guo - China  
兩岸關係 Liang An Guan Xi – Cross-strait Relation  
民主進步黨 Min Zhu Jin Bu Tang – Democratic Progressive Party  
陳水扁 Chen Shui-bian – The DPP President (administered in 2000 – 2008)  
台灣本土化運動 Tai Wan Ben Tu Hua Yun Dong – Taiwanese Identity Movement  
海峽交流基金會 – Straits Exchange Foundation  
海峽兩岸關係協會 – Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits  
海峽 – Strait  
兩岸 – Cross-strait

胡錦濤 Hu JinTao  
和平崛起 He Ping Jue Qi – Peaceful Rising  
鄭和 Zheng He – The Chinese Mariner, and Explorer of the 15<sup>th</sup> Century  
習近平 Xi JinPing  
馬英九 Ma Ying-jeou – The KMT President (administered in 2008 - 2016)  
蔡英文 Tsai Ing-wen – The DPP President (administered in 2016 - 2024)  
戰狼外交 Zhan Lang Wai Jiao – The Wolf Warrior Diplomacy  
台灣書院 – Taiwan Library  
青年打工度假 – Youth Mobility Scheme  
外交小尖兵 – Teen Diplomatic Envoys  
新南向政策 – New Southbound Policy  
中外關係 – Relations of the Republic of China and Foreign States  
對外關係 – Relations with Foreign States  
中 – Center  
外 – Outer  
關係 – Relations  
東亞 – East Asia  
亞太 – Asia-Pacific  
我國 – My Country  
公眾外交 – Public Diplomacy  
國際傳播 – International Communication  
國際文教 – International Culture and Education  
國際傳播與公眾外交 – International Communication and Public Diplomacy  
敦睦 – Harmony  
和平 – Peace  
友好 – Friendly  
協調 – Coordination  
統一 – Unification  
復興 – Revival  
東海和平倡議 – East China Sea Peaceful Initiative  
釣魚台 – Senkaku Islands  
南海主權 – South China Sea Sovereignty  
經貿外交 – Economic and Trade Diplomacy  
青年國際接軌 – Youth International Mobility  
活路外交 – Flexible Diplomacy  
踏實外交 – Steadfast Diplomacy  
南海 – The South China Sea  
衝突 – Conflict

和平 – Peace  
外交 – Diplomacy  
關注國內 – Domestic View  
關注區域/全球 – Regional/World View  
威脅 – Threat  
危機 – Crisis  
安全 – Security  
人權議題 – Issues of Human Rights  
透明原則 – Principles of Transparency  
自由原則 – Principles of Freedom  
信任感 – Feelings of Trust  
安全感 – Feelings of Safety  
生計權 – Right to Life Building  
一級主編碼 – Pre-set Codes  
二級主編碼 – Second Stage Codes  
次編碼 – Sub Codes



## Table of Contents

Acknowledgments

List of Acronyms

Key Terms in Translation

<b>Chapter 1. Introduction: East Asian Identity and Taiwan Studies Status .....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>1.1 Introduction.....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>1.2 Central Research Question .....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>1.3 Defining Key Concepts .....</b>	<b>14</b>
1.3.1 East Asian Identity .....	14
1.3.2 Taiwan Studies Status .....	16
<b>1.4 Research Orientation and Objective.....</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>1.5 Research Design and Methodology .....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>1.6 Outline of the Thesis .....</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>Chapter 2. East Asian Security and Conflict.....</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>2.1 Introduction.....</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>2.2 China–Taiwan Identity-based Conflict.....</b>	<b>26</b>
2.2.1 The Unresolved Historical Subregional Conflict.....	27
2.2.2 China’s Rise .....	28
2.2.3 Taiwan’s Independence Awareness .....	30
<b>2.3 Application to Three Cases: The South China Sea Dispute, the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA), and the COVID-19 Pandemic .....</b>	<b>31</b>
2.3.1 The South China Sea Dispute .....	31
2.3.2 The Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement .....	34
2.3.3 The COVID-19 Pandemic.....	36
<b>2.4 Summary .....</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>Chapter 3. Conflict Resolution in East Asia .....</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>3.1 Introduction.....</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>3.2 Theoretical Foundations of Threat Perception and Relational Structure .....</b>	<b>42</b>
3.2.1 Contextualizing Alliances and Institutionalization in Threat Perception and Relational Structure.....	44
3.2.2 Contextualizing Public Diplomacy in Threat Perception and Relational Structure.....	45
<b>3.3 Approaches to East Asia’s Model of Conflict Resolution .....</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>3.4 Summary .....</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>Chapter 4. China’s and Taiwan’s Soft Power and Public Diplomacy.....</b>	<b>49</b>

<b>4.1 Introduction.....</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>4.2 Historical Cultural Interpretations of Soft Power.....</b>	<b>50</b>
4.2.1 China's Interpretation of Soft Power in Culture, Values, and Institutions .....	51
4.2.2 Taiwan's Interpretation of Soft Power in Culture, Values, and Institutions .....	54
<b>4.3 The Practice of Public Diplomacy .....</b>	<b>58</b>
4.3.1 China's Practice of Public Diplomacy .....	59
4.3.2 Taiwan's Practice of Public Diplomacy .....	60
<b>4.4 Summary .....</b>	<b>61</b>
<b><i>Chapter 5. Research Design and Methodology.....</i></b>	<b><i>63</i></b>
<b>5.1 Introduction.....</b>	<b>63</b>
<b>5.2 Research Design: Qualitative Research.....</b>	<b>63</b>
<b>5.3 Data Collection.....</b>	<b>66</b>
5.3.1 Data Collection: Policy Document .....	66
5.3.2 Data Collection: Semi-structured Interviews.....	67
<b>5.4 Data Operationalization of Key Concepts.....</b>	<b>70</b>
5.4.1 Data Operationalization: Policy Documents.....	70
5.4.2 Data Operationalization: Semi-structured Interviews.....	71
<b>5.4 Summary .....</b>	<b>75</b>
<b><i>Chapter 6. Results – Analysis of Policy Documents .....</i></b>	<b><i>76</i></b>
<b>6.1 Expanding the Restructuring of the Contents .....</b>	<b>76</b>
6.1.1 Changes of the Chapter Title Describing Relations with Foreign States.....	77
6.1.2 A Summary of Relations in the Asia-Pacific Region.....	78
6.1.3 The Sub-chapter Devoted to “Public Diplomacy” .....	79
<b>6.2 Change of Narrative of Relations Status .....</b>	<b>80</b>
<b>6.3 Content Evolution of Public Diplomacy .....</b>	<b>82</b>
6.3.1 From Informing People to Strengthening People's Support and Involvement .....	84
6.3.2 Disseminating Public Diplomacy in the Educational Context.....	86
6.3.3 New Southbound Policy 新南向政策 .....	88
<b>6.4 Summary .....</b>	<b>89</b>
<b><i>Chapter 7. Results - Semi-structured Interviews .....</i></b>	<b><i>90</i></b>
<b>7.1 Coding Process .....</b>	<b>90</b>
<b>7.2 Linkages of the Codes: Respondents' Answers to the Interview Questions .....</b>	<b>92</b>
7.2.1 The Concept of Security is Related to Identity .....	92

7.2.2 Approaches to Enhance the Sense of Security .....	96
7.2.3 Public Diplomatic Policy .....	98
<b>7.3 Analysis of Findings .....</b>	<b>101</b>
7.3.1 Transparency of Policy .....	101
7.3.2 Social Media is Significant in Building a Friendly Image.....	101
7.3.3 The Educational System Influences the Public's Discussion on Policy .....	103
<b>7.4 Summary .....</b>	<b>103</b>
<b><i>Chapter 8. Evaluation of the Results.....</i></b>	<b><i>106</i></b>
<b>8.1 Introduction.....</b>	<b>106</b>
<b>8.2 Comparing the Results with Existing Research.....</b>	<b>108</b>
8.2.1 Cultivation Strategy .....	109
8.2.2 Communication Tool: The Strategic Use of Media .....	111
<b>8.3 Key Concepts in the Field .....</b>	<b>112</b>
8.3.1 How has Taiwan's Public Diplomacy been Democratizing? .....	113
8.3.2 How have Taiwan's Evolving State-Society Relations Mattered to the Security Context? .....	115
<b>8.4 Limitations and Explanations for Unexpected Results .....</b>	<b>118</b>
8.4.1 Aspects of Research Limitations.....	119
8.4.2 The Role of Language in Public Diplomacy.....	119
8.4.3 Language in Education: A Potential Explanation .....	120
<b>8.5 Summary .....</b>	<b>121</b>
<b><i>Chapter 9. Conclusions.....</i></b>	<b><i>123</i></b>
<b>9.1 Reflection on Key Themes and Broader Theoretical Implications .....</b>	<b>123</b>
9.1.1 The Theoretical Relationship between Identity and Security .....	124
9.1.2 The Theoretical Relationship between Public Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution.....	125
9.1.3 Broader Theoretical Implications.....	126
<b>9.2 Reflection on Methodology and Limitations .....</b>	<b>127</b>
<b>9.3 Suggestions for Future Research.....</b>	<b>128</b>
<b><i>Bibliography .....</i></b>	<b><i>130</i></b>
<b><i>Appendix I: Respondent Consent Form.....</i></b>	<b><i>147</i></b>
<b><i>Appendix II: Semi-structured Interview Protocol.....</i></b>	<b><i>149</i></b>
<b><i>Appendix III: (For Respondents) Brief Results of Semi-structured Interview .....</i></b>	<b><i>154</i></b>
<b><i>Samenvatting .....</i></b>	<b><i>159</i></b>
<b><i>Curriculum Vitae.....</i></b>	<b><i>168</i></b>