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

Bibliography

Adler-Nissen, Rebecca. 2015. "Conclusion: Relationalism or Why Diplomats Find International Relations Theory Strange." In *Diplomacy and the Making of World Politics*, 284–308. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316162903.011.

Alexander, Colin. 2020. "The Recognition Imperative behind Taiwan's Public Diplomacy: A Critical Study of Taiwan's Efforts to Join the World Health Assembly." *International Journal of Taiwan Studies* 3 (1): 44–61. https://doi.org/10.1163/24688800-00301005.

Alton, Tom. 2020. "Taiwan's COVID-19 Response & 'Mask Diplomacy.'" *China Institute*, University of Alberta.

Arai, Tatsushi. 2023. "Engaging Conflict History and Memory Across the Taiwan Strait: A Longitudinal Analysis of the Conflict Timelines from Interactive Conflict Resolution (ICR) Dialogues." *Negotiation Journal* 39 (1): 35–70. https://doi.org/10.1111/nejo.12422.

Ayhan, Kadir Jun, and Siyeon Jang. 2022. "Inter-Korean People-to-People Diplomacy: Social and Cultural Exchanges across the 38th Parallel." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 18(1): 95-132. https://doi.org/10.1163/1871191x-bja10139.

Ba, Alice D. 2009. *(Re)Negotiating East and Southeast Asia: Region, Regionalism, and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations*. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.

Bailey, Carol. 2018. *Introduction to Qualitative Field Research*. Sage Publications. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781071909614.n1

Beach, Derek, and Rasmus Brun Pedersen. 2019. *Process-Tracing Methods : Foundations and Guidelines*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, https://doi:10.3998/mpub.10072208.

Benson, Brett V., and Emerson M.S. Niou. 2004. "Public Opinion, Foreign Policy, and the Security Balance in the Taiwan Strait." *Security Studies* 14 (2): 274–89. https://doi.org/10.1080/09636410500232933.

Bercovitch, Jacob. 2004. "The Nature of International Conflict." In *Regional Guide to International Conflict and Management from 1945 to 2003*, 3-12. edited by Judith Fretter and Jacob Bercovitch. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.

Bercovitch, Jacob, and Karl DeRouen 2011. "The Nature of Conflict Management in the Asia-Pacific Region." In *Unraveling Internal Conflicts in East Asia and the Pacific Incidence, Consequences, and Resolution*, edited by Jacob Bercovitch. United States: Lexington Books/Fortress Academic.

Berndzen, Anke. 2017. "The 'Asia-Pacific Dream': Is China Using Economic
Integration Initiatives as Ideological Weapons? - On The Link Between Free
Trade Agreements, Soft Power and 'Universal Values.'" *Journal of China
and International Relations* 5 (1).

Bessho, Koro. 1999. *Identities and Security in East Asia*. London: Oxford
University Press.

Blanchard, Jean Marc F., and Wei Liang. 2014. "The US, East Asian FTAs, and
China." In *Regional Cooperation and Free Trade Agreements in Asia*,
1:329–48. Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004279902_016.

Bleiker, Roland, and Hoang Young-ju. 2011. "Korean Sources of Conflict
Resolution: An Inquiry into the Concept of Han." In *Mediating Across
Difference*, 248–69. https://doi.org/10.1515/9780824860967-014.

Breuning, Marijke. 2011. "Role Theory Research in International Relations State
of the Art and Blind Spots." In *Role Theory in International Relations*, 1st
ed., 16-35. Routledge. https://doi:10.4324/9780203818756-4.

Brigg, Morgan, and Roland Bleiker. 2011. "Postcolonial Conflict Resolution." In
Mediating Across Difference, 19–37.
https://doi.org/10.21313/hawaii/9780824834593.003.0002.

Brincat, Shannon. 2011. "Towards a Social-Relational Dialectic for World
Politics." *European Journal of International Relations* 17 (4): 679–703.
https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066110373838.

Byrne, Caitlin. 2019. "Political Leaders and Public Diplomacy in the Contested
Indo-Pacific." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 14 (1–2): 182–97.
https://doi.org/10.1163/1871191X-14011013.

Cai, Kevin G. 2010. *The Politics of Economic Regionalism : Explaining
Regional Economic Integration in East Asia*. Basingstoke: Palgrave
Macmillan.

Callahan, William A. 2015. "Identity and Security in China: The Negative Soft
Power of the China Dream." *Politics* 35 (3–4): 216–29.
https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9256.12088.

Carbó-Catalan, Elisabet, and Diana Roig-Sanz. 2022. "Swinging between
Culture and Politics: Novel Interdisciplinary Perspectives." In *Culture as
Soft Power: Bridging Cultural Relations, Intellectual Cooperation, and
Cultural Diplomacy*, 1–20. De Gruyter.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110744552-001.

Chan, Stephen. 2011. "Conclusion: Mediating the Mediation with Difference." In
Mediating Across Difference, 270–74. University of Hawaii Press.

Chen, Ching-Chang. 2012. "Useful Adversaries - How to Understand the

Political Economy of Cross-Strait Security." In *New Thinking about the Taiwan Issue Theoretical Insights into Its Origins, Dynamics, and Prospects*, edited by Jean-Marc F Blanchard and Dennis V Hickey, 48–70. Taylor & Francis.

Chen, Fang-Yu, Austin Horng-En Wang, Charles KS Wu, and Yao-Yuan Yeh. 2024. "The Multiverse of Taiwan's Future: Reconsidering the Independence–Unification (Tondu) Attitudes." *Political Studies Review* 22(4): 784–802. doi:10.1177/14789299231193572.

Chen, Jianfu. 2014. "Regional Trade Agreements in Context." In *Regional Cooperation and Free Trade Agreements in Asia*, 1:377–402. Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004279902_018.

Chen, Nai-chia, and Dafydd Fell. 2021. "Tongzhi Diplomacy and the Queer Case of Taiwan." In *Taiwan's Economic and Diplomatic Challenges and Opportunities*, 194–214. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003091639-12.

Chen, Ping-Hsun. 2014. "Cross-Straits Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement, Cross-Strait Agreement on Intellectual Property Right Protection and Cooperation, and Implications of One-China." *Houston Journal of International Law* 36 (1): 59-99.

Chen, Rou-Lan. 2013. "Taiwan's Identity in Formation: In Reaction to a Democratizing Taiwan and a Rising China." *Asian Ethnicity* 14 (2): 229–50. https://doi.org/10.1080/14631369.2012.722446.

Chen, Yen-Pin, Yi-Ying Chen, Kai-Chou Yang, Feipei Lai, Chien-Hua Huang, Yun-Nung Chen, and Yi-Chin Tu. 2022. "The Prevalence and Impact of Fake News on COVID-19 Vaccination in Taiwan: Retrospective Study of Digital Media." *Journal of Medical Internet Research* 24 (4): 1–13. https://doi.org/10.2196/36830.

Chien-Hale, Elizabeth. 2011. "The Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement Between the Straits Exchange Foundation and the Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Strait." *International Legal Materials* 50 (3): 440–46. https://doi.org/10.5305/intelegamate.50.3.0440.

Cho, Young Chul, and Yih Jye Hwang. 2020. "Mainstream IR Theoretical Perspectives and Rising China Vis-À-Vis the West: The Logic of Conquest, Conversion and Socialisation." *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 25 (2): 175–98. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11366-019-09620-3.

Cohen, Raymond. 1978. "Threat Perception in International Crisis." *Political Science Quarterly*. Vol. 93(1): 93-107. https:// doi:10.2307/2149052

Cull, Nicholas J. 2019. "The Tightrope to Tomorrow: Reputational Security,

Collective Vision and the Future of Public Diplomacy." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 14 (1–2): 21–35. https://doi.org/10.1163/1871191X-14011014.

Cull, Nicholas John. 2019. *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement in the Digital Age*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Darnton, Christopher. 2020. "Public Diplomacy and International Conflict Resolution: A Cautionary Case from Cold War South America." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 16:1–20. https://doi.org/10.1093/isafpa/orz003.

Darwich, May. 2019. "Why and When States Perceive Threats." In *Threats and Alliances in the Middle East*, 28–53. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108656689.003.

Davidson, Paul J. 2011. "The Cross-Straits Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement: Legal Issues." In *Chinese (Taiwan) Yearbook of International Law and Affairs*, 29: 45–69. BRILL.

deLisle, Jacques. 2010. "Soft Power in a Hard Place: China, Taiwan, Cross-Strait Relations and U.S. Policy." *Orbis (Philadelphia)* 54 (4): 493–524.

Deng, Xiaogang, and Lening Zhang. 2009. "China's Cultural Exports and Its Growing Cultural Power in the World." In *Soft Power China's Emerging Strategy in International Politics*, edited by Mingjiang Li. 143-162. Blue Ridge Summit: The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group

Denzin, Norman K., and Lincoln, Yvonna S. 2011. "Introduction: the discipline and practice and qualitative research." In *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 1-20. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

D'Hooghe, Ingrid. 2021. "China's Public Diplomacy Goes Political." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 30 (3–4). https://doi.org/10.1163/1871191X-BJA10067.

Ding, Arthur. 2010. "Practice Without Formal Agreement: Fragile Stability in the Taiwan Strait." In *Conflict Prevention and Management in Northeast Asia: The Korean Peninsula and Taiwan Strait in Comparison*, 133-52. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Ding, Sheng. 2008. *The Dragon's Hidden Wings: How China Rises with Its Soft Power*. *Challenges Facing Chinese Political Development*. Lanham: Lexington Books.

Dirlik, Arif. 1999. "Culture against History? The Politics of East Asian Identity." *Development and Society* 28 (2): 167–90. https://doi.org/10.2307/deveandsoci.28.2.167.

Drisko, James, and Tina Maschi. 2015. "Content Analysis for Public Awareness and Advocacy." In *Content Analysis*, 131–46. Oxford University Press.

https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190215491.001.0001.

Duffield, John. 2001. "Why Is There No APTO? Why Is There No OSCAP? Asia-Pacific Security Institutions in Comparative Perspective." *Contemporary Security Policy* 22 (2): 69–95. https://doi.org/10.1080/13523260512331391148.

Dunch, Ryan, and Ashley Esarey. 2020. *Taiwan in Dynamic Transition: Nation-Building and Democratization*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. https://doi:10.1515/9780295746814.

Easley, Leif-Eric. 2023. "Korean NGOs and Reconciliation with Japan." *Journal of East Asian Studies* 23 (1): 45–70. https://doi.org/10.1017/jea.2022.21.

Elo, Satu, and Helvi Kyngäs. 2008. "The Qualitative Content Analysis Process." *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 62 (1): 107–15. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1365-2648.2007.04569.x.

Emmons, Robert A., and Laura A. King. 2009. "Thematic Analysis, Experience Sampling, and Personal Goals." In *Motivation and Personality*, 73–86. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511527937.005.

Faizullaev, Alisher. 2022. "On Social Diplomacy." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 9 (4). https://doi.org/10.1163/1871191x-bja10132.

Fell, Dafydd. 2012. "Taiwan's External Relations: Balancing International Space and Cross-Strait Relations." In *Government and Politics in Taiwan*, 151–70. Routledge Research on Taiwan. London: Routledge.

———. 2017. *Taiwan's Social Movements under Ma Ying-Jeou: From the Wild Strawberries to the Sunflowers*. Routledge Research on Taiwan. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315560533.

Fell, Dafydd, and Sung Sheng Yvonne Chang. 2019. "Developing Taiwan Studies Teaching Programmes in Europe and the US: The Experience of SOAS University of London and University of Texas at Austin." *China Quarterly* 240 (December): 1108–34. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741019000031.

Figueira, Carla. 2020. "Indigenous Peoples as Non-State Diplomatic Actors in the Public/Cultural Diplomacy of Taiwan: A Case Study of Dispossessions: Performative Encounter(s) of Taiwanese Indigenous Contemporary Art." *International Journal of Taiwan Studies (Print)* 3 (1): 62–92. https://doi.org/10.1163/24688800-00301006.

Flick, Uwe. 2018. *Designing Qualitative Research*. Sage Publications Ltd. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781529622737

Franck, Raymond, and Francois Melese. 2003. "A Game Theory View of

Military Conflict in the Taiwan Strait." *Defense & Security Analysis* 19 (4): 327–48. https://doi.org/10.1080/1475179032000149412.

Friedberg, Aaron L. 1993. "Ripe for Rivalry: Prospects for Peace in a Multipolar Asia." *International Security* 18 (3): 5. https://doi.org/10.2307/2539204.

Fukasaku, Kiichiro, and Fukunari Kimura. 1998. *Asia & Europe: Beyond Competing Regionalism*. Keio University.

Glaser, Bonnie S., and Jacqueline A. Vitello. 2015. *Taiwan's Marginalized Role in International Security: Paying a Price*. Washington, D.C.: Centre for Strategic and International Studies/Rowman & Littlefield.

Goldstein, Avery, and Edward D Mansfield. 2012. "The Political Economy of Regional Security in East Asia." In *The Nexus of Economics, Security, and International Relations in East Asia*. http://www.prio.no/CSCW/Datasets/Armed-Conflict/.

Graneheim, Ulla H., Britt-Marie Lindgren, and Berit Lundman. 2017. "Methodological Challenges in Qualitative Content Analysis: A Discussion Paper." *Nurse Education Today* 56: 29–34. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.nedt.2017.06.002.

Hamrin, Carol Lee, and Zheng Wang. 2004. "The Floating Island: Change of Paradigm on the Taiwan Question." *The Journal of Contemporary China* 13 (39): 339–49. https://doi.org/10.1080/1067056042000211933.

Han, Zenglin, Kaiping Jiang, Fei Peng, and Shuqin Li. 2023. "The Philippines' Hedging Strategy against China in the South China Sea Dispute: Based on the Human-Ocean Regional System." *Marine Policy* 151:105578. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.marpol.2023.105578.

Harnisch, Sebastian. 2011. "Role Theory Operationalization of Key Concepts." In *Role Theory in International Relations*, 1st ed., 7–15. Routledge. https://doi:10.4324/9780203818756-3

Hettne, Björn, and Fredrik Söderbaum. 2010. "A Regional Approach To Conflict Prevention And Management." In *Conflict Prevention and Management in Northeast Asia: The Korean Peninsula and Taiwan Strait in Comparison*, 47–60. https://www.ebsco.com/terms-of-use.

Hsiao, Anne Hsiu-An. 2017. "The South China Sea Arbitration and Taiwan's Claim: Legal and Political Implications." *Chinese Journal of Political Science* 22 (2): 211–28. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11366-017-9471-1.

Hsiao, Hsin Huang Michael, and Dafydd Fell. 2018. "Introduction: The State of the Field of Taiwan Studies." *International Journal of Taiwan Studies* 1 (1): 5–10. https://doi.org/10.1163/24688800-00101002.

Hsieh, Pasha L. 2011. "The China–Taiwan   ECFA, Geopolitical Dimensions and

WTO Law." *Journal of International Economic Law* 14 (1): 121–56. https://doi.org/10.1093/jiel/jgr009.

Hsu, Szu-Chien. 2017. "The China Factor and Taiwan's Civil Society Organizations in the Sunflower Movement The Case of the Democratic Front Against the Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement." In *Taiwan's Social Movements under Ma Ying-Jeou: From the Wild Strawberries to the Sunflowers*, edited by Dafydd Fell, 134-153. United Kingdom: Routledge.

Hu, Jiaxiang., and Matthias. Vanhullebusch. 2014. *Regional Cooperation and Free Trade Agreements in Asia*. Brill Nijhoff.

Huang, I-Chen. 2021. "The Southeast Asian Languages Policy in Taiwan: The Linguistic and Nonlinguistic Goals." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*: 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2021.1892704.

Huang, Irving Yi-Feng. 2020. "Fighting COVID-19 through Government Initiatives and Collaborative Governance: The Taiwan Experience." *Public Administration Review* 80 (4): 665–70. https://doi.org/10.1111/puar.13239.

Hwang, Yih-Jye. 2021a. "Reappraising the Chinese School of International Relations: A Postcolonial Perspective." *Review of International Studies* 47 (3): 311–30. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210521000152.

———. 2021b. "The Births of International Studies in China." *Review of International Studies* 47 (5): 580–600.

Irwin Crookes, Paul. 2016. "The Political and Security Nexus of the Taiwan Strait and China's New Military Capabilities." *RUSI Journal* 161 (2): 48–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/03071847.2016.1174482.

Isnarti, Rika. 2023. "Taiwan's Digital Public Diplomacy Towards Indonesia in Supporting Its New Southbound Policy." *Jurnal Politica Dinamika Masalah Politik Dalam Negeri Dan Hubungan Internasional* 14 (2): 153–67. https://doi.org/10.22212/jp.v14i2.3858.

Jacobs, J. Bruce. 2013. "Whither Taiwanization? The Colonization, Democratization and Taiwanization of Taiwan." *Japanese Journal of Political Science* 14(4): 567–86. https://doi:10.1017/S1468109913000273.

Jamal, A. (2000). The Palestinians in the Israeli peace discourse: A conditional partnership. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, *30*(1), 36–51. https://doi.org/10.2307/2676480

Johnston, A.I. 2004. "Beijing's Security Behavior in the Asia-Pacific: Is China a Dissatisfied Power?" In *Rethinking Security in East Asia*, edited by J.J. Suh, P.J. Katzenstein, and A. Carlson, 34–96. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Jones, Alisa. 2013. "Shared Legacies, Diverse Evolutions: History, Education, and the State in East Asia." *History Education and National Identity in East Asia*, 31–63. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203955369.

Julien, Heidi. 2008. "Survey Research." In *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412963909.n441.

Kahler, M. 2012. "Regional Economic Institutions and East Asian Security." In *The Nexus of Economics, Security, and International Relations in East Asia*, 66-95. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.

Kang, David. 2003. "Hierarchy and Stability in Asian International Relations." In *International Relations Theory and the Asia-Pacific*, edited by John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno, 163–90. New York: Columbia University Press.

Kapur, Ashok. 2003. *Regional Security Structures in Asia*. *Regional Security Structures in Asia*. 1st ed. Oxford: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315029436.

Karim, Mohd Aminul. 2014. "China's Power Politics and Modernization: Implications for Taiwan and the South China Sea." *Pacific Focus* 29 (2): 188–210. https://doi.org/10.1111/pafo.12028.

Kastner, Scott L. 2016. "Is the Taiwan Strait Still a Flash Point? Rethinking the Prospects for Armed Conflict between China and Taiwan." *International Security* 40 (3): 54–92. https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_a_00227.

Katzenstein, J., and R. Sil. 2004. "Rethinking Asian Security: A Case for Analytical Eclecticism." In *Rethinking Security in East Asia*, edited by J.J. Suh, P. J. Katzenstein, and A. Carlson, 1–33. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Kim, HwaJung, and Jan Melissen. 2022. "Engaging Home in International Diplomacy: Introduction." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 17 (4): 611–13. https://doi.org/10.1163/1871191x-bja10141.

Kim, Nam-Kook. 2009. *Globalization and Regional Integration in Europe and Asia*. Routledge.

Kim, Woosang. 2002. "Power Parity, Alliance, Dissatisfaction, and Wars in East Asia, 1860-1993." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46 (5): 654–71. https://doi.org/10.1177/002200202236168.

Kivimaki, T. 2014. "Soft Power and Global Governance with Chinese Characteristics." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 7 (4): 421–47. https://doi.org/10.1093/cjip/pou033.

Krippendorff, Klaus. 2004. "Measuring the Reliability of Qualitative Text

Analysis Data." *Quality & Quantity* 38:787–800.

Lai, Yun-Chen. 2022. "The Reaction of Taiwan Civil Society Towards Cross-Strait Integration During the Period from 2008 to 2016: Spillover or Politicization?" *Pacific Focus* 37 (1): 36–67. https://doi.org/10.1111/pafo.12203.

Lary, Diana. 2015. *China's Civil War*. Vol. 13. New Approaches to Asian History. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107294417.

Lee, Karl Chee Leong. 2023. "Conceptualising Taiwan's Soft Power Projection in Its 'New Southbound Policy.'" *Asian Affairs* 54 (2): 231–49. https://doi.org/10.1080/03068374.2023.2208938.

Lee, Sook Jong, and Jan Melissen. 2011. "Introduction." In *Public Diplomacy and Soft Power in East Asia*, 1–9. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230118447_1.

LeoGrande, William. 2015. "Cuba: Public Diplomacy as a Battle of Ideas." In *Isolate or Engage: Adversarial States, US Foreign Policy, and Public Diplomacy*, 231–58. Redwood City: Stanford University Press.

Li, Chien-pin. 2015. "New Leaders with Old Lenses? China's Conflict Frames Toward Taiwan, 2003–2013." *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 20 (1): 67–85. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11366-014-9328-9.

Li, Mingjiang. 2009. "Soft Power: Nurture Not Nature." In *Soft Power China's Emerging Strategy in International Politics*, 1–18. Lanham: The Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group.

Lin, CW. 2004. "State Reformation and the Formation of a Newly Emerging Welfare State in Taiwan." *Developing Economies* 42 (2): 176–97. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1746-1049.2004.tb01062.x.

Lin, Dalton, and Yun-han Chu. 2020. "China's Soft Power over Taiwan." In *Soft Power with Chinese Characteristics*, 1st ed., 223–40. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315208671-13.

Lo, Li-chia. 2023. "Facilitating the Market with a Gift: The Politics of the ECFA between China and Taiwan (2008-2016)." *Asian Studies Review* 47 (3): 536–53. https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2022.2095981.

Marc Chia-Ching Cheng. 2008. "The U.S. Perception of Taiwan's Sovereignty and the Future of Cross-Strait Relations." *Issues and Studies - Institute of International Relations* 44 (3): 71–97. https://doi.org/10.7033/ISE.200809_44(3).0003.

Matsumoto, Mitsutoyo. 2015. "Policymaking in Taiwan's Semi-Presidentialism: A Case Study of the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA)." *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies* 4 (2): 37–65.

https://doi.org/10.1080/24761028.2015.11869084.

Mattingly, Daniel C., and James Sundquist. 2022. "When Does Public Diplomacy Work? Evidence from China's 'Wolf Warrior' Diplomats." *Political Science Research and Methods*, November, 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1017/psrm.2022.41.

Maull, H. W. 2011. "Hegemony Reconstructed? America's Role Conception and Its 'Leadership' within Its Core Alliances." In *Role Theory in International Relations*, 1st ed., 167-93. Routledge.

McCarthy, Helen. 2013. *The British People and the League of Nations: Democracy, Citizenship and Internationalism, c .1918–45*. 1st ed. Manchester: Manchester University Press. https://doi.org/10.7228/manchester/9780719086168.001.0001.

Mcnicoll, Geoffrey. 2004. "Demographic Future of East Asian Regional Integration." In *Remapping East Asia The Construction of a Region*, edited by T.J. Pempel, 54–76. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Melissen, Jan. 2007. *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. Basingstoke : Palgrave Macmillan.

Metzl, Jamie Frederic. 1999. "Popular Diplomacy." *Daedalus* 128 (2): 177–92.

Mills, Albert J., Gabrielle Durepos, and Elden Wiebe. 2010. "Comparative Case Study." In *Encyclopedia of Case Study Research*, edited by Mills, Albert J., Gabrielle Durepos, and Elden Wiebe, 175–76. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications Inc. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412957397.n64.

Myers, David F. 2019. "Threat Perception and Strategic Response of the Regional Hegemons: A Conceptual Overview." In *Regional Hegemons Threat Perception And Strategic Response*, 1–29.

Nabers, Dirk. 2011. "Identity and Role Change in International Politics." In *Role Theory in International Relations*.

Neumann, Iver B. 2018. "A Prehistorical Evolutionary View of Diplomacy." *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 14 (1): 4–10. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41254-017-0089-z.

Ni, Kuei Jung. 2014. "Retrospect and Prospect of the Cross-Straits Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA) between Mainland China and Taiwan." In *Regional Cooperation and Free Trade Agreements in Asia*, 1:15–31. Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004279902_003.

Nichiporuk, Brian. 2021. "Covid 19 and Its Labor Demand, Migration, and Military Force Structure Implications in East Asia." *Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament* 4 (S1): 308–19. https://doi.org/10.1080/25751654.2021.1898268.

Nye, Joseph S. 2004. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Public Affairs.

Nye, Joseph S., Wang Jisi, Richard Rosecrance, and Gu Guoliang. 2009. "Hard Decisions on Soft Power Opportunities and Difficulties for Chinese Soft Power." *Harvard International Review* 31 (2): 18-22. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42763291

Nye, Joseph S. 2012. "China and Soft Power." *South African Journal of International Affairs* 19 (2): 151–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/10220461.2012.706889.

Otmazgin, Nissim. 2022. "A Taiwanese Soft Power? Contesting Visions of Democracy and Culture." *International Journal of Taiwan Studies* 6 (2): 241–60. https://doi.org/10.1163/24688800-20221285.

Pan, Chengxin. 2011. "Shu and the Chinese Quest for Harmony: A Confucian Approach to Mediating across Difference." In *Mediating across Difference*, edited by Morgan Brigg and Roland Bleiker, 221–47. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

———. 2012. "Normative Convergence and Cross-Strait Divergence." In *New Thinking about the Taiwan Issue: Theoretical Insights into Its Origins, Dynamics, and Prospects*, edited by Jean-Marc F Blanchard and Dennis V Hickey. Taylor & Francis.

———. 2019. "Shu and the Chinese Quest for Harmony: A Confucian Approach to Mediating across Difference." *Mediating Across Difference*, 221–47. https://doi.org/10.1515/9780824860967-013.

Pan, Shiyin Rung. 2015. "Changing Civil Society and National Identity after the Sunflower Movement." *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 202 (August):456–61. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.sbspro.2015.08.200.

Paradise, James F. 2009. "China and International Harmony: The Role of Confucius Institutes in Bolstering Beijing's Soft Power." *Asian Survey* XLIX (4): 647–69.

Paruk, F. 2014. "China's Use of Soft Power as a Rising Power." *Politeia (Pretoria, South Africa)* 33 (1): 66–80.

Peng, Nian. 2021. "China–ASEAN Community of a Shared Future Under COVID-19: Dual Influence and Policy Recommendations." In *The Reshaping of China-Southeast Asia Relations in Light of the COVID-19 Pandemic*, 9–24. Springer Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-33-4416-7_2.

Pevehouse, Jon C. 2009. "Trade and Conflict: Does Make a Difference?" In *Economic Interdependence and International Conflict: New Perspectives on*

an Enduring Debate, edited by E. D. Mansfield and B. M. Pollins. Michigan Studies in International Political Economy. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.11952.

Popkova, Anna, and Jodi Hope Michaels. 2022. "Who Represents the Domestic Voice? Diversity, Equity and Inclusion in Citizen Diplomacy." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 18 (1): 1–10. https://doi.org/10.1163/1871191x-bja10135.

Qi, Dongtao. 2012. "Divergent Popular Support for the DPP and the Taiwan Independence Movement, 2000-2012." *The Journal of Contemporary China* 21(78): 973–91. https://doi:10.1080/10670564.2012.701035.

Rabena, Aaron Jed. 2021. "The COVID-19 Pandemic and Philippines–China Relations." In *The Reshaping of China-Southeast Asia Relations in Light of the COVID-19 Pandemic*, 25–49. Springer Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-33-4416-7_3.

Rawnsley, Gary. 2012. "Approaches to Soft Power and Public Diplomacy in China and Taiwan." *Journal of International Communication* 18 (2): 121–35. https://doi.org/10.1080/13216597.2012.695744.

———. 2017. "Soft Power Rich, Public Diplomacy Poor: An Assessment of Taiwan's External Communications." *The China Quarterly (London)* 232:982–1001. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0305741017001084.

Rawnsley, Gary D. 2014. "Taiwan's Soft Power and Public Diplomacy." *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 43 (3): 161–74. https://doi.org/10.1177/186810261404300307.

———. 2020. "Introduction: Taiwan, Public Diplomacy, and the World Health Assembly." *International Journal of Taiwan Studies (Print)* 3 (1): 5–9. https://doi.org/10.1163/24688800-00301002.

Regilme, S.S. 2018. "Beyond Paradigms: Understanding the South China Sea Dispute Using Analytic Eclecticism." *International Studies (New Delhi)* 55 (3): 213-37. https:// doi:10.1177/0020881718794527

Reuveny, Rafael. 2009. "Measuring Conflict and Cooperation: An Assessment." In *Economic Interdependence and International Conflict: New Perspectives on an Enduring Debate*, edited by E. D. Mansfield and B. M Pollins. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Richmond, Oliver P. 2011. "Local Conflict Resolution in the Shadows of Liberal International Peacebuilding." In *Mediating Across Difference*, 57–72. https://doi.org/10.21313/hawaii/9780824834593.003.0004.

Rigger, Shelley. 2004. "Taiwan's Best-Case Democratization." *Orbis (Philadelphia)* 48 (2): 285–92. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.orbis.2004.01.010.

Rockower, Paul S. 2011. "Projecting Taiwan: Taiwan's Public Diplomacy Outreach." *Issues and Studies - Institute of International Relations* 47 (1): 107–52. https://doi.org/10.7033/ISE.201103_47(1).0004.

Ross, Robert. 2015. "China: American Public Diplomacy and US-China Relations, 1949–2012." In *Isolate or Engage: Adversarial States, US Foreign Policy, and Public Diplomacy*, 59–84. United States: Stanford University Press.

Roy, Denny. 2000. "Realism and East Asia." *The Journal of East Asian Affairs* 14 (1): 159–78.

Rudakowska, Anna , Ewa Trojnar, and Agata W. Ziętek. 2019. *Taiwan's Exceptionalism*. 1st edition. Krakow: Jagiellonian University Press.

Sarnelli, Viola. 2017. "UpClose, Broadcasting the Chinese Dream - CCTV News and China's Cultural Policy Presented to a Global Audience." In *Screening China's Soft Power*, edited by Paola Voci and Luo Hui, 1st ed., 91–107. London: Routledge.

Saunders, Phillip C, and Scott L Kastner. 2012. "Envisioning a China–Taiwan Peace Agreement 1." In *New Thinking about the Taiwan Issue: Theoretical Insights into Its Origins, Dynamics, and Prospects*, 1st ed., 153-71. Routledge.

Schafferer, Christian. 2016. "Human Security and Post-Conflict Development in Taiwan." In *Post-Conflict Development in East Asia*, edited by Brendan M. Howe, 71–90.

Schneider, F.A. 2021. "COVID-19 Nationalism and the Visual Construction of Sovereignty during China's Coronavirus Crisis." China Information 35 (3): 301-24. https:// doi:10.1177/0920203X211034692

Schubert, Gunter, Stefan Braig, and Jens Damm. 2011. "How to Face an Embracing China?: The DPP's Identity Politics and Cross-Strait Relations During and After the Chen Shui-Bian Era." In *Taiwanese Identity in the Twenty-First Century*, 1st ed., 72–94. Routledge. https://doi:10.4324/9780203813607-6.

Sheldon, W. Simon. 1994. "East Asian Security: The Playing Field Has Changed." *Asian Survey* 34 (12): 1047–63. https://doi.org/10.1525/as.1994.34.12.00p04476.

Silove, Nina. 2016. "The Pivot before the Pivot: U.S. Strategy to Preserve the Power Balance in Asia." *International Security* 40 (4): 45–88. https://doi.org/10.1162/ISEC_a_00238.

Simon, Scott. 2018. "Ontologies of Taiwan Studies, Indigenous Studies, and Anthropology." *International Journal of Taiwan Studies* 1 (1): 11–35.

https://doi.org/10.1163/24688800-00101003.

———. 2021. "Wayfaring in Taiwan during COVID-19." *Anthropologica (Ottawa)* 63 (1): 1–27. https://doi.org/10.18357/anthropologica6312021284.

Solà, Núria Codina, and Jack McMartin. 2022. "The European Union Prize for Literature: Disseminating European Values through Translation and Supranational Consecration." In *Culture as Soft Power: Bridging Cultural Relations, Intellectual Cooperation, and Cultural Diplomacy*, 343–71. De Gruyter. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110744552-016.

Solingen, Etel. 2004. "East Asian Regional Institutions: Characteristics, Sources, Distinctiveness." In *Remapping East Asia: The Construction of a Region*, edited by T.J. Pempel, 31–53. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Son, Nguyễn Hùng, and C. J. Jenner. 2016. "Domestic Politics: The Overlooked Undercurrent in the South China Sea." In *The South China Sea*, 133–48. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9781139963084.009.

Song, Weiqing, and Weining Ai. 2023. "Role Conflict, Its Compromise, and the European Union's Public Diplomacy in China." *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 31 (1): 35–49. https://doi.org/10.1080/14782804.2022.2056731.

Stern, Paul.C., and Daniel Druckman. 2000. *International Conflict Resolution After the Cold War*. *International Conflict Resolution After the Cold War*. National Academies Press. https://doi.org/10.17226/9897.

Storie, Leysan Khakimova. 2015. "Lost Publics in Public Diplomacy: Antecedents for Online Relationship Management." *Public Relations Review* 41 (2): 315–17. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2015.02.008.

———. 2017. "Relationship Cultivation in Public Diplomacy: A Qualitative Study of Relational Antecedents and Cultivation Strategies." *Journal of Public Relations Research* 29 (6): 295–310. https://doi.org/10.1080/1062726X.2018.1437443.

Sullivan, Jonathan. 2011. "Is Taiwan Studies in Decline?" *The China Quarterly*, no. 207, 706–18.

Sullivan, Jonathan, and Don S Lee. 2018. "Soft Power Runs into Popular Geopolitics: Western Media Frames Democratic Taiwan." *International Journal of Taiwan Studies (Print)* 1 (2): 273–300. https://doi.org/10.1163/24688800-00102003.

Sun, Jisheng. 2021. "China's Efforts to Shape and Improve Its International Discursive Power: Diplomatic Practice." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*. Brill Nijhoff. https://doi.org/10.1163/1871191X-BJA10056.

Tanious, Mina E. 2019. "The Impact of Economic Interdependence on the
     Probability of Conflict between States." *Review of Economics & Political
     Science : REPS* 4 (1): 38–53. https://doi.org/10.1108/REPS-10-2018-010.

Tavares Da Silva, Jorge, Dennis V Hickey, and Jean-Marc F Blanchard. 2012.
     "Informal and Nonofficial Interactions in the New Start of Cross-Strait
     Relations The Case of Taiwanese Businessmen." In *New Thinking about the
     Taiwan Issue: Theoretical Insights into Its Origins, Dynamics, and
     Prospects*, 1ˢᵗ ed., 116-36. Routledge. https:// doi:10.4324/9780203131497-
     6

Trif, Dana S. 2023. "Negotiating 'access' to the International 'Rules-Based
     Order': Taiwan's South China Sea Policy." *Pacific Review* ahead-of-print
     (ahead-of-print): 1–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2023.2206160.

Tsatsou, Panayiota. 2018. "Social Media and Informal Organisation of Citizen
     Activism: Lessons From the Use of Facebook in the Sunflower Movement."
     Social Media and Society 4 (1). https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305117751384.

Tseng, Hui-Yi Katherine. 2015. "Taiwan in the South China Sea Disputes:
     Policies and Prospects." In *Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea:
     Navigating Rough Waters*, edited by Andrew Huang Jing and Billo, 128–46.
     London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
     https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137463685_8.

———. 2023. "Sovereignty as the Axis of State-Making: The Re-
     Sovereignisation of the Republic of China/Taiwan's South China Sea
     Claim." *International Journal of Taiwan Studies (Print)*, 1–32.
     https://doi.org/10.1163/24688800-20231250.

Tuschhoff, Christian. 2016. "Emulating Ostpolitik: A Template for Regional
     Conflict Resolution in East Asia." *European Foreign Affairs Review* 21 (3):
     117–32.

Ukeje, C. (2008). Globalization and conflict management: Reflections on the
     security challenges facing West Africa. *Globalizations*, *5*(1), 35–48.
     https://doi.org/10.1080/14747730701574510

Vaismoradi, Mojtaba, Hannele Turunen, and Terese Bondas. 2013. "Content
     Analysis and Thematic Analysis: Implications for Conducting a Qualitative
     Descriptive Study." *Nursing and Health Sciences* 15 (3): 398–405.
     https://doi.org/10.1111/nhs.12048.

Vandewalle, Dirk. 2015. "Libya: The United States and the Libyan Jamahiriyya:
     From Isolation to Regional Ally, 1969–2011." In *Isolate or Engage:
     Adversarial States, US Foreign Policy, and Public Diplomacy*, 140–63.

Venkataraman, M. 2006. "Taiwan and the South China Sea in Sino-ASEAN

Relations—An Overview." *China Report (New Delhi)* 42 (2): 153–77. https://doi.org/10.1177/000944550604200204.

Wang, Hongying, and Yeh-Chung Lu. 2008. "The Conception of Soft Power and Its Policy Implications: A Comparative Study of China and Taiwan." *The Journal of Contemporary China* 17 (56): 425–47. https://doi.org/10.1080/10670560802000191.

Warren, Carol. 2010. *Discovering Qualitative Methods: Field Research, Interviews, and Analysis*, edited by Tracy X. Karner. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Wasilewski, Jacqueline, and Norifumi Namatame. 2011. "Mediating Difference in Uchi Space." In *Mediating Across Difference*, 205–20. https://doi.org/10.21313/hawaii/9780824834593.003.0011.

Watanabe, Richard N., and Robert Irish. 2014. "Bolstering Taiwan's Regional Operations Centres through Liberalization of Trade across the Taiwan Strait." In *Regional Cooperation and Free Trade Agreements in Asia*, 1:32–56. Brill. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004279902_004.

Wilson, Kimberly L. 2017. "Party Politics and National Identity in Taiwan's South China Sea Claims." *Asian Survey* 57 (2): 271–96. https://doi.org/10.1525/AS.2017.57.2.271.

Yahuda, Michael. 2011. *The International Politics of the Asia-Pacific*. 3rd and rev Edition ed. Politics in Asia Series. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203402306.

Yan, Huang-Ting. 2023. "Taiwan Can Help: The Political Impacts and Lessons of Taiwan's Responses to the COVID-19 Pandemic." In *Protests, Pandemic, and Security Predicaments: Hong Kong, Taiwan, China, and the US in the 2020s*, edited by Wei-chin Lee, 147–85. Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-33776-5_5.

Yang, Alan H., and Jeremy H. C. Chiang. 2019. "Enabling Human Values in Foreign Policy: The Transformation of Taiwan's New Southbound Policy." *Journal of Human Values* 25 (2): 75–86. https://doi.org/10.1177/0971685819826707.

Yang, Rui. 2010. "Soft Power and Higher Education: An Examination of China's Confucius Institutes." *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 8 (2): 235–45. https://doi.org/10.1080/14767721003779746.

Yen, Wei-Ting. 2020a. "Taiwan's COVID-19 Management: Developmental State, Digital Governance, and State-Society Synergy." *Asian Politics & Policy* 12 (3): 455–68. https://doi.org/10.1111/aspp.12541.

———. 2020b. "Taiwan's COVID-19 Management: Developmental State,

Digital Governance, and State-Society Synergy." *Asian Politics & Policy* 12 (3): 455–68. https://doi.org/10.1111/aspp.12541.

You, Zeshun. 2012. "'Confucius Institutes': A Tension between the Construction of Their Cultural Educational Identity and the Colonization of the Marketized Discourse." *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication* 22 (1): 22–40. https://doi.org/10.1075/japc.22.1.02you.

Yuan, Shaoyu. 2023. "The Health Silk Road: A Double-Edged Sword? Assessing the Implications of China's Health Diplomacy." *World* 4 (2): 333–46. https://doi.org/10.3390/world4020021.

Yun, Seong-Hun. 2012. "Relational Public Diplomacy: The Perspective of Sociological Globalism." *International Journal of Communication (Online)*, 2199.

Zhang, Yun. 2022. "The Disintegration of State-Society Relations and Its Moderating Effects on Japanese Diplomacy towards China." *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 23 (3): 1–11. https://doi.org/10.1163/1871191x-bja10137.

Zhao, Tingyang. 2006. "Rethinking Empire from a Chinese Concept 'All-under-Heaven' (Tian-Xia)." *Social Identities* 12 (1): 29–41. https://doi.org/10.1080/13504630600555559.

———. 2009. "A Political World Philosophy in Terms of All-under-Heaven (Tian-Xia)." *Diogenes* 56 (1). https://doi.org/10.1177/0392192109102149.

Zhou, Ying, and Sabrina Luk. 2016. "Establishing Confucius Institutes: A Tool for Promoting China's Soft Power?" *The Journal of Contemporary China* 25 (100): 628–42. https://doi.org/10.1080/10670564.2015.1132961.

Zhou, Yuan. 2022. "China's Mediated Public Diplomacy towards Japan: A Text-as-Data Approach." *Asian Journal of Communication* 32 (4): 327–45. https://doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2022.2034901.

Appendix I: Respondent Consent Form

Yung Lin   Faculty of Governance and Global Affairs

Respondent Consent Form

Terms of Conditions:

- The respondent has the right to ask for more details about this research project prior to, during, or after the interview, to view the output of the interview, and to withdraw during the interview if the interview questions are not wished to be answered.
- The profiling of the interview is as detailed below, in which the respondent's name will not be recorded. Other information outside of this form will not be recorded.
- The interview will be audio recorded for transcription but removed after the transcription is completed. The researcher will ensure the analysis of interview content is presented in a way that will not trace back to the respondent's identity.
- The respondents will receive first-hand analyzed results and decide whether they would like to provide supplementary content.
- The interview content will be stored in the researcher's private data archive in the format of transcription until December 2028.
- The duration of the interview will be 45 – 60 minutes but the interview can be conducted longer if the respondent would consent to continue.
- The interview is for academic purposes only. The researcher is Yung Lin, PhD candidate at Leiden University. If there is any question, the respondent can contact the researcher at y.lin@fgga.leidenuniv.nl
- By signing this form, both sides agree to conduct the interview at the date and time decided.

Interview Profiling: (respondent can choose to be interviewed at more than one event)

A	The South China Sea		B	ECFA trade agreement		C	COVID-19 border control		
Respondents* Pseudonym		Date of Interview*		Age	Gender		Occupation		Position
(marked by researcher)									

*marked as mandatory and to be stored in the project

Signature

Respondent	Researcher – Yung Lin
	Yung Lin

Interview Questions

Description	How would you describe the conflict? What are the reasons that make it a conflict? Has there been any effort made to appease the conflict?
Opinion	What solutions have the experts proposed to appease the conflict? Have you spotted the government (China's/Taiwan's) engaged in diplomatic policy to appease the conflict? Do you think they are effective in resolving conflicts? What do you think of the (China's/Taiwan's) public diplomacy practices?
Other views?	The respondent may choose to share their views on more than 1 event or list other events related through the lens of interpretations on conflict and opinions on conflict resolution.

Hints: Historical Conflictual Events (Timeline for your reference)

Event code	Conflict type	Events
A	Territorial issue?	2002 Phnom Penh, Cambodia, Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea 2016, Arbitral Tribunal to the 1982 United Nations Convention on Law of the Sea between the Republic of the Philippines and the People's Republic of China
B	Economic trade crisis?	2010 Chong Ching, China, Cross-Straits Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement 2014 Taipei, Taiwan, Sunflower Movement against the trade agreement
C	State - society relation?	2020, COVID-19 crisis border control/immigration

Appendix II: Semi-structured Interview Protocol

Thank you for agreeing to this interview. Before the start of the interview question, when I press the recording, I would like to inform you of the design of the interview question. There are two different types of questions, description-type and opinion-type as you have seen in the consent form. I will always point out this when asking the question. This is to give the respondent flexibility in remembering what happened and to prompt the respondent's reflection on what happened. In this interview, I invite you to share your answers, like telling your life story, but in between your stories, I will ask for your opinion or argument. The interview questions are designed in the structure of three themes derived from the first three chapters of my PhD dissertation: (1) security and conflict, (2) conflict resolution, and (3) public diplomacy. You may request details or read from my chapters after the interview. In this interview recording, I hope to hear more of your first-hand insights. Now if you agree, I will ask the first question and the recording will start when you answer the first question. You may always request to stop any parts that do not want to be recorded.

Background information

Question	Can you describe briefly WHY you chose this event to share your experiences?
Purpose	This question is at the beginning of the interview to confirm with the respondents their motivation to share their experiences and observations about the conflictual event they chose.

Recording starts.

    I.   Concept of security/conflict

Question (Description-type)	1. How do you describe this conflictual event? What kind of conflict is this? What words would you use? 2. In this conflictual event, how did/do you experience it? Why was/is it a conflict? 3. Did/Do you feel that it was/is a threat?
Purpose	1. The first question aims to understand respondents' concept of conflict and to investigate whether the words respondents used to describe the conflict are related to the concept of security.

| | 2. The second question helps respondents' remember how they experienced through those historical moments in order to capture the formation process of conflict. |
| | 3. The third question is to understand how has the conflictual event formed and developed. |

Thank you for your description. Now I would like to ask for your opinions based on your story.

Follow-up Prompts (Opinion-type Question)	1. Why was/is it a (threat, rivalry, competition, stagnation, danger, crisis, safety) issue? What did you use this word to describe the conflict?
	2. Why do you think that this (threat, rivalry, competition, stagnation, crisis, safety) gives you the fear? What will you lose in this fear?
	3. Why do you think you have this argument? Is it from your interactions with your local colleagues? Or is it from what news sources you've been reading about?
	4. So in your opinion, has this conflict finished or is it ongoing?

II.   Approaches to enhance the sense of security

Question (Description-type)	Do these conflicts constantly generate in your engagement in your expatriate work experience? If so, what are your ways of dealing with these conflicts?
	Are these approaches guided by the company or by the people you interacted with?
	When extended development of conflicts occurred, what solutions have taken place?
Purpose	1. The first question invites the respondent to think about how the conflictual event is contextualized in the respondent's daily life in order to capture the civil societal level of understanding the conflictual event and how the people are faced with the conflicts?
	2. The second question aims to justify whether there have been institutionalized ways of tackling the conflict issue or it is improvised in people-to-people interactions.

	3. The third question invites the respondent to share more details if the respondent recognized any approaches as the solutions to these conflicts.

Thank you for sharing this. If there is any part of the information that should not be shared, please let me know. Now I would like to ask of your opinions on what you have just told me.

Follow-up Prompts (Opinion-type Question)	1. Do you think that your goal is to make peace when you talked about this conflict with the locals? Does that give you a sense of security?
	2. When you emphasized your identity as a Taiwanese, did you notice any awkwardness or avoidance from the locals? If not, what do you think is the reason?
	3. Why do you think the locals have such impression about Taiwan? Where do they source their impression from? Do you think that you actively promote the identity as a Taiwanese to them?

Thank you. Now that is overall for my research on the relationship between identity, security, and conflict. The following questions are mostly opinion-type. I am going to ask for your opinions on the study of public diplomacy. This is connected to my findings in Taiwan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs annual diplomatic policy. I found that public diplomatic policy emerged in 2012. Moreover, after 2016, there has been a major change in the public diplomatic strategy, which is that the government put the people as the main actors in public diplomacy. In addition, the New Southbound Policy changed Taiwan's diplomacy target to Southeast Asian states. The interview questions here are not asking you to represent the government but asking for your opinions on what you have just said about your emphasis on your identity as Taiwanese when interacting with the locals.

I would like to investigate if your experience proves that Taiwan's public diplomatic policy empowers the people to be the main actors.

III. Public diplomacy

Question (Opinion-type)	1. Do you think that in your experience you are an active person conducting public diplomacy with the locals?
	2. How do the locals respond to your identity expression? Do you think identity expression would cause unnecessary conflicts?
	3. Do you think that you are often put in the situation where you have to clarify your identity to be a Taiwanese rather than a Chinese?
Purpose	1. The first question aims to know whether the respondent feels empowered to conduct the diplomatic practices.
	2. The second question is a general follow-up prompt from the respondent's story if the respondent mentioned their experiences of identity expression to the locals.
	3. The third question is a general follow-up prompt if the respondent mentioned the difficulties of identity expression they faced at work or daily contact with the locals.

Thank you for your opinions and observations. Now I am going to ask some follow-up questions. They may be a little politically sensitive and the questions are also inviting your opinions. If there are some parts that should not be shared, please let me know. You can opt out of the interview question if you feel uncomfortable.

Questions (Opinion-type)	1. Have you spotted the China's and Taiwan's government engaged in diplomatic policy to appease the conflict? Do you think they are effective in resolving conflicts?
	2. What do you think of the China's and Taiwan's public diplomacy practices?
Follow-up Prompts (Questions generated during the interviews)	You mentioned that the local education system is the easiest way for you to interact with the locals but the education policy hasn't been improved to increase the cross-cultural communication awareness. Then what do you think of Taiwan's education system? Has Taiwan's education policy been raising the awareness of cross-cultural communication?

*Another follow-up prompt found in only a few interviews	You mentioned the migrant workers policy in the country you expatriate to and this made you start thinking about the Southeast Asian migrant workers in Taiwan. Why do you think that the welfare policy of the Southeast Asian migrant workers is crucial in Taiwan's diplomatic policy? How do you think that the relationship between Taiwan and Southeast Asia may advance from improving the migrant workers policy?

Thank you for sharing your story, observations, and opinions. The recording is now officially finished. I will send you the transcription. Please let me know if there are some parts you would like not to be transcribed or any further information you'd like to share. If you'd like to share additional information, please indicate if this is answering to the description-type or opinion-type questions.

Appendix III: (For Respondents) Brief Results of Semi-structured Interview

(Translation version)

Dear Respondent,

Thank you for assisting me during 2022-2023 by sharing your observations and experiences through invitations and recruitment. After months of analysis and completing the final steps of data security protection, this brief analytical summary is provided here to all respondents who participated in the interviews.

Important Notice:

This brief analysis is intended for respondents only. Receiving this document also serves as a statement of data security protection: all audio recordings from the interviews have been deleted. The notes and text files generated during the interviews are stored only in the researcher's database for a maximum of five years (until December 2028). Upon the completion of this research project (expected September 2024), all primary source data will no longer be retained in the institution's database. The identity of the respondents will be displayed in codes.

Overview of the Interview:

All interviews were conducted using a semi-structured format (questions were not strictly predetermined), guided by three historical events to prompt respondents to recall personal experiences, local observations, or compare perspectives from their student and working years. Below is a summary of the main findings:

(1) Interpretations and Experiences of Conflict

- **Conflict with [Institutions]:**

  Most respondents described conflicts stemming from their personal experiences or observations of opaque regulations. Policies in the local context or unclear workplace rules often created uncertainty, leading to challenges in arranging their work or personal lives. This gave rise to resistance against institutional systems. These conflicts were not necessarily physical

altercations or traditionally defined violence but were categorized as conflicts based on respondents' feelings of challenging the system.

- **Conflict in [Defining Relationships]:**
  These conflicts were further categorized into three types:
  - **Intergenerational conflicts** between respondents' own generation and their parents or between respondents and the millennial generation, arising from differing views on public issues.
  - **Peer conflicts** among respondents from the same generation over differing approaches to engaging in public issues, leading to divisions in how relationships were defined.
  - **Foreigners' perspectives on Taiwanese identity:** Some respondents described debates with foreigners during academic or professional exchanges, where conflicts arose from defining or distinguishing their identity.
- **Conflict in [Beliefs/Perceptions]:**
  These were harder to pinpoint. In cases where respondents held unchallenged beliefs, conflicts arose when their perceptions were questioned or required further explanation. Respondents often hesitated, could not provide concrete ideas, or felt no need to elaborate further. This resistance to questioning firmly held beliefs was categorized as a type of conflict.

(2) Communication Tools: The Importance of Social Media

In the information age, social media serves as a primary platform for communication and interaction. Nearly all respondents mentioned its necessity for work, while a few highlighted its role in daily life. Respondents identified three modes of social media use in their experiences: passive reception, active dissemination, and deliberate dialogue-building. Passive reception was the most common, followed by active dissemination and deliberate dialogue-building. Many respondents expressed concerns about the risks of social media, highlighting its tendency to enable unilateral messaging and the intentional shaping of narratives.

(3) Core of Communication: The Education System

Many respondents believed their interactions with neighboring countries and their own identity observations stemmed from foundational education. In discussing intergenerational conflicts, respondents noted a generational gap in foundational education, particularly in cultivating critical thinking or understanding historical conflicts. This gap contributed to various conflicts over relationship definitions. Additionally, foundational education should emphasize media literacy, reflecting the earlier point about the dangers of one-sided messaging. In the information age, fostering media literacy is increasingly critical for effective communication.

Additional Issues Identified in Some Respondents' Experiences:
(4) Growing Attention to Migration Issues:

Across the three experiences (personal experiences, societal observations, and student versus work comparisons), some respondents mentioned an increased awareness of migration issues. Although the reasons for this concern were not analyzed in detail, respondents showed a growing awareness and willingness to advocate for the rights, treatment, and welfare of immigrants in Taiwan.

(5) Language Barriers:

No respondents mentioned encountering language barriers during international interactions, nor did they specify which languages were used in cross-national exchanges or social media communications.

If you are interested in this research project and wish to continue participating or sharing your thoughts, feel free to contact me at **y.lin@fgga.leidenuniv.nl**.

(Original version)

親愛的受訪者：

您好，感謝您之前協助我在 2022-2023 年間以邀請和招募的方式分享您的觀察觀點和經驗，經過幾個月的分析以及最後幾個資安保護的步驟，這篇簡要結果分析是回饋給所有曾經協助我進行訪問的受訪者。

> *以下聲明：*
>
> *本篇簡要結果分析僅供受訪者參閱保留，在您接受到這份文件同時也是一份資安保護的聲明，所有訪問的錄音檔已經刪除，訪問時所產生的筆記和內容文字檔只存於研究者本身的資料庫最多五年（至 2028 年十二月），並不存於研究者所在機構的雲端資料庫中，在本篇研究計畫完成時（預計 2024 九月），所有第一手元資料也不會存於研究者所在機構的資料庫，訪問的結果分析皆以代號呈現。*

所有受訪者接受的訪問方式，皆以半結構似（不限定問題方向），以三種歷史事件引導受訪者，回憶自我親身經驗，所在地觀察；或比較學生時期及工作時期的觀點．以下簡要結果分析供您參閱：

（一）衝突的詮釋和感受

- 對於[體制]的衝突感：多半來自於自我經歷或觀察到不透明的規範而產生，因為所在地的政策，工作相關領域的規範不透明，而帶來的不確定性，造成在工作或生活的安排上困擾，因此而對於體制的制定產生反抗，衝突並不一定是有肢體碰觸或傳統定義上的暴力衝突，而是因為挑戰體制的感受而定義成衝突。
- 對於[定義關係]的衝突：又分為三種，世代關係的衝突，同儕之間的衝突，外國人對於台灣身份定義的衝突。
- 世代關係：受訪者本身世代與父母或者受訪者本身世代與千禧年世代，討論公共議題而產生的不同見解。
- 同儕之間：受訪者本身世代對於參與公共議題的不同方式而分裂定義彼此的關係。
- 外國人對於台灣身份的定義：出現在一些受訪者在求學或者工作經驗中曾經需要因為各種場合，需要與外國人交流介紹自己身份時與外國人產生辯論，因為需要定義身份或者劃分身份界線進而產生衝突。
- 對於[信念/認知]的衝突：較模糊捕捉，從受訪者具有第三種比較經驗中發現．信念是受訪者在未經過問題挑戰時本身具有的認知，而如果在訪問過程中出現，原本認知被挑戰，或者需要被詢問多作解釋，以上兩種情況，受訪者產生猶豫無法提供確切概念，或者不認為需要多做解釋，如此狀況也被列

157

為一種衝突。是因為對於概念本身具有不需挑戰的信念，因此在受到問題挑戰時會先產生反抗。

以下是與第二手資料文本分析比較後的歸納（政府外交政策元資料）
(二)交流的工具：社群媒體的重要性
在資訊時代的交流，社群媒體是傳遞交流溝通的主要平台，幾乎所有受訪者都提及是工作上的需要，或者少數認為是生活中的需要。然而社群媒體上的交流在受訪者經驗裡有三種模式：被動接受，主動傳遞，或有意識建立對話。以被動接受佔大多數（次為主動傳遞，最後是有意識建立對話），因此多數受訪者在分享完經驗後有意識表示社群媒體上訊息的危險性，這項危險是單方面傳遞及有意識塑造形象的訊息主導流。

（三）交流的核心：教育體制
多數受訪者認為與鄰國互動及自我觀察本身的身份認同是來自於基礎教育，在世代關係衝突的分享經驗中，受訪者指出與不同世代之間在基礎教育上有落差，因為較少有批判思考的培養，或者缺乏辨別背後歷史衝突的概念，因此而導致各類對於定義關係的衝突。再者，基礎教育也應重視媒體釋讀的培養，此項呼應前項交流工具的重要性，因單方面訊息傳遞的危險，因此在資訊時代的交流更需重視媒體釋讀的能力。

以下是分析結果主論點之外，在幾位受訪者經驗中出現的議題：
（四）關注移民議題的增長：在三種經驗中（親身經歷，觀察所在地社會，學生和工作時期的比較）皆有受訪者提及關注移民的議題（確切原因為何會關注並無多做分析），這項議題圍繞的主觀意識是，受訪者開始關注並有意識捍衛在台移民的權利待遇以及福利保障。

（五）並無受訪者提及與他國交流會遇到語言障礙，但也並無提及使用何語言與他國交流以及在社群媒體上的訊息溝通。

如您對於這項研究計畫有興趣並希望繼續參與或分享，歡迎來信 y.lin@fgga.leidenuniv.nl