A Participant-Generated Model of Intercultural Friendship Formation, Development, and

Maintenance Between Taiwanese and Chinese Students

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation aimed to identify the factors that facilitated the friendship

initiation, development, and maintenance between Taiwanese and Chinese students and

the influential relationship among those factors. Nine Taiwanese and nine Chinese

students studying at one Taiwanese university were recruited for this study. The Chinese

students were in Taiwan for at least two years. The participants were friends with the

other party for at least 8 months. This study was divided into three stages. In the first

stage, participants were required to provide factors that facilitated their friendship with

the other party. Fifty ideas were collected. In the second stage, participants were asked to

clarify those factors and then categorize those factors. Fourteen categories were identified

in this stage. The participants, then, voted on factors that affected their friendship

formation, development, and maintenance with other party. Fifteen factors were voted the

highest among those factors. Those 15 factors were imported into interpretive structure

modeling (ISM) software for the next stage. In the third stage, 18 one-on-one interviews

were conducted, and 18 ISM diagrams were generated. ISM provided a method to

identify the influential relationship among those factors. According to the results, the

friendship formation model was proposed. Five stages were identified in this model:

exploring, matching, engaging, deepening and bonding.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Studies of intercultural friendship in the field of intercultural communication have identified a number of factors that affect the formation, development, and maintenance of relationships across cultures (Collier, 1996; Hotta and Ting-Toomey, 2013; Imamura, Zhang, and Harwood, 2011; Lee, 2006, 2008; Sias et al, 2008). However, few studies have explored how these factors influence one another. This study aims to address this deficiency in the literature by examining friendship formation between Taiwanese and Chinese students. The goal of this research is to (a) identify the factors that impact friendship formation, and (b) explore how these factors are seen as influencing each other.

This research was conducted in the context of an ongoing and protracted conflict that places particular constraints on friendship development. In order to explain the context for the study, the next section will discuss the challenges of friendship formation between individuals from Taiwan and China. Afterwards, I will describe my own personal experiences in friendship formation with Chinese people.

Challenge of Friendship Formation Between Taiwanese And Chinese People

Taiwan and China have a long history of protracted conflicts. The border between Taiwan and China was closed from 1949 until 1987 when the Taiwanese government terminated martial law. The border has been opened for 25 years, and prejudice between Taiwanese and Chinese people still exists. One of the reasons is that there was very little interpersonal communication between these two groups. Lack of interpersonal contact resulted in lack of mutual understanding. Another issue is that the identity of Taiwanese

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people is changing as well. Lee (2016) described the survey conducted by United Daily News that indicated 73% of Taiwanese people considered themselves as Taiwanese. The proportion was even higher among younger generations (aged 20 to 29) at 85%. With high computer mediated communication (CMC) usage and different education systems, younger Taiwanese people hold a very different idea toward Chinese people than older generations.

Even though the border between Taiwan and China has been opened for more than two decades, the prejudice has not reduced. In fact, some of the attitudes between Taiwanese and Chinese are even getting worse. One of the manifestations is the Sunflower Movement.

In May 2014, the Sunflower Movement was enacted. The Sunflower Movement is a series of student-led movements in opposition to the Cross-Strait Agreement on Trade in Services. According to the website of the Cross-Straits Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA), the Cross-Strait Agreement on Trade in Service is:

> An agreement that protects the rights and interests of service suppliers in
>
> Taiwan and mainland China. The Cross-Straits Agreement on Trade in
>
> Services is part of the whole picture of the Cross-Straits Economic
>
> Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA). It is an agreement that was
>
> reached between the two Parties to stipulate in writing the matters related
>
> to gradually reducing or eliminating restrictions on trade in services.
>
> (Ministry of Economic Affairs, Republic of China, 2010)

The participants of Sunflower Movement believed that the Taiwanese government made a devil's deal with the Chinese government since mainland China has always been

hostile towards Taiwan. From a Chinese point of view, many Chinese people believe that their government compromised a lot for this agreement since they consider Taiwan as a brother to them. They would sacrifice some benefits to maintain a good relationship with Taiwan. The Sunflower Movement burst the bubble for Chinese people who believe that Taiwan is part of China, and Taiwanese and Chinese people are brothers and sisters, which is the message that has been perpetuated by the Chinese government to Chinese people since they were young. On May 30, 2014, China Central Television (CCTV), the official broadcaster of the Chinese government, published survey results that indicate that 59.7% of Taiwanese people believe that Taiwan and China are two different countries, and 61% of Taiwanese people don't consider that Taiwan and China belong to "one China." The anchorperson warned the viewers before revealing those results, since it was the first time that Chinese officials recognized the different points of views between Taiwanese and Chinese people (Kuo, 2014).

Since there are some restrictions for Chinese people to travel to Taiwan freely, this study will mainly focus on university students in a Taiwanese university. Attending a university is one of the few ways for Chinese people to stay in Taiwan for a long period of time. In order to provide a context for this study, the next section will discuss the identity struggle between Taiwanese and Chinese people.

Even though Taiwanese and Chinese people share the same cultural roots, many Taiwanese experience conflicts in ethnic and national identities (Huang, Liu, & Chang, 2004). Among different majority and minority groups, "Taiwan" has different definitions. The conflict between cultural identity (Chinese) and ethnic identity (Taiwanese) has haunted the Taiwanese society for decades. The relationship between Taiwanese and

Chinese people is even more complicated. Since 1949, Taiwan and China were in a state of war, which lasted until 1987. The One-China policy is also a source of conflict since every other country can only recognize either Republic of China (Taiwan) or People's Republic of China (China). The status of Taiwan became very questionable among global society. For instance, Taiwan is not a member of the United Nations (UN), and this affects Taiwan's participation in other secondary organizations that belong to the UN. One example is that during the SARS epidemic Taiwan could not gain direct help from the World Health Organization (WHO), because Taiwan is not part of the UN. Behind this situation is also the resistant power from Chinese government, since the Chinese government insists that Taiwan is part of China and aid from other countries or international organizations has to go through China and then be delivered to Taiwan. Those direct value and identity threats from Chinese government exacerbate the conflicts between Taiwanese and Chinese people. Those negative events can also increase prejudice between Taiwanese and Chinese people. Those negative experiences may impact the friendship formation between Taiwanese and Chinese people. In the following section, I will use my personal experience to describe how I formed friendship (or not) with Chinese people and the factors behind it.

My Experience of Friendship Formation, Development, and Maintenance with Chinese People

My personal experience of making friends with Chinese people can be divided into three different stages. When I was in my undergraduate college, Chinese people were not allowed to travel to Taiwan or study in Taiwan. It was impossible for me to have contact with any Chinese people, much less make friends with them. The first Chinese

person that I could actually form a relationship with was my cousin's wife, Ying. She was

born and raised in Shanghai. At the time my cousin and Ying got married, she just

graduated from Fudan University, one of the best universities in China, with a degree in

political science. It was a complicated situation since Ying joined the family as a member

not as a friend. The relationship development was not as easy as making friends.

However, it was the first time I was able to have a deeper relationship with any Chinese

person. Ying broke a lot of stereotypes that I had of Chinese people. For instance, I had

the stereotype that Chinese people were always loud and rude. She is very calm and

gentle when talking to other people. This was also the first time I learned that Chinese

people may have different communication styles based on their origins. People from the

northern part of China tend to be louder and more direct while people from southern part

of China tend to be softer and indirect.

One of the most shocking things I learned from her was how she was treated

differently when she was in Taiwan. First, there was the institutionalized discrimination.

At the time she married my cousin, she needed to stay in Taiwan for eight years in order

to get a Taiwanese ID. Even though it is shorter right now (six years still), Chinese people

still need to take more time to get a Taiwanese ID than spouses from other countries. The

difficulty of getting an ID directly is linked to employment. She could not officially work

until she got an ID. She had to borrow someone's ID and pretend to be someone else in

order to work. She had to use other person's name for tax purpose. This was very

common for Chinese spouses who wanted to work within the eight-year limitation.

Another example of institutionalized discrimination was that, formerly, Taiwanese

government did not recognize a college diploma from China. Even though Ying

graduated from a prestigious university in China, her diploma was worthless in Taiwan. Nowadays, with more interaction between Taiwan and China, a Chinese diploma can be recognized in Taiwan.

Prejudice toward Ying from other Taiwanese people was another thing that shocked me. She shared with me some stories that described her interactions with other Taiwanese people. Most Taiwanese people are very friendly toward Ying. Many of her neighbors were concerned about her adaptation to Taiwanese life style. However, there are still some Taiwanese people who consider Chinese people enemies. One of the examples is that once she took a taxi to pick up my nephew and the taxi driver started to rant to her on how Chinese people are invading Taiwan by marrying Taiwanese people, and Chinese people are destroying the morale of Taiwanese society. Ying decided to get out of this taxi before she reached her destination. That was first time I knew that how hostile Taiwanese people could be toward Chinese people.

Getting to know Ying was a meaningful learning experience. However, the relationship development was not the same as friendship formation. First, Ying is a family member, and it is impossible for me to just cut her out of my family circle if I do not like her—not like cutting a friend out my social circle. Second, family relationships are more complicated than friendships. When developing a relationship with Ying, I also have to consider the relationship with my cousin (her husband), my uncle and aunt, my parents, and everyone in the family network. Self-disclosure may influence family face, especially an issue related to family secrets. It would be more dangerous if I wanted to express my personal opinions to her about other family members. It could turn into a family crisis if she revealed my opinions about certain members to others. Third, as

family members we do not hang out together very often. We usually meet during family events like Chinese New Year, Mother's Day or my grandmother's birthday. Our social lives do not overlap. In order to become friends, we would have to be involved in some social events together and build up intimacy, which never happened. This was the first time I had the chance to build a deeper relationship with a Chinese person even though I did not really get to develop a more intimate relationship with her.

The second stage of my interaction with Chinese people was when I went to my masters' program at Ithaca College in Ithaca, New York. Ithaca College is a very small college in central New York State. There are only 6,000 students, and most of those in undergraduate programs are White students from Long Island. (Ithaca College, 2015)). In undergraduate programs, 70% are White (4,315 out of 6,124). There are only 113 students who are not U.S. citizens. This shows the lack of diversity in the Ithaca undergraduate student body. However, in graduate programs, the demographic profile is totally different. First, Ithaca College has very small graduate programs. For instance, there were only 15 graduate students in my master's cohort, which made the entire communication graduate program 30 students in total. According to a report in 2015, Ithaca College had 6,587 students, and 463 students are in the graduate program. Only 7% of the student body is graduate students. As mentioned above, there were 15 students in my cohort; half of them were from different countries, including France, Spain, Sri Lanka, Norway, India, and Greece. Other students I had encountered were from Croatia, Bulgaria, Ethiopia, Japan, Mexico, Peru, and Argentina. This was the first time I had a true intercultural experience in my life. This experience really shook my world and piqued my desire to learn more about intercultural communication.

In my program, one of the students was from China. Her name was Helen (she preferred to use an English name), and she was one semester ahead of me. This was the second time I had the chance to develop a relationship with a Chinese person and the first time I could build up a friendship. At that time, I already had some knowledge and knew not to generalize about Chinese people. Helen is from Southern part of China where people tend to be more open-minded than those from other regions. In the beginning of my first semester, I had the opportunity to talk to Helen for the first time. Since we both speak Mandarin, it was much easier to communicate with her in the first place. Our conversations were mostly about school and how to adopt to life in the U.S. I remembered that I specifically did not mention anything related to Taiwan's status and the relationship between Taiwan and China. In the end, we did not develop a real friendship outside of the school setting. Even though we had similar cultural backgrounds and spoke the same language, there was too much personal difference between us. For instance, I like movies and going to movie theaters with my friends. Helen, on the other hand, did not like too much socializing. Another difference was that Helen's communication style was more direct than most Asian people I have met. This communication style made me uncomfortable from time to time. I decided to maintain a school relationship with her after knowing her further.

The experience with Helen was very interesting. It was obvious that even though two individuals can have the same cultural background or speak the same language, they will not necessarily become friends by default. The relationship between Helen and I was proof of that. On the contrary, my best friends from my program are those from Sri Lanka, France, Norway, Spain, Greece, and one U.S. classmate. We continue to maintain

a good relationship. I even went to Spain and Greece for my friends' weddings. My experience may explained by the cultural/personal dialectic tension proposed by Martin and Nakayama (1999, 2010). Even though Helen and I are both from a Chinese cultural background that values indirect communication style, Helen, however, adopts a more direct communication style.

I did not ask her about the issues between Taiwan and China until our second semester. Surprisingly, she was very open-minded on these issues. She even supported the independence of Taiwan. She stated that Taiwan is its own country and that China has no right to invade or claim that Taiwan is part of China. This is the boldest statement on the Taiwan/China issues I have ever heard from a Chinese person, even today. I believe that part of the reason that she could provide such a bold statement is because of her direct communication style. Other Chinese people may not be able to make such a bold statement due to their preferred indirect communication style and the education they received from a young age.

Another interesting aspect of this experience was that I waited one semester to ask her about her opinion on these issues. First, we did not have the same class until my second semester. I did not have further conversation with Helen until that session. Opportunity played an important role in this situation. Second, time is important for friendship development. I knew her better after the end of my first semester. Even though we were not good friends, our relationship still improved in some level. I had to wait until our friendship reached a level where I could ask her about some sensitive issues. As many scholars have stated, friendship needs time to develop (Lee, 2008; Pettigrew, 1998). It was impossible for me to raise such a sensitive issue when I had just met Helen. Even

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though I did not build up a real friendship with Helen, this was the first time I realized that not every Chinese person considers Taiwan as an inseparable part of China. This was another shock for me.

The third stage of my interaction with Chinese people is the time I have spent at Arizona State University (ASU) for my doctorate degree. ASU is a very different school than Ithaca College. First, ASU has more than ten times the number of students than Ithaca College. The student body is also more diverse. There are currently five Chinese students in my graduate program. One of my roommates one year was from China as well. There are more opportunities for me to develop friendships with Chinese people on the ASU campus. With more than 1,000 Chinese students on this campus, I have the chance to encounter Chinese people from very different parts of China and discover their regional differences. For instance, my roommate, who was from Guangzhou, one of the biggest cities in the southern part of China, told me that Chinese people do not trust people from Henan province of China. People from the southern part and northern parts of China will also express their opinions toward each other.

Second, I have more time to develop friendships. When I was at Ithaca College, I only stayed one and half years for my master's degree. Helen graduated at the end of my second semester. The time period was very short for me to develop a friendship in Ithaca. However, at ASU, I have had more time to explore different people's personalities and to develop friendships. Another advantage is that my social network is more extensive. I can hear information from everywhere about Chinese people and Taiwanese people. For instance, one of my Taiwanese friends, Pao, is a PhD student in Physics at ASU. One of his Chinese cohorts would argue with him on the Taiwanese/Chinese issues a lot in

person and on Facebook as well. Since this Chinese person is a member of the Chinese Communist Party, he always claims that Taiwan is part of China. According to Pao, this Chinese person's behavior sometimes annoys other Chinese people as well. The advantage of having a complex social network is that I do not need to meet a particular Chinese person face to face in order to determine if this person could potentially be a friend. Instead, I can gather information from others first

With these many advantages at ASU, I have the chance to really make friends with other Chinese people. I have good friends in my program and not only talk about school work but also our daily lives. My roommate and I went out for dinner and movies often. I even drove him to his test for a driver's license. However, one of my biggest criteria for whether to developing a friendship is a person's attitude toward the Taiwan/Chinese issue. If the Chinese person holds an extreme opinion on this issue, which is that he or she strongly considers Taiwan as part of China, I will not be able to develop a friendship with this person. Since my standpoint is very clear, I cannot accept that Taiwan is a province of China. This identity/political issue influences my willingness to make friends with other Chinese people.

My persistence on the Taiwanese status has become the biggest deciding factor on whether or not I can form a friendship with Chinese people. From my understanding, other Taiwanese people have different concerns (deciding factors) about making friends with Chinese people, such as communication accommodation style, personality, academic interactions, ethnic value etc. Due to the complex social network, I have heard opinions from both sides about what the others' worst characteristics are. From a Taiwanese point of view, many think that Chinese people are impolite, selfish, and "uncivilized"—such as

they never wait in line and talk very loud in public. From a Chinese point of view, many Chinese think that Taiwanese people are arrogant and consider themselves superior to Chinese people.

It is quite likely that my varied and complex experience in forming friendships is not an uncommon one for Chinese and Taiwanese young people and is related to the protracted conflict between Taiwan and China, which is historically and politically burdened. The historical protracted conflict also plays a role in Taiwanese identity issues. Taiwanese people, as an ethnic group, have historic and cultural uniqueness and are different from Chinese people.

Potential Contribution of This Study

By understanding the friendship formation between Taiwanese and Chinese people, Taiwanese and Chinese governments may encourage positive friendship formation to reduce prejudice. Forming friendships between Taiwanese and Chinese people also creates a friendly environment for dialogue in spite of the protracted conflicts between Taiwan and China. Since China has become one of the biggest economic forces in the world and a regional military powerhouse, maintaining a peaceful state between Taiwan and China will be beneficial to the global environment.

Furthermore, this study may provide a new aspect on intercultural friendship formation. Since previous studies on intercultural friendship mainly focused on factors that affects intercultural friendship formation, this study aims to identify the influential relationship model among those factors. A proposed model may be able to provide a step by step guideline for those who intend to encourage friendship formation between Taiwanese and Chinese students.

Outline of Dissertation

This dissertation is organized in five chapters. Chapter one has introduced the importance of extending the studies of intercultural communication, the challenge of friendship formation between Taiwanese and Chinese students, my personal experience, and potential contribution of this study. Chapter two will focus on short history of Taiwan, literatures on intercultural friendship, and theories that may help explain the process of intercultural friendship formation, development and maintenance. Chapter three will explain the methodology that was used in this study. Chapter four will report the results from the study on Taiwanese/Chinese friendship formation. Chapter five will discuss the major findings from this study, the contribution to the theory, research methods and praxis.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND LITERATURE

Taiwanese and Chinese friendship formation, development, and maintenance is a complicated topic. The literature review will focus on four parts. The first part includes a historical description of Taiwan. This part will elaborate on how Taiwanese identity is formed and how it is different from Chinese identity. The second part will focus on the interactions between Taiwan and China after 1978. Since 1978 marked the opening of borders between the two countries, the relationship between the governments and their people has dramatically changed. This part will also discuss the kinds of relationships Taiwanese and Chinese people may have in Taiwan. The third part will focus on intercultural friendship formation and describe the factors that influence intercultural friendship formation, development, and maintenance. The fourth part will focus on three sensitizing concepts: intergroup contact theory (ICT), communication accommodation theory (CAT), and identity negotiation theory (INT). Those three theories will provide a theoretical framework to analyze the friendship formation, development, and maintenance between Taiwanese and Chinese people. Those theories all take intercultural elements into their cores and emphasize the interpersonal interaction.

History of Taiwan

Taiwan has a unique historical trajectory that distinguishes it from China. It is important to understand why Taiwanese people would consider themselves different from Chinese people from a historical perspective. In the following section, a short Taiwanese history will be presented. A longer version of Taiwanese history will be added in Appendix A.

Taiwan was not officially under the dominance of Chinese administration until 1683. It was not a province until 1884. The Qing Empire did not pay much attention to ruling Taiwan. Even though most of Taiwanese people's ancestors are from the southern part of China, Taiwanese aboriginals also have genetic influence to modern Taiwanese people. One of the biggest historical events that influenced Taiwanese people's identity is the Japanese colonization. After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95, Taiwan (including the Penhu Islands) was ceded to Japan. Unlike other European empires, Japan intended to build a true colony in Taiwan. Japanese government enacted a series of policies to assimilate Taiwanese people, including encouraging Taiwanese people to change to Japanese names, to only teach Japanese language in school, and to limit Taiwanese people's education to agricultural, medical, and engineering related fields. This era truly influenced how Taiwanese people view themselves and how their identity is formed. After the end of World War II, Taiwan was back to the domain of Republic of China (ROC) or Nationalist government, which was mainly ruled by Kuomintang (KMT), also known as Nationalist Party, in 1945. However, only four years later, the Nationalist government lost the civil war to the Communist Party. The latter established People's Republic of China (PRC) and continue to rules the mainland China. ROC relocated to the island of Taiwan. From that time, two Chinas existed on the earth. However, due to the One-China Policy, each national can only have official diplomacy with either PRC or ROC. Before 1971, "China" mostly referred to the ROC in Taiwan. After that, the PRC has been recognized by most countries, including the Safety Council Seat in the United Nation (UN). Due to the aftermath of the civil war, Taiwan and China was in a pre-war situation until 1987. In 1987, Taiwanese government lifted the martial law, and it marked

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the new chapter of a relationship between Taiwan and China.

Relationship Between Taiwan and China at the National Level 1987–Now

After ending martial law, Taiwanese and Chinese finally could have the opportunity for interaction. Before that, Taiwan and China were in a state of war. No individuals could travel between these two countries freely. Anyone visiting the other country would be considered a spy. The first step of opening the border was to allow mainlanders, those who came to Taiwan with the Nationalists in 1949, to go back to China to visit their relatives. Many mainlanders were forced to join the Nationalist military, and they still have relatives in China. Those veterans went back to China and also brought money to compensate their relatives. The financial aid was important for the Chinese market at that time. Even though the main purpose was for mainlanders to visit their relatives in China, non-mainlander Taiwanese people could still visit China at that time. For instance, my family and I visited Shanghai and Hangchow when I was 15 years old in 1990, three years after the ending of martial law. One thing that needs to be mentioned here is that those travels were mostly in one direction, from Taiwan to China. Even today, there are quotas established by Chinese for the number of Chinese people who can visit Taiwan but no limits for the number of Taiwanese people who visit China.

In 1990, Taiwan developed an official relationship with China by establishing the Mainland Affairs Commission attached to the Executive Yuen (Rubinstein, 1999). This was an indication that Taiwan and China were ready to start interacting with each other as political representatives instead of countries in war. In 1991, Taiwanese businessmen formed a visiting group to several Chinese cities, such as Canton, Hsiamen, Fuchou, and Shanghai, to explore the possibility of establishing manufacturing sites. During the

progression of opening the border, one event that really deterred the process was the Chingtao Lake incident (Rubinstein, 1999). In 1994, 24 Taiwanese tourists and eight staff were found dead on a boat when cruising Chingtao Lake in Zhejiang Province, China. Their bodies were burned and locked in the lower deck of the cruising boat. The way the Chinese government dealt with this incident was to seal any communication channel, and the local government treated those victims' families poorly. Those actions irritated Taiwanese people and government officials. Taiwanese government halted any talks with Chinese officials until the criminals got apprehended and the truth of this incident was revealed. A few months after the murderers were executed, ROC/PRC relations slowly returned to pre-tragedy pace. In 1995, Taiwan's then president, Lee Teng-hui visited his alma mater, Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, for a class reunion. The U.S. government issued him the visa as a normal person entering the U.S. However, no one would actually consider President Lee as just a normal person. This also marked the first time that a Taiwanese president stepped onto United States' soil after the end of official diplomacy between Taiwan and the U.S. Understandably, the PRC government was very unhappy.

In 1995, Taiwan was about to enact their first general presidential election. Before that, Taiwan used a system that allowed citizens to elect the National Assembly, and then the representatives in the National Assembly elected the president. The National Assembly was terminated in 2005. Before that, many representatives had been elected when the Nationalist government was in China. Since the government had relocated to Taiwan, those representatives could not be re-elected and but had kept their duty even though most of the people and the region they represented did not exist anymore. In

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1992, Taiwan's constitution was amended to say that the president should be elected through general election. The first general election for president was held in 1996. In the PRC's opinion, the general election was an indication of independence, which was a huge affront to the PRC government. As a result of the general election and President Lee's visit to the U.S., the PRC government decided to teach Taiwan a lesson. In July 1995, the PRC held "a series of missile tests in a range located on the Fukien coast and extending into the South China Sea over six days beginning on July 21. The target zone was located about 170 kilometers north of Taiwan itself" (Rubinstein, 1999, p. 484). The Taiwanese people considered the PRC government thugs for threatening Taiwan with military force.

In 2000, Chen Shui-bian was elected as the president. He was from the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and was the first Taiwanese president who was not from KMT. Traditionally, the DPP is against the PRC government. During his presidency from 2000 to 2008, Taiwan and China did not have much interaction. After Ma Ying-jeou—a member of KMT—won the presidency in 2008, the interaction between Taiwan and China revived.

One of the results of the more recent interaction is the ECFA. Regarding the ECFA, Chang and Hayakawa (2014) stated that "the scope of the agreement includes reducing tariffs, eliminating non-tariff trade barriers, promoting trade and investment contacts, and boosting economic development and employment" (p. 677). Part of the agreement is the Cross-Strait Agreement on Trade in Service, which may promote the flow of human resources between Taiwan and China. However, some Taiwanese people also consider that it may hurt Taiwan's economy to allow Chinese people to enter Taiwan and stay freely. Due to the negative record of the PRC government toward Taiwan,

Taiwanese people consider the PRC government hostile. The PRC government did shoot missiles toward Taiwan in 1995. No matter how the agreement on service trade will be crafted, there are still a lot of restrictions for Chinese people to come to Taiwan. After decades of lifting the martial law between Taiwanese and Chinese governments, citizens of both countries can form more complicated relationships with each other. For instance, many of my friends are working in China. Some relatives and friends go to school in China. Marriage between Taiwanese and Chinese people is very common now. However, due to the restriction for Chinese people coming to Taiwan, there are fewer chances for Chinese people to stay in Taiwan for a long term. The possible relationships that can be formed in Taiwan will be described in the following section.

Types of Relationships Between Taiwanese and Chinese People

According to the "Act Governing Relations between the People of the Taiwan Area and the Mainland Area" (Mainland Affairs Council, Republic of China, 2009) and related laws and regulations, Chinese people can stay in Taiwan longer than one month if his/her spouse is Taiwanese or the Chinese individual goes to school in order to purse a degree or to an exchange program for higher than an associate degree. Chinese people also can visit Taiwan for leisure, business or academic visiting, visiting relatives, medical trips, etc. However, those visiting occasions are all short term. For now, the only opportunities for Chinese people to stay in Taiwan longer are for marriage and studying.

The possible relationships between Taiwanese and Chinese people in Taiwan include a romantic relationship, family relationship, workplace relationship, or friendship. Since the biggest reason for Chinese people to settle down in Taiwan is for marriage, romantic relationships and family relationships are the two types of relationship

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that most Taiwanese and Chinese people develop in Taiwan. Just like Ying, my cousin's wife, most Taiwanese people have contact with other Chinese people in Taiwan through a family network. Those Chinese spouses would have the chance to work in Taiwan. That opens another possibility to form workplace relationships. Ying works for a travel agency right now. She did made some friends through work and with her neighbors. Ying developed friendships with Taiwanese people through work and community networks. With the policy allowing Chinese people to come to Taiwan for school, friendships are most common between Taiwanese people and Chinese students.

Friendship between students is different than friendship between Taiwanese spouses and their networks in three ways. First, students will go back to China and spread the stories of their experiences in Taiwan. Since those Chinese students are only in Taiwan for studying, they eventually have to go back to China. Their experience will be able to affect other Chinese people who have not been to Taiwan yet. With the sharing of positive experiences between Taiwanese and Chinese students, they may be able to form positive attitudes toward each other in the future. Second, a school environment is less complicated than family or workplace settings where power relationships are totally different than in school contexts. In school environments, students only need to focus on studying, making friends, and having fun. In the workplace, employees have to pay attention to performance and relationships with bosses and other colleagues. The friendship formation will be more complicated than in school environment. Third, the school environment can facilitate students' accomplishing common goals. Even though the workplace can also provide common goals, the nature will be more competitive than school settings. The family setting lacks this goal-oriented tendency. According to

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Pettigrew (1998), a common goal is an important condition to having positive contact.

There are several factors that can make friendship happen. Scholars have done research on intercultural friendship formation, development, and maintenance. The following sections will focus on success factors for friendship formation, development, and maintenance.

Intercultural Friendship Formation, Development, and Maintenance

Intercultural friendship involves various factors. Collier (1996) examined friendships between individuals from different ethnic backgrounds. First, she defined friendship by using Aristotle's definition from *Rhetoric* in Cooper's article (as cited in Collier, 1996): "any relationship characterized by mutual liking, that is, by mutual well-wishing well-doing out of concern for another" (p. 314). In her study, Collier (1996) found out that Latinos view friendship as having a supportive function, Asian Americans consider friendship as exchanging ideas, African Americans take showing respect to others and consideration for others as very important, and European Americans value honest disclosure and advice. As Collier (1996) pointed out, while these various norms are more salient in certain ethnic groups, it does not mean that those ethnic groups do not value less prominent norms. One of the findings is that the notion of cultural identity has to be respected by others. It means that respecting others' cultural identity is always important no matter which ethnic group the individual belongs to.

While Collier (1996) emphasized the differences among different ethnic groups within U.S. society, other scholars pay attention to how non-American sojourners make friends with Americans. Imamura, Zhang, and Harwood (2011) aimed to understand Japanese students' attitudes toward American students in first encounters. They

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discovered that the influence of linguistic comfort and communication accommodation in cognitive behaviors and affective attitudes affects how Japanese students and American students make friends. The influence was mediated by relational solidarity. Linguistic comfort refers to how at ease or calm someone is when speaking a second language, such as Japanese students speaking English. Communication accommodation refers to how American students accommodate their language and/or communication style to Japanese students. One aspect that needs to be mentioned is that Imamura and his colleagues (2011) focused on the first impression of intercultural contact. They did not follow up and examine if those Japanese students and American students actually became friends afterward.

First impressions are the main focus of Imamura and his colleagues' (2011) study. First impressions, of course,are important for individuals to make friends. However, making friends relies on many different factors. Lee (2006) interviewed 15 intercultural friendship dyads and identified seven strategies/activities that shape the relational identities between intercultural friendship dyads. Those strategies/activities are: (1) positivities/providing assistance; (2) rituals, activities, rules, and roles; (3) self-disclosure; (4) networking; (5) exploring cultures and languages; (6) emphasizing similarities and exploring differences; and (7) conflict/conflict management. Two of the strategies/activities that were thoroughly examined are exploring cultures and languages and conflict/conflict management. For intercultural friendship, being curious about the other's culture is a crucial condition. If the interactant is not interested in other cultures, he or she will not have the motivation to initiate and/or develop friendship with people from other cultural backgrounds. Another important aspect that Lee (2006) discussed is

conflict/conflict management. Intercultural friendship has more chance to encounter conflict. Due to the different cultural backgrounds, conflict between intercultural friendships will be more complicated than intracultural friendships. The reasons for conflict and the strategies used to manage the conflict will vary from culture to culture.

Similar to Lee (2006), Hotta and Ting-Toomey (2013) were also interested in different factors that facilitate friendship development. They conducted a qualitative study on international students making friends in the U.S. They found out that time is a critical condition to forming friendship. Since international students have limited time in the U.S., they can only use this compressed time to improve their friendship quality with other American students. The time limitation influenced how international students spent their time on friendship development. They also found out that international students would experience identity shock. Three dialectical sub-theme patterns were under identity shock: feeling visible/feeling invisible, friendship openness/closedness, and feeling like a guest/feeling like an alien. Feeling visible/feeling invisible refers to the dialectic tension that international students want to be recognized but, at the same time, want to be able to blend into the crowd. Friendship openness/closedness describes how international students have to struggle if they want to self-disclose more to their American friends due to their vulnerability on identity and trust issues with other American friends. Feeling like a guest/feeling like an alien refers to how welcome international students feel being treated by the American student. Four factors can be identified through this study: time, self-confidence, trustworthiness, and treatment from the host students.

While some factors make perfect sense to friendship development (e.g., time and closeness), other factors that are not as clear also play important roles in friendship

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development. Glass, Gómez, and Urzua (2014) discovered that constraints of recreation will negatively influence the friendship development between international students and host students. In particular, they found that non-European international students have more constraints on recreation, which indicates that non-European students have different types of recreation than American/European students. One of the examples would be if the international students are not used to drinking in bars, their interaction with American students and European students will limit to fewer social events. Eastern/Southeastern Asian Students have more constraints than students from Southern Asia and the Middle East/North Africa. Students with more constraints have stronger friendship with co-national students and less friendship with host or lower constraints students.

Previous studies about intercultural friendship were mostly conducted in the U.S. All the cases are between Americans and non-Americans. Few studies are conducted outside of the U.S. Gill (2007) examined a cohort of Chinese students who spent one year studying at a British university and identified the three-fold "stress-adaptation-growth" intercultural learning process. One of the important components of adaptation relies on the social network. Language ability is the key to reaching out to other English friends and, furthermore, helps to reshape Chinese students' identity as more interculturally competent.

Most of the studies related to intercultural friendship involve Americans and the members of one particular ethnic outgroup. Sias et al. (2008) aimed to understand overall conditions on intercultural friendship formation and development. Sias and her colleagues (2008) identified four major factors of intercultural friendship formation: targeted socializing, cultural similarities, cultural differences, and prior intercultural

experience. Targeted socializing refers to an environment that is specifically designed to encourage intercultural friendship. For instance, some universities may have an international fair or diversity festival to encourage international students to interact with host students. Those events target specific issues and groups of people and provide the opportunity to develop intercultural friendships. Cultural similarities refer to the fact that individuals will find it easier to develop friendships with others who have similar cultural backgrounds. In addition, individuals with previous intercultural experiences are more willing to makes friends with individuals from other cultural backgrounds. The researchers also suggest that language barrier will hinder the development of intercultural friendship. International students with difficulty speaking English fluently will have issues making friends with individuals who cannot speak their languages. Native English speakers find it more challenging to communicate with individuals whose English is not fluent. However, the authors also found that language barriers sometimes motivate individuals to communicate more. Language can be a barrier but also a catalyst for intercultural friendship formation.

The situation between Taiwanese and Chinese students is different from the scenario that Sias et al. (2008) researched in their study. First, language barrier will be much less prominent than intercultural friendships in the U.S. Mandarin is the official language in both Taiwan and China. Even though accent, some word usage, and idioms are different in both countries, there should be no significant difficulty in communication between Taiwanese and Chinese people. Some of the language difference may be the catalyst to develop friendship as Sias et al. (2008) pointed out. In order to understand the minor differences between Taiwanese and Chinese mandarin, they may be willing to

communicate with each other more. Second, Taiwan and China have similar cultural

roots. Even though, historically, Taiwan and China experienced different routes of

political and cultural development, some cultural values are still similar. For instance,

Confucianism still plays an important role in both countries. Reciprocity and harmony are

highly appreciated in most of East Asia, including Taiwan and China. Third, historical

and political issues may play a significant role in friendship formation between

Taiwanese and Chinese students, which is not important in Sias and her colleagues'

(2008) study.

Most scholars are interested in the factors that may facilitate intercultural

friendship formation and development. Some scholars pay attention to the stages of

friendship development. Lee (2008) identified three stages and two transition phases in

intercultural friendship formation. The three stages are initial encounter, interaction, and

involvement. Initial encounters are the first time potential friends meet. At this stage,

interactants start with casual conversation and exchange personal information.

Interestingly, intercultural interactants will also clarify some of the common

misunderstandings and stereotypes about other group. Before moving to the second stage,

interactants will encounter the first transition phase. At this phase, interactants will

experience some need or interests that will motivate them to moving forward their

friendship. The second stage is the interaction stage; here, interactants will have frequent

social interactions and start to develop a deeper connection and group identity. The

second transition phase, turning point, will happen following the second stage.

Interactants will encounter the turning point at this phase, and their friendship may or

may not escalate during this transition. Those turning points, according to Lee (2008),

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include meeting the interactants' parents, significant others, or becoming roommates. The third stage is involvement. At this stage, interactants built trust and consider the other party as a "true" friend. The stable friendship has been secured.

The intercultural friendship formation stages and phases provide a holistic picture of the progression of friendship. The interesting part of this study is that Lee (2008) pointed out two phases that escalate friendship: needs/interests and turning points. For the friendship formation and maintenance between Taiwanese and Chinese students, those two phases may be critical, and the factors should be investigated in order to further understand what motivates Taiwanese and Chinese students to become friends.

Intergroup Contact Theory, Communication Accommodation Theory, and Identity Negotiation Theory

Grounded theory approach is commonly used by qualitative researchers. Grounded theory involves spontaneously coding data and finding patterns. Theories are generated through the process of coding (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2001). Bowen (2008) pointed out that researchers who embrace grounded theory often use sensitizing concepts to guide their analysis. Tracy (2012) pointed out that "most researchers begin with an inventory of favorite concepts, theories, and personal interests to draw attention to certain features in the scene" (p. 28). Ragin and Amoroso (2010) stated that sensitizing concepts provide researchers tentative analytical frames that reflect current theoretical ideas. Bowen (2008) explained further about sensitizing concepts which provide starting points for building analysis to produce a grounded theory. Grounded theory is adequate for recognizing and interpreting social processes. Sensitizing concepts provide the chance for the researcher an idea on how observed instances of a phenomenon might be suitable

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within conceptual categories.

For friendship formation and maintenance between Taiwanese and Chinese people, three theories may be starting points for analyzing the data: intergroup contact theory (ICT), communication accommodation theory (CAT), and identity negotiation theory (INT). ICT focuses on how ingroup members may have positive attitudes toward outgroup members. In the case of Taiwanese and Chinese friendships on Taiwanese university campuses, Taiwanese students are the obvious ingroup members, and Chinese students are the outgroup members. ICT may provide the guidelines for analyzing the contact between Taiwanese and Chinese students. CAT provides the framework for how individuals from different cultural backgrounds communicate with each other. According to CAT, the strategies that individuals use to communicate with other individuals from different cultural backgrounds will influence the development of their relationship. CAT may be able to provide the framework for what kinds of strategies Taiwanese and Chinese students use to initiate and maintain friendship. INT emphasizes how identity is negotiated during intercultural interactions. Since identity is one of the issues, if not the most prominent issue, between Taiwanese and Chinese people, INT may be a guideline for understanding the interaction between Taiwanese and Chinese students. Those three theories will be summarized in the following sections.

Intergroup Contact Theory

Intergroup contact theory (ICT) is based on social psychologist Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis. Psychologist Pettigrew (1998) developed ICT by adding two more conditions to the original hypothesis. The main function of promoting intergroup contact is to reduce prejudice between two groups of people. Pettigrew and Tropp (2006)

conducted a meta-analysis that examined 515 studies on intergroup research and concluded that intergroup contact can typically reduce prejudice. They also found that those contacts can extend to groups that are not only defined by race or ethnicity but also factors such as age, gender, and sexual orientation. Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, and Christ (2011) extended the meta-analysis and reported that contact also has other positive outcomes, such as greater trust and mitigating past transgressions.

As Pettigrew (1998) pointed out, Allport (1954) proposed four key conditions to effective intergroup contact: equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and support of authorities, law, or custom. Pettigrew (1998) extended the original four conditions with two additional conditions, potential of friendship and time, and developed the intergroup contact theory.
Pettigrew (1998) also identified four processes of potential change that explain effective contact: learning about the outgroup, changing behavior, generating affectivities, and ingroup reappraisal.

Learning about the outgroup: Effective contact can only occur when (1) the ingroup individual views the outgroup member as the typical representative of the entire outgroup, (2) the outgroup member hold conflicting common stereotypes of this group, and (3) the outgroup member has to constantly do stereotype-changing actions. New information related to the outgroup is the first step toward attitude changing.

Changing behavior: An ingroup member will start changing his or her behavior once he or she senses that the outgroup member violated a stereotype. Changing behavior is the step before changing attitude.

Generating affectivities: Positive emotion is the key to building up effective

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contact. To change one's attitude, Pettigrew (1998) pointed out that positive contact also relies on what the contact can link to positive emotion. With positive emotion, the contact can be recognized as positive. As Pettigrew (1998) stated, "contact involves both cognition and affect" (p. 75).

Ingroup reappraisal: The final step for attitude change is to influence an ingroup member's point of view of the outgroup. The effective contact between ingroup and outgroup members may lead to reevaluating the social norm of the ingroup from the ingroup members. It indicates that one ingroup member who has positive contact with outgroup members may bring this positive image to the ingroup and influence other ingroup members to change their attitudes toward the outgroup members.

As noted earlier, the main goal of positive intergroup contact is to reduce prejudice (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2003; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011). In Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) study, they indicated that the relationship between positive contact and reducing prejudice is positively related. In the studies reviewed by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), the contact is mainly limited to in-person contact. Dovidio, Eller, and Hewstone (2011) pointed out that indirect and imaginary contact may also be effective for positive contact. Indirect contact occurs when the contacted interactants share some characteristics with other outgroup remembers who do not have direct contact within the interaction. For instance, an American student who has a positive contact with a Taiwanese student may have a positive image toward other East Asian students since they share some similar cultural traits. This finding is also supported by Wright, Aron, Mclaughlin-Volpe, and Ropp (1997) and Pettigrew and Tropp (2006). Imaginary contact refers to individuals who imagine the contact with an outgroup

member. For instance, young students may imagine contact with an elderly person, and this imaginary contact will have a positive impact even though those young students do not have direct contact with older people. Even though the effect is much less significant than in-person contact, the effect is still positive. Turner and Crisp (2010) also supported the effect of imaginary contact to reduce prejudice. One of the implications from those findings is that a positive intergroup contact environment can be created without actual physical contact. For example, an online environment is one of the solutions to creating a positive contact. Since the interaction between Taiwanese and Chinese is not as easy as between some other countries, using indirect contact may be a solution to reducing prejudice.

Communication Accommodation Theory

Psychologist Giles developed the communication accommodation theory (CAT) based on dialect and accent accommodation with interactants from different cultural backgrounds (Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991). CAT was initially named speech accommodation theory. Giles extended the original theory to include nonverbal communication and changed the name to communication accommodation theory.

The idea of CAT is based on the assumption that individuals from different cultural backgrounds will accommodate (or not) their communication styles, which will result (or not) in positive attitudes toward the other. Those accommodations include accents, dialect usage, nonverbal cues, and/or conversation topics.

There are five types of potential accommodations: convergence, divergence, maintenance, over-accommodation, and under-accommodation. Divided by the function of accommodation, convergence can be categorized as an accommodating strategy and

divergence, maintenance, under- and over-accommodation can be categorized as non-accommodating strategies.

CAT provides strategies to adjust an individual's communication style to accommodate other individuals from different cultural backgrounds. From a verbal perspective, even though Taiwanese and Chinese people both use Mandarin Chinese as the official language, the word usages and accents are different from each other. For instance, "printer" has different names in Taiwan and China. When Taiwanese and Chinese people refer to "printer," one of them has to accommodate the other in order to communicate effectively.

Among those accommodation conditions, the most challenging one may be the topical accommodation. There are many protracted conflicts between Taiwanese and Chinese people due to political and historical disagreements. For instance, the topic of Hong Kong's Occupying Central, a huge protest that objected to the unfair ruling general election to the governor of Hong Kong drafted by the Chinese government, and the issues of Tibet, Uyghur, the South China Sea, and other similar topics are extremely sensitive to Chinese people. Some Chinese people are open-minded to those topics and are willing to discuss while others may feel offended when discussing these topics. Taiwan is one of the most sensitive topics. Most Taiwanese people view Taiwan as an independent country, while some Chinese people still view Taiwan as part of China. A recent example is the case of the Harvard Model United Nation on February 09, 2015 (Nylander, 2015). At this event, Taiwan was listed as a country even though Taiwan is not an official member of United Nations. Chinese participants filed a complaint with the event host and organized a protest. The host decided to evict the Chinese participants from the event. The topics

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related to Taiwan are extremely sensitive for both parties. From a convergence accommodation point of view, avoiding those topics may be the best strategy in the beginning. Once the friendship is formed, those sensitive topics may be able to be discussed.

On the other hand, interactants who keep bringing up those topics and use non-accommodating strategies may tend to maintain their own identity. This preference may lead to the next theory, identity negotiation theory (INT). Before discussing INT, CAT also provides other insights on interactions between Taiwanese and Chinese people.

Ayoko, Hartel, and Callan (2002) stated that convergence accommodation can facilitate culturally heterogeneous groups on productive conflict and less destructive conflict. For Taiwanese and Chinese people, achieving a common goal and intergroup cooperation are the key conditions for positive contact. Convergence accommodation may also lead the way to positive cooperation. Hornsey and Gallois (1998) pointed out that individuals with more of an intergroup tendency will be more appreciative of convergence while individuals with an interpersonal tendency will be less likely to converge. This study indicates that individuals who are open-minded and willing to contact individuals from different cultural backgrounds will accept individuals from other cultural backgrounds who adopt convergence strategies. On the other hand, individuals who focus more on their own social circle will be less likely to accept outgroup individuals even though these outgroup individuals adopt convergence strategies. The implication is that individuals' mindsets will be another factor that determines the level of success of the contact even though the counter parties choose to converge.

Identity Negotiation Theory

Ting-Toomey proposed identity negotiation theory (INT) in 1993 (Ting-Toomey, 2005). Originally, there were eight assumptions in this theory. In 2005, Ting-Toomey reconstructed the theory and extended it to 10 assumptions. The two main concepts "identity" and "negotiation" are defined by Ting-Toomey (2005) as follows:

> Identity is viewed as reflective self-images constructed, experienced, and communicated by the individuals within a culture and in a particular interaction situation. The concept of negotiation is defined as a transactional interaction process whereby individuals in an intercultural situation attempt to assert, define, modify, challenge, and/or support their own and others' desired self-images. Identity negotiation is, at a minimum, a mutual communication activity. (p. 217)

INT argues that individuals may form and/or evoke the desired identity through mindful communication. Ting-Toomey (2005), then, transformed those assumptions into identity dialectics with five boundary-crossing themes: identity security-identity vulnerability, identity inclusion-identity differentiation, identity predictability-identity unpredictability, identity connection-identity autonomy, identity consistency-identity change. When individuals communicate with others, those dialectic tensions will influence communicative behaviors. In order to generate positive feedback in the identity negotiation process, mindful communication components are required: identity knowledge, mindfulness, and identity-negotiation skills.

INT can provide a way to understand why and how identity is negotiated through communication between Taiwanese and Chinese people. As mentioned above, the most sensitive topic between Taiwanese and Chinese people is the status of Taiwan. Some

Taiwanese decide to assimilate to Chinese identity more, while others keep maintaining a Taiwanese identity. By using a dialectical approach to understand the identity negotiation process, we may be able to understand the individual's mindset on how to negotiate identity. Those identity negotiating components also provide solutions for positive outcomes in this process. The identity knowledge component in this case relates to how much interactants know about the nature of those identity issues. Taiwanese people may not fully understand the impact of the topics related to not only Taiwanese issues but also other issues like Tibet or Uyghur. Some Chinese people may also neglect the influence of Japan in Taiwan and misunderstand the post-colonial relationship between Taiwan and Japan. The mindfulness component may relate to the study by Hornsey and Gallois (1998) on how personal attitude will dictate the perception of convergence accommodation. Without mindfulness, communication cannot be positive. The identity-negotiation skills component reflects on how Taiwanese and Chinese people may communicate effectively to create a positive outcome. It also relates to what kind of accommodation strategy they may adopt.

Research Questions

Intercultural friendship has been studied in different contexts and for different purposes. Some scholars aimed to identify factors that influence friendship formation, while others focused on transition stages. As a researcher, I realize that the friendship transition stage is an important aspect in friendship development. However, I am more interested in identifying the factors that influence intercultural friendship formation, development, and maintenance.

Another unique point of this study is that previous studies mainly focus on

friendship between sojourners and English-speaking host members. This study focuses on

friendship between Taiwanese and Chinese, and the environment is in Taiwan. The

setting is entirely in East Asia. The meaning of the findings will be very different from

Western-based research. Since the situation is different between Taiwanese and Chinese

people with language ability, identity issues, and protracted conflict, the factors will be

different from other contexts. From previous studies, some factors were identified that

would influence intercultural friendship formation (e.g., language, previous intercultural

experience, turning point events, constraints on recreations, etc.). However, the situation

will be different between Taiwanese and Chinese students as discussed in previous

sections. This leads to the first research question:

> RQ1: What are the factors that individuals in Taiwanese/Chinese student
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> friendships identify as contributing to their friendship formation, development,
>
> and maintenance?

Even though the factors are identified, the influential relationship among those

factors is unknown. That is, we do not know how those factors relate to each other in

intercultural friendship formation. The influential relationship may help explain how the

friendship is formed, developed, and maintained between Taiwanese and Chinese

students. The question of why those factors are identified and why some factors have

more influence than other factors is also unclear. In Broome and Fulbright's (1995) study

on the small group process, they found that the participants believe that planning,

organizational culture, and resource constraints are the three most important areas that

exerted the most negative influence on the group process. However, those three areas are

often not mentioned in textbooks or by other scholars. This is an indication that what

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researchers believe should be important maybe totally differ from what our participants think. In the case of Taiwanese and Chinese student friendship formation, development, and maintenance, the relationship between those factors may contradict what we assume. Since those answers may help future Taiwanese and Chinese students establish friendships, it is important to understand the reason behind those influence structures. This leads to second research question:

> RQ2: How do individuals in Taiwanese/Chinese student friendship dyads view the influence relationship among these factors?

> This study aimed to examine the Taiwanese/Chinese students currently in friendships. The reason for examining participants in Taiwanese/Chinese friendship dyads was to encourage those participants to reflecting their experiences on this topic.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

For this study, qualitative methods were used to collect data from Taiwanese and Chinese participants. Flick (2009) stated that qualitative methods can provide a way of understanding the social world due to the multiple facets of the real world. Qualitative methods were used in this study to help provide a deeper insight into the formation of friendship between Taiwanese and Chinese participants. The following sections of this chapter are organized in five parts. First, the advantages of using qualitative methods for this topic will be addressed. Second, the techniques that were used in this study will be explained. Third, the participants will be described. Fourth, the procedure will be introduced. Fifth, the scoring criteria will be presented.

The Advantage of Using Qualitative Methods

As a communication scholar, I have gravitated toward a post-positivist paradigm. Corman (2004) pointed out that post-positivist scholars aim to explain social phenomena and identify the causal relationship. Martin and Nakayama (2010) declared that post-positivist scholars view culture as variables. As Miller (2000) pointed out, scholars from post-positivist paradigms tend to adopt quantitative methods. My initial approach to the topic of Taiwanese/Chinese friendship formation was to use a post-positivist lens and quantitative methods. After reviewing the literature and increasing my knowledge of the topic, however, I realized that quantitative methods cannot fully answer my research questions. First of all, Taiwan and China have a history of protracted conflict. The relationship between the Taiwanese and Chinese is not easily captured by one of two variables. Second, quantitative methods may not be adequate to illustrate a holistic

influential relationship among the factors that affect Taiwanese/Chinese friendship formation, which is one of my goals for this study. For these reasons, I decided to switch to an interpretive paradigm for the study. Scholars from the interpretive paradigm, as Marin and Nakayama (2010) pointed out, are "concerned with understanding the world as it is, and describing the subjective, creative communication of individuals, usually using qualitative research methods" (p. 60). Since my goals were to unveil factors that affect Taiwanese/Chinese friendship and the influential relationship between these factors, I felt it was appropriate to adopt an interpretive paradigm and use qualitative methods in this study.

The adoption of qualitative methods proved beneficial for answering my research questions. Johnson and Christensen (2008) pointed out several advantages of using qualitative methods, including getting deeper and meaningful data, getting a holistic understanding of social phenomena, and discovering meanings that are not apparent on the surface. Those advantages were helpful in this study. First, I aimed to identify the factors that affect Taiwanese/Chinese friendship within the interwoven complexity of the histories and protracted conflicts between these two countries. Qualitative methods helped me uncover participants' deeper opinions on this topic. Second, holistic understanding of Taiwanese/Chinese friendship was essential in order to identify the influential relationship. Previous studies on intercultural friendship have identified different factors that cover a wide range from language, cultural curiosity, time, shared interest to recreational activities (Glass, Gómez, and Urzua, 2014; Gill, 2007; Hotta & Ting-Toomey, 2013; Lee, 2006; Sias et al., 2008). Because of this wide range of factors, a holistic investigation is needed to identify their influential relationship, and qualitative

methods helps to support this examination. Third, qualitative methods are good for uncovering latent meaning behind the phenomenon. In this study, qualitative methods were used to identify the influential relationship of Taiwanese/Chinese friendship formation factors and discover the meanings behind it.

In order to include as many opinions from the participants as possible, the techniques that were applied in this study were participant-driven techniques. Intercultural friendship between Taiwanese and Chinese students involved complex issues such as political disagreements and cultural barriers. Allowing participants to express their opinions freely was invaluable. Another reason that using a participant-driven technique is suitable is due to axiological concerns, which are, according to Miller (2004), the concerns of a researcher's personal values on the study. Since I am Taiwanese myself, my personal values and beliefs would influence this study in some ways. As much as possible, I tried to minimize the influences of my personal values. By doing so, I still hold certain post-positivist values by keeping myself neutral in this study. As Miller (2000) pointed out, scholars from post-positivist paradigm aim to separate themselves from their studies. By adopting more participant-driven techniques, I aimed to suspend my personal values from this study as much as possible. This aspect of keeping my personal values out of this study suggests that it is difficult to switch from one paradigm to another. The following section will focus on the techniques that were used in this study.

Qualitative Techniques

Four major techniques were applied in this study: idea gathering, facilitated focus group, semi-structured interview and Interpretive Structure Modeling (ISM). This study

was divided into three stages. The first one was idea collecting, in which participants were asked to email me their ideas on what affected their friendship with another party. The second stage was a facilitated focus group, where participants were asked to clarify those ideas that they provided. After the clarification, all of the ideas were categorized by the participants. Then, those participants were asked to vote on those factors to determine which were the most important to them. Using a focus group, as Tracy (2013) pointed out, can explore emotional experiences and provide creative types of data-gathering. In this stage, participants could discuss with each other, clarify ideas and collectively sort those ideas. Using a focus group meant that the data was not only participant-driven but also group-generated.

Stage three was a one-on-one interview in which ISM was used as a tool to guide the interview protocol. The following sections will explain why those two techniques were chosen: individual idea generating and the innovative technique-ISM.

Reasons for Choosing a Semi-structured Interview

Hostein and Gubrium (2002) stated that "Interviewing provides a way of generating empirical data about the social world by asking people to talk about their lives." This study is focusing on the personal experiences and reflections of friendship formation between Taiwanese and Chinese university students. The sharing of personal experiences through one-on-one interviews allowed me to collect in-depth data from the participants and to uncover the latent meanings behind their ISM decisions.

As Flick (2009) stated, semi-structured interviews can generate meaningful data by probing responses that interest the researchers. Even though the questions were determined by the factors that were chosen from a previous focus group, the combination

of influence factors was determined by ISM software. The following section will explain why ISM was appropriate for this study.

Reasons for Choosing ISM

This study uses Interpretive Structure Modeling (ISM) as the main tool for analyzing influential structure on friendship and maintenance factors. ISM was developed by Warfield (1976) and aims to explore the influential relationship among a set of factors or ideas (Broome, 1995). Attri, Dev, and Sharma (2013) pointed out that ISM is an interactive learning process. In this technique, a set of different directly and indirectly related elements are structured into a comprehensive systematic model, which represents a complex issue or problem in a carefully designed pattern implying graphics as well as words. (p. 3)

ISM has been used by researchers in different disciplines. For example, Ranjan Debata, Sree, Patnaik, and Sankar Mahapatra (2013) used ISM to evaluate medical tourism enablers. Enabler, or factor, is the term the researchers used to describe what influences individuals who are making the decision about where to go for medical tourism. The researchers found that healthcare infrastructure facilities and global competition linked enablers to other enablers, such as research in medicine and pharmaceutical science, the medical tourism market, and transplantation law. Business scholars Singh and Kant (2008) conducted a study on knowledge management implementation barriers in organizations by using the ISM approach. They found that lack of top management commitment is the most salient barrier to knowledge management implementation. Sahney, Banwet, and Karunes (2010) examined the quality of Indian higher education and found that clear and specific policies and procedures,

machinery for evaluation and control, adaptive resource allocation, reward policy/incentives, and participation and involvement are fundamental drivers for the quality of higher education.

ISM has also been employed in the communication field. Broome (1995) analyzed the vision statements of Native American tribes in Oklahoma and found that categories related to Participation/Involvement and Ownership were considered to be more influential to the tribes' future. The categories concerned with Relationships (tribal and non-tribal) and Contribution (to local, national, and global issues) were considered to be influenced by other categories, which indicates those two categories locate to the end part of the structure. Four levels emerged from those structures. The first level was Participation/Involvement and Ownership. The second level included Individual Responsibility and Continuation of the People. The third level was Quality of Life and Preservation of Identity as a Tribe. The fourth level included Collective Responsibility, Inclusiveness, Connectiveness to the Natural Environment, Relationship, and Contribution. Level two influenced and supported level one and so on for the levels that followed.

Broome and Fulbright (1995) used ISM to identify barriers to group problem solving. Ten categories and five stages were generated from the ISM process. Stage one included Methodology Deficiency, Cultural Diversity, and Planning Shortfalls. Stage two included Resource Constraints, Group Composition, and Organizational Culture. Stage three included Communication Barriers, and Climate Concerns, Stage four included Attitude Problems, and Stage five included Process Failure. These stages demonstrate how ISM can unveil latent influential relationship between factors.

While Broome and Fulbright (1995) focused on using ISM for small group problem solving, Valianos (2014) used it for identifying sojourner's experience on studying abroad. She found out that sojourners should hold an open mind in order to assimilate to host cultures and enrich their experiences while studying abroad. Valianos (2014) used ISM to identify a participant-generated model of the factors contributing to the success of sojourner adjustment. The first step was growing competency. The factors in the second one were self-concept and flexibility. The third one was risk taking. The fourth one was sensitivity. The fifth one was program fit and the last one was relationship management.

The use of ISM is particularly suitable for investigating the issue of Taiwanese and Chinese friendship formation since the historical and political issues are intertwined and protracted conflict still exists between these two groups of people. Broome and Chen (1992) pointed out that computer-assisted methodology can help groups solve complex problems. ISM is a computer-aided methodology that can identify influential relationships among factors to an issue or problem (Attri, Dev & Sharma, 2013; Broome, 1995). ISM involves several procedural steps: (1) identify the elements that are relevant to the problem, (2) establish a contextual relationship between elements with respect to which pairs of elements would be examined, (3) develop a structural self-interaction matrix (SSIM) of elements, (4) develop a reachability matrix from the SSIM, (5) partition the reachability matrix into different levels, (6) convert the reachability matrix into conical form, (7) draw a digraph based on the relationship given in the reachability matrix and remove transitive links, (8) convert the resultant digraph into an ISM-based model by replacing element nodes with the statements, (9) review the model to check for

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conceptual inconsistency and make the necessary modifications (Attri, Dev & Sharma, 2013, p. 5).

This study aims to examine the factors, also known as enablers or drivers, which help Taiwanese and Chinese students form friendships. The use of ISM allows the influential structure to be identified and provides a nuanced set of data for analysis.

Participants

The participants were recruited from a Taiwanese university that admits Chinese degree-seeking students and one-year exchange students from China. Since the study was conducted in June 2015, at the end of the academic year, Chinese and Taiwanese students had enough time to initiate and maintain a friendship with each other even if the Chinese students were in their freshmen year in Taiwan. Participants were Taiwanese and Chinese college students who had friends within the other respective group. Participants were not required to participate in this study as a dyad, though many participants did come as a dyad. It should be noted that participants who came as a dyad were not interviewed in a dyad. They were treated as two individuals and remained independent in this study. Nine Taiwanese students with Chinese friends and nine Chinese students with Taiwanese friends were recruited. The participants were recruited through professors in the university via a snowballing sampling procedure. The participants' average age was 20.61 years old, and the range was between 19–23 years old. The average friendship duration with each other was 19.22 months, and the range was between eight and 36 months. The average duration for Chinese students staying in Taiwan was 28.11 months, and the range was between 21–46 months. There were 17 females and one male.

Procedure

This study was conducted between June 20, 2015, and June 29, 2015, at Shih Hsin University in Taipei, Taiwan, and had three stages. In the first stage, emails were sent out to the participants that asked them to provide factors that they believed would contribute to their friendship with other groups. Fifty factors were collected in this stage, and many of these were repetitive. Participants responded with three to six factors; the average was 4.3 factors.

The second stage consisted of a facilitated focus group study. During this stage, the participants gathered in one classroom and spent three hours discussing the factors they had listed. They also generated several additional factors during the discussion phase. After clarifying each factor, the participants were asked to categorize those factors. Fourteen categories were generated, and each factor was sorted into one and only one category. The next phase was voting. Each participant was given 14 votes to choose what he or she thought was the most important factor from each category. After the first round of voting, each participant was given five more votes to choose across the categories. The fifteen highest-voted factors were imported into ISM for discussion in a one-on-one interview.

The third stage was a one-on-one interview conducted in Chinese. Each participant was asked to identify the influential relationship among the factors for friendship formation, development, and maintenance between his or her friend from the other group. After conducting 18 one-on-one interviews, I generated one ISM diagram for each participant that indicated an influential map of friendship formation, development, and maintenance between Taiwanese and Chinese students. As each answer was entered

into the ISM software, the next pair of factors was displayed. Figure 1 shows an example

of a pair of factors during the interview process.

Figure 1. Sample of ISM screen shot during the third stage one-on-one interview.

ISM software automatically determines influential relationships, so that when

Factor A influences B and Factor B influences C, it will determine that Factor A

influences C to minimize the number of queries. The ISM software created a matrix and

diagram for every interviewee based on how they answered these questions. In order to

assure that the procedure of this study would go smoothly, I carried out a pilot interview

with a Chinese colleague in my department (see Figure 2 for an example of an individual

ISM diagram from the pilot-study). This figure is for demonstration purposes only, as the

data from the pilot-study were not in any way related to the actual study and the ISM

diagram did not represent any actual results either.

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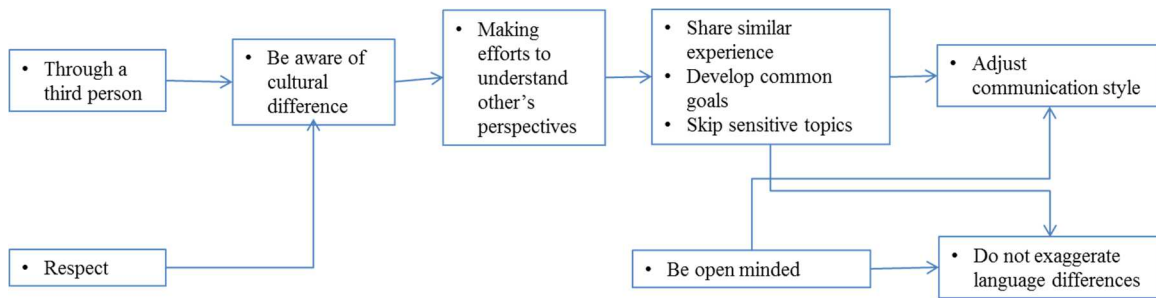
Figure 2. Sample individual ISM diagram

Once the third stage was done, 18 ISM diagrams were generated. Factors in each diagram were given different scores based on their position in the diagram and their relationship to other factors. The scoring calculating definition will be explained in the following section.

Calculating ISM Scores

Each ISM diagram can be analyzed by calculating the difference in scores for each factor. According to Broome (1995), Warfield and Cardenas (1994), and Valianos (2014), six scores can be given to each factor in each diagram. Those six scores are: position score (POS), antecedent score (ANT), succedent score (SUC), activity score (ACT), net succedent/antecedent score (NET S/A), and influence score (INF).

POS indicates the position that a factor occupies from the right to the left on the ISM diagram. The factor that is furthest to the left is assigned the highest score in the diagram. A factor with high POS indicates that the factor is more influential in the Taiwanese/Chinese friendship, since it represents the root of the friendship formation, development, and maintenance.

ANT indicates all the factors occupy to the left boxes of the factor on the ISM diagram. It designates how many factors influence/are beneficial to the factor. ANT

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shows how strongly the factor is supported by other factors.

SUC indicates all the factors occupy to the right boxes of the factor on the ISM diagram. It designates how many factors are influenced/benefited by the factor. SUC shows how strongly the factor supports other factors.

ACT indicates the combined score of ANT and SUC. The ACT score designates that a factor occupies the middle position on the ISM diagram. It shows that the factor may play a turning point in some cases (Broome, 1995).

The NET S/A indicates the SUC minus the ANT. The NET S/A score designates that the factor supports other factors or is supported by other factors. If the NET S/A score is positive, it means that this factor is the source of supporting other factors. If the NET S/A score is negative, it means that the factor is mostly influenced by other factors.

The INF indicates the POS score plus the NET S/A score for each factor. With the combination of the POS (the position that one factor occupies on the ISM diagram) and the NET S/A (the degree of supporting other factors/being supported by other factors) scores, the INF shows how influential one factor may be in relationship to other factors.

Those results are presented in the next chapter. The first part includes the categorizing and voting results from the second stage. The results from this stage reveal the instinctual first impressions of which factors are important in the process of friendship formation, development, and maintenance between Taiwanese and Chinese students. The second part is the individual ISM map. This part explores how individual participants mapped the influential relationship among those factors. The third part is the meta-analysis of the structures produced by the 18 participants, which unveils the latent influential relationship among the full set of factors.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS ANALYSES

During the first stage of the study, emails were sent out that asked participants to provide factors they believe contribute to their friendship with Taiwanese/Chinese groups. Fifty factors were collected in this stage. Many factors were repetitive. Some of them are exactly the same words.

In the second stage, a facilitated focus group study was conducted. Participants were gathered in one classroom and spent three hours discussing those factors. Several factors were generated during the discussion phase. After clarifying each factor, the participants were asked to categorize them. Fourteen categories were generated, and each factor was sorted into one and only one category. The next phase was voting. Each participant was given 14 votes to choose what he or she considered the most important factor from each category. After the first round of voting, each participant was given five more votes to choose across categories. The 15 highest voted factors were imported into Interpretive Structure Modeling (ISM) for the one-on-one interviews. Those factors and voting results are listed as Table 1.

Table 1

Factors and Categories

Item	Category	Factors
1	Social media	Using common social app
		Use Weibo, Baidu, WeChat (Chinese versions of Twitter, Google, WhatsApp)
		Understand the latest trend
		Watch more TV programs from China
		Recommend good TV shows
		(continued)

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Item	Category	Factors
2	Working attitudes	Similar working Style
3	Interests	Similar interests
		Doing common activities
		The same hobby
4	Time	Spending time together
		Engaging in school activities
		Being each other's' company
5	Assimilation	Assimilating to each other's social circle
		Make oneself assimilate into others' social circle
6	Language	Being familiar with different accent
		Understanding slang
		Learning each other's' dialects
		Familiar with online jargons
		Avoid speaking Fukien during communication
7	Political issue	Showing respect for each other's political propensity
		Openness about political issue (specific for whether Taiwanese students decide to make friends with Chinese students)
		Do not judge each other's political standpoints
		Do not publicly criticize each other's government
		Do not need to avoid political topics.
		Taiwan has a more open environment on politics. However, Taiwanese people should understand why Chinese people would possess certain points of view on certain topics.
		Do not talk about politics too often (not completely avoid it)
		Tolerate each other's' points of view (e.g., Taiwanese people would call leaving Taiwan to another country as "leaving the country," or "You Chinese."

(continued)

Item	Category	Factors
		Explaining political or current events to each other (There are many aspects other than presented on the news)
8	Personality	Matching personality
		Personality and ethics
9	Values	Similar views on values
		Views on finance and spending money
		Search for the same views on values
10	Emotional connection	Mutual liking
		Remember the moments that affect each other
11	Curiosity about culture	Curiosity about other's culture
		Share different customs and culture
		Curiosity
12	Respect and tolerance	Avoiding prejudice
		While encounter opposite opinions, asking about his or her reason behind it rather than denying his or her opinions
		Tolerance and open-minded
		Tolerate different ideas and standpoints
		Respect different recognition
		Accept different voices
		While encountering difficult issues, just change the subject
		More patience and mutual understanding
		Friendly responses are the key to friendship
		Accept differences
		While talking about certain issues, do not put judgement on each other
13	Geographical Concerns	Knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from
		From big city or rural area
14	Shared experience	Having the same extracurricular activities
		Similar living experience

The factors and categories generated in the focus group gave a first glimpse to how the participants thought about friendship formation, development, and maintenance between Taiwanese and Chinese students. The category with the most factors loading is respect and tolerance with 11 loaded factors. The category with the second highest factors loading is political issue with eight factors. The categories with the highest factor loading indicate that those categories are initially considered as the most important ones. The highest loaded category, respect and tolerance, reflects Lee's (2006) and Sias et al.'s (2008) studies on intercultural friendship. Respecting intercultural partners is one of the keys to successful friendship. When examining closely, the factors in this category represent the open-mined attitudes toward different ideas. One of the difficulties in intercultural relationships is how to deal with differences (Collier, 1996), which is true of Taiwanese and Chinese students. Dealing with differences is the issue they are most concerned about in their initial impression.

The second highest loaded factor, political issue, is not a surprise either. With protracted conflicts between Taiwan and China, political issues are definitely a huge concern for both parties. When examining these factors closely, participants all emphasized the importance of effective communication with each other. They mentioned both active listening and being open-minded to others' political viewpoints. From a communication accommodation theory (CAT) perspective, this is a very efficient communication style to achieve convergence. Ayoko, Hartel, and Callan (2002) pointed out that convergence accommodation is beneficial for managing conflict positively. This is important between Taiwanese and Chinese since most of the conflict between these two groups generated from the political differences.

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Both the social media and language categories were loaded as the third highest among the 15 categories. The two directly link to the communication channel, which is identified by many scholars as an important factor in intercultural friendship (Gill, 2007, Imamura et al., 2011, Sias et al., 2008).

After the categorizing phase, the participants were asked to vote. They were given 14 votes in the beginning to vote for the one factor they believed was the most prominent one in each category. After the first round of 14 votes, the participants were given five extra votes to vote across categories. They were required not to repeat a vote on their previously voted factors. In other words, they had to choose five more factors that were not their choices in the first round of voting. They could cast their votes to factors in the same categories. The only restriction was that they had to vote five factors that were not voted by them previously. The voting results are listed as Table 2.

Table 2

Voting Results

Item	Category	Factor	Votes
1	Social media	Using common social app	14
2	Working attitudes	Similar working style	13
3	Interests	Similar interests	11
4	Time	Spending time together	11
5	Assimilation	Assimilating to each other's social circle	11
6	Language	Being familiar with different accent	10
7	Language	Understanding slang	10
8	Political issue	Showing respect for each other's political propensity	10
9	Personality	Matching personality	10
10	Values	Similar views on values	10
11	Emotional connection	Mutual liking	9
12	Curiosity about culture	Curiosity about other's culture	8

(continued)

Item	Category	Factor	Votes
13	Respect and tolerance	Avoiding prejudice	7
14	Geographical concerns	Knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from	6
15	Shared experience	Having the same extracurricular activities	5

The highest voted factor was "using common social app" under the category of Social Media. This may reflect how millennials choose their communication channel in computer mediated communication (CMC). Erstad (2012) pointed out that the millennials grew up in a digital generation. Using technology is natural for them. However, young people use CMC differently inside and outside of the classroom. Their CMC habits outside the classroom cannot be applied to their school related uses without any cautions. The participants of this study are college students. Their CMC usage may reflect Erstad's (2012) view of technology on young people. Since CMC is the main channel they chose for communication, it is very important that they can communicate via commonly used social apps. One of the biggest issues is that certain websites and apps are banned in China. For instance, Facebook is not accessible in China. Google and YouTube are also denied in China. The most common social app, Line, which is similar to WhatsApp, has issues in China as well. In China, the most common social app is WeChat. In order to keep their communication channel effective, Taiwanese and Chinese students have to switch back and forth among different social apps. From some interviewee's responses, we may be able to confirm some of Erstad's (2012) points of view. Some interviewees expressed that they would use Line or WeChat for gossiping or non-work related messages. However, they would use Facebook Messenger for work related messages. It seems that the students may use different social apps to manage different social functions.

The second highest voted factor is "similar working style" under the category Working Attitudes. Shih Hsin University (SHU), the university that this study was conducted at, is a university with a communication focus. Many students took media production classes. Working in a team is important for many school projects. This may also reflect on one of the conditions for positive contact—working for the same goal. The third highest voted factors are interest, time, and assimilation. Those three factors are pointed out by different scholars. Pettigrew (1998) pointed out the importance of time for positive contact. Collier (1996), Lee (2006), and Sias et al. (2008) all demonstrated that time is the key factor for intercultural friendship. Similar interests are also the key for friendship formation (Lee, 2006; Lee, 2008; Sia et al., 2008).

The third stage of the study included the one-on-one interviews. Each participant was asked to identify the influential relationship among those factors selected the focus group. Interviewees were asked to focus on friendship formation, development, and maintenance with his or her friend from the other group. In each of the 18 one-on-one interviews, the participant generated an ISM diagram indicating his or her influential map on friendship formation, development, and maintenance between Taiwanese and Chinese students. The following sections will focus on analyzing those ISM results. The first part of data analysis will focus on individual ISM diagrams and how each interviewee identified his or her influential structure. The second part of the data analysis will focus on meta-analysis.

During the second stage of the study, participants categorized the factors they provided and voted which factors they believed contributed the most to their friendship with other groups. Their categorization and voting provided the first glance at their

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opinions based on their first impression. ISM, on the other hand, provided a deeper

explanation of how those factors influenced each other. The following section is the

results from individual ISM.

Individual ISM Analysis

The 15 highest voted factors were imported into ISM for stage three—the semi-

structured interviews. Since only one factor was chosen from each category, except

language with two factors ("being familiar with different accent" and "understand

slang"), all the following analyses will use factors instead of categories. While

conducting interviews, ISM software automatically pulled out a pair of factors for

interviewees to determine their influential relationship. The sequence of pairing was

based on the voting results. Every interviewee had the same pair for the first question

(which was then shown in reverse order): Does "using common social app" affect (or is

beneficial to) "working style"? Those two factors were voted the highest in stage two.

Hence, the ISM pulled out those pair for the first question. Interviewees answered those

questions based on his or her experience with a particular friend from the other group. If

the interviewee answered yes to one pair, he or she would be asked to elaborate why he

or she thought one factor would influence the other. If the answer was no, then they

would not be asked to provide rationales.

After all the participant's responses were entered in the ISM software, the

software would generate the matrix and diagram to portray each interview's mental map

on Taiwanese/Chinese friendship formation. Before the one-on-one interview, each

interviewee chose their alias. Many of them chose English names. In the following

section, the individual results will be presented with the interviewee's diagrams and their

interview contents. All the names used in the following section were chosen by the interviewees.

Chun
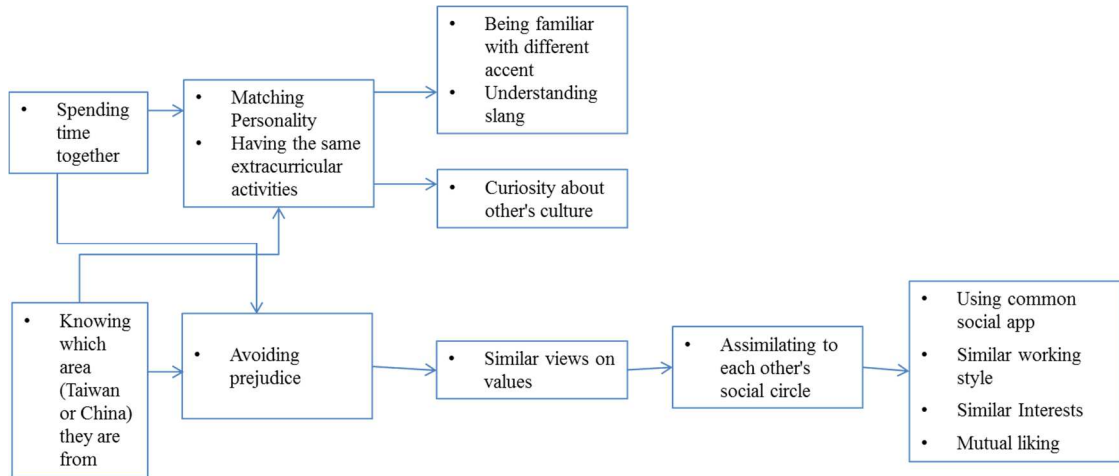
Figure 3. Chun's ISM diagram

Chun, a 20-year-old female from China, identified spending time together and which areas are they from as the most influential factors in a Taiwanese/Chinese friendship. Both factors are in separate boxes in Figure 2. Those two factors both contribute to "matching personality", "having the same extracurricular activities", and "avoiding prejudice". "Matching personality" and "having the same extracurricular activities" are in the same box. "Avoiding prejudice" is in a single box. Factors in the same box are in a cyclical relationship (i.e., the interviewees expressed that factor A supports factor B and vice versa). Those factors are situated in the same box when they both influence and are supported by the other factors in the box. As a result, the influential relationship in the same box is referred to as a cycle. "Matching personality" and "having the same extracurricular activities" contribute to "being familiar with different accent" and "understanding slang" in one box, while "curiosity about other's

culture" is in a single box. "Avoiding prejudice" contributes to "similar views on values".

"Similar views on values" contributes to "assimilating to each other's social circle".

"Assimilating to each other's social circle" contributes to "using common social app",

working style, "mutual liking", and "similar interests". All four factors are in the cyclical

relationship.

"Spending time together" and which areas are they from are the two factors with

the highest POS in Chun's diagram. POS indicates how far away one factor is from the

right end. Factors with high POS are closer to the roots of the influential relationship.

Chun believes that "spending time together" can improve friendship quality and finding

"similar interests":

> Because we spend more time together, I learned that she likes to play tennis. I
>
> have never learned tennis before. She told me that playing tennis can improve my
>
> health and help me lose weight. I tried it and really liked it.

Chun also pointed out that "spending time together" will facilitate assimilation into the

other's social circle. She mentioned that since she spent lots of time with her Taiwanese

friend, she even got to know some of her friend's family members. For the factor

"knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from", Chun believes that geographical

location forges one's personality. "Knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are

from" will affect if she is going to like this person:

> Because she [Chun's Taiwanese best friend] is from the northern part of Taiwan,
>
> she is more open-minded. I am from the coastal part of China, which is also less
>
> conservative. Our thoughts are both more vanguard. Naturally, we would like
>
> each other more.

After the interview, the diagram was shown to Chun. Once the results were explained to her, she thought that it made perfect sense that the factor "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" would occupy the left end of the diagram. As mentioned in her interview, geographical origin is the key to personality and it leads to whether she wants to befriend a person or not.

Enxyel
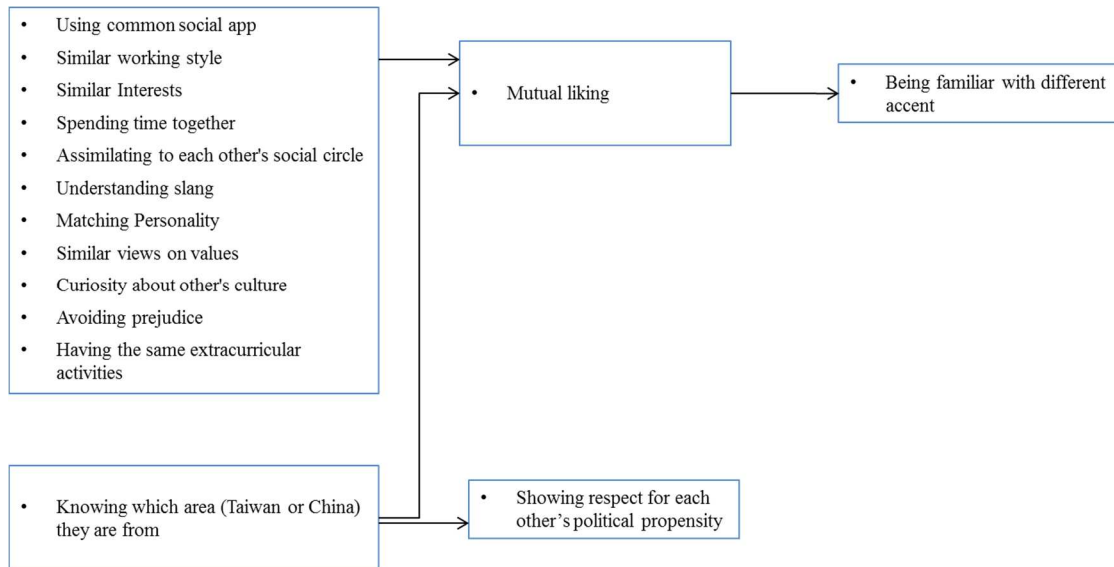
Figure 4. Enxyel's ISM diagram

Enxyel, a 20-year-old female from Taiwan, provided a very unique ISM diagram. There are only three layers in her diagram. In her first box, 11 factors are in a cycle. With this unique structure, Enxyel was considered as an outlier and evaluated with the possibility to be taken out. However, when examining the rationale she gave during the interview, it was apparent that she gave clear and convincing rationale for her decisions. Therefore, her results are included in the meta-analysis. There are three other interviewees who providing unique structures and all of them were included in the meta-analysis as well.

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The factors with the highest POS in Enxyel's diagram are "using common social app", working style, "similar interests", "spending time together", "assimilating to each other's social circle", understand slangs, "matching personality", "similar views on values", "curiosity about other's culture", "avoiding prejudice", and "having the same extracurricular activities" in a cycle, and "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" was put in a single box. Both boxes contribute to "mutual liking" in a single box. "Knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" also contributes to showing respect for each other's political propensity. "Mutual liking" contributes to "being familiar with different accent".

Among those factors, the factor "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" became salient since this factor has the highest POS score and has its own box. She pointed out that geographical origin will affect "being familiar with different accent":

Since China is really big, the accents will be different in different locations. Even though everyone speaks Mandarin, the accents will affect if we can understand them. Chiayue [her best Chinese friend] is from Ningbo [a city close to Shanghai], so it is easier to catch her accent. If someone is from a location north or south of Ningbo, I may not be able to get used to it.

Enxyel also stated that "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" will also affect "mutual liking":

The geographical concerns in China, the South and the North, people have different interaction styles and personalities. The same situation happens in Taiwan, people from the North and from the South have different personalities. The differences will influence if one person is going to be friends with another person from different regions.

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At the end of the interview, the diagram was presented to Enxyel. She thought the structure was very interesting. She was curious about why her diagram had a huge box with a cyclical relationship. After explaining that her decisions on how those factors influence contributed to the structure, she understood the process and agreed with the results.

Heygo
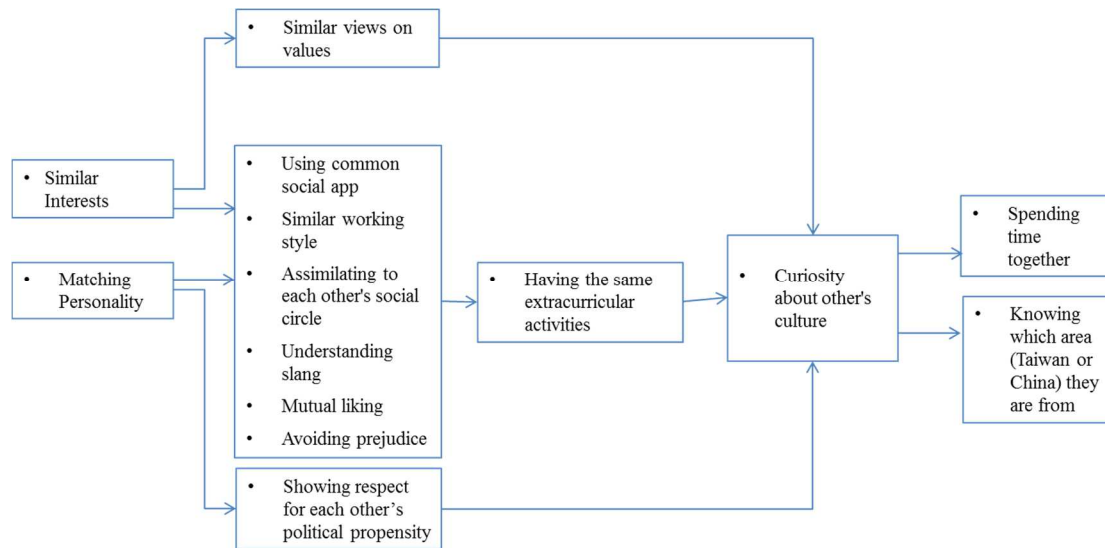
Figure 5. Heygo's ISM diagram

Heygo, a 19-year-old male from Taiwan, identified "similar interests" and "matching personality" as the factors with the highest POS scores. Both factors situate in separate boxes, and contribute to "using common social app", working style, "assimilating to each other's social circle", understand slangs, "mutual liking", and "avoiding prejudice" are in the same box. Those factors are in a cycle box and contribute to "having the same extracurricular activities". Similar interest also contributes to "similar views on values", and "matching personality" contributes to showing respect for each other's political propensity. "Curiosity about other's culture" is supported by

"similar views on values", "showing respect for each other's political propensity", and "having the same extracurricular activities". In the following box, "curiosity about other's culture" supports "spending time together" and "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" in two separate boxes.

With the highest POS in his diagram, Heygo believed that "similar interests" affects their views on values:

I like playing guitar. She understands music and guitar. With the similar interest in music, she understands why I treat music instruments with extreme care…It is easier for us to find common ground.

For the factor "matching personality", he believed that affects liking and wanting to communicate more:

If we have "matching personality", we will easily to get along with. I will like to talk to this person more and learn how he or she talks in his or her country…It will also lead to understanding his or her points of view on politics more.

Hwa
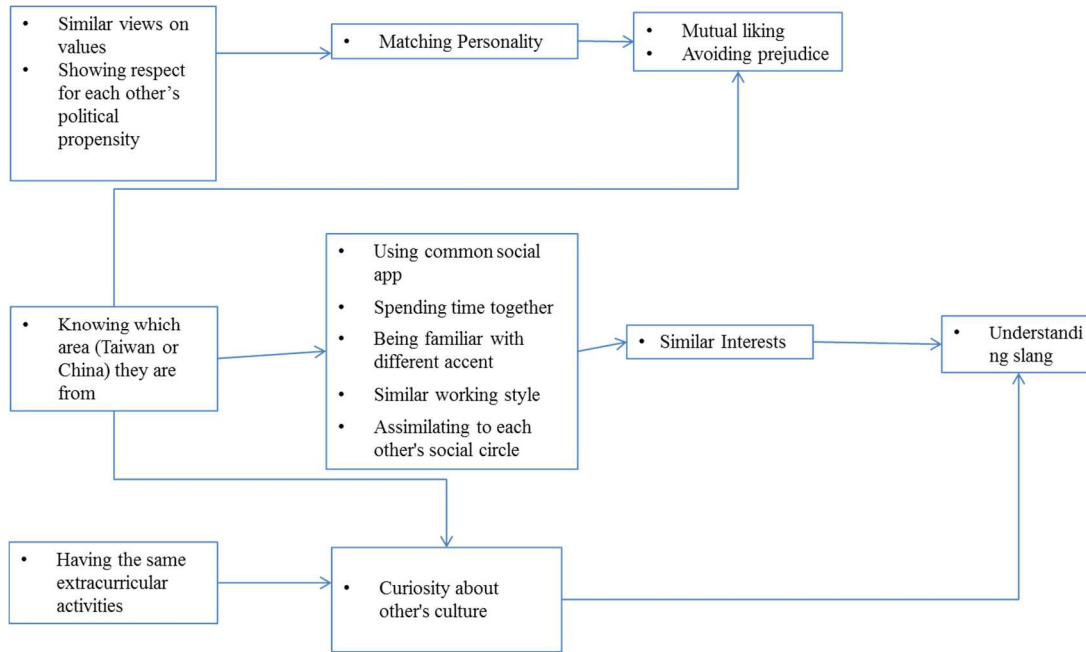
Figure 6. Hwa's ISM diagram

Hwa is 20 years old female and from China. Her ISM diagram starts with "showing respect for each other's political propensity" and "similar views on values" in a cyclical box and "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" and "having the same extracurricular activities" in separate boxes. "Showing respect for each other's political propensity" and "similar views on values" lead to "matching personality". "Knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" contributes to "using common social app", working style, "spending time together", "assimilating to each other's social circle" and "being familiar with different accent" in one cyclical box. The factor "curiosity about other's culture" has its own box and is supported by "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" and "having the same extracurricular activities". "Mutual liking" and "avoiding prejudice" are in one box and are supported by "matching personality" and "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" separately.

"similar interests" occupies a single box supported by "using common social app", working style, "spending time together", "assimilating to each other's social circle", and "being familiar with different accent". "Understanding slang" is supported by "similar interests" and "curiosity about other's culture" separately.

"Showing respect for each other's political propensity" and "similar views on values" affect each other in Hwa's diagram. She stated that political propensity is one kind of value. Respect other's political propensity is another way of finding the common ground on views of values. Another factor with high POS is "having the same extracurricular activities". Hwa shared her experience on how extracurricular activities affect curiosity on culture:

> One time, I interviewed one TV panelist for my school paper. I felt I had to interview someone from TV to make my story believable. In China, you have to be a pundit in a certain area and then you get an interview from the media. That's why I thought I had to interview this person. After discussing with other people in the school newspaper, they strongly suggested that I change to another interviewee since TV panelists are not credible in Taiwan. This incident made me curious about the media culture in Taiwan, and I discussed this issue with my friends.

Jane
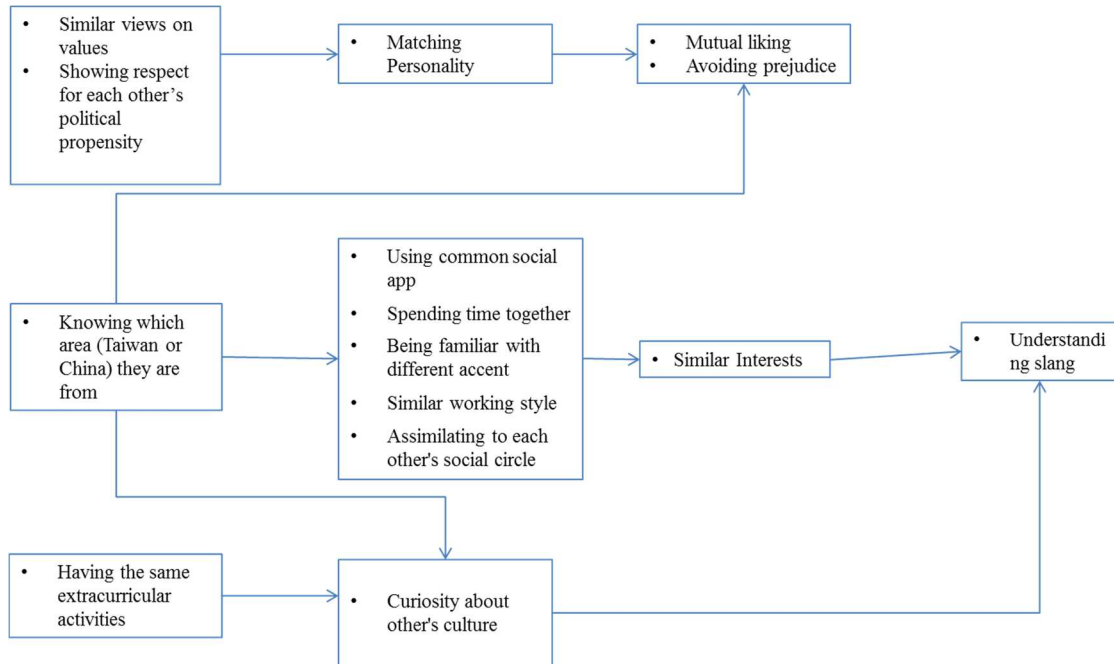
Figure 7. Jane's ISM diagram

Jane is 20 years old female and from Taiwan. The factors with the highest POS

scores are "using common social app" in a single box and "similar interests" and

"spending time together" in a cyclical box. "Similar working style" is supported by

"using common social app". "Similar interests" and "spending time together" contribute

to "similar views on values" and "having the same extracurricular activities" in one

cyclical box. "Similar interests" and "spending time together" also contribute to single

factor—"being familiar with different accent". "curiosity about other's culture" and

"knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" are in separate boxes and along

with "using common social app", contribute to understand slang. "Similar views on

values", "having the same extracurricular activities", and "being familiar with different

accent" contribute to "matching personality" and "mutual liking" in one box. "Showing

respect for each other's political propensity" and "avoiding prejudice" are in one box and,

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along with working style, "matching personality", "mutual liking", and "understanding slang", they contribute to "assimilating to each other's social circle".

Jane identified "using common social app", "similar interests", and "spending time together" as the most influential factors in the Taiwanese/Chinese friendship. She explained that she always uses social app for work-related messages. It is essential for Chinese friends to use commonly used social apps to work together. She believed that "using common social app" affects working style. She also stated that "similar interests" would influence their "spending time together". "We both like shopping. We go shopping when we are free from school and extracurricular activities. We also do school work together. In the end, we do spend a lot of time together."

Janet
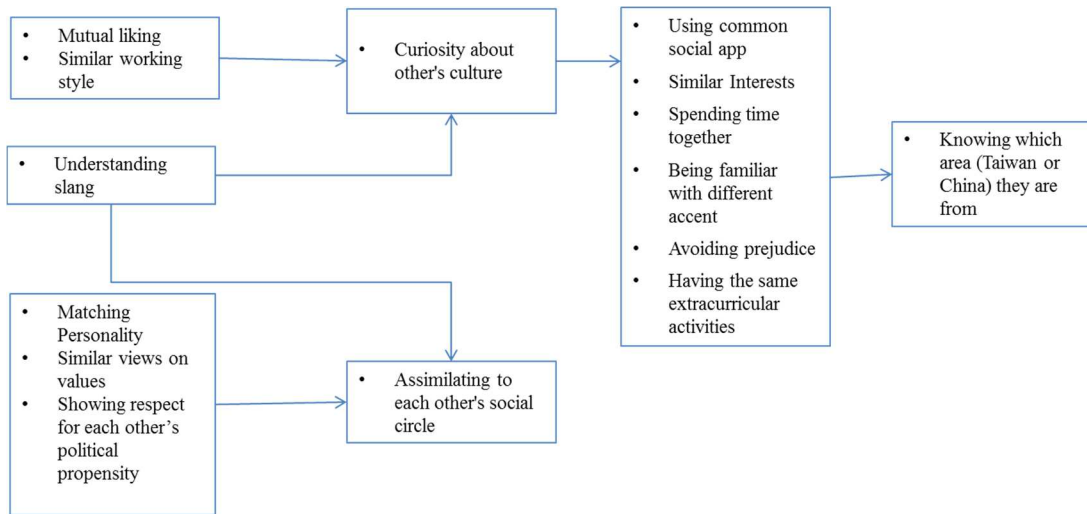
Figure 8. Janet's ISM diagram

Janet, a 20-year-old female from Taiwan, identified working style, "mutual liking", "understand slang", "showing respect for each other's political propensity", "matching personality", and "similar views on values" as the highest POS score factors. "Similar working style" and "mutual liking" are in a cyclical box and, along with

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"understanding slang", support "curiosity about other's culture". "Showing respect for each other's political propensity", "matching personality", and "similar views on values" are in the same box and, along with understand slang, support assimilate to other's social circle. "curiosity about other's culture" contributes to "using common social app", "similar interests", "spending time together", "being familiar with different accent", "avoiding prejudice", and "having the same extracurricular activities" in one cyclical box. Those factors, then, support "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from".

Janet identified "understanding slang" as one of the most influential factors. She shared how "understanding slang" helped her assimilate to her friend's social circle and learn more about Taiwanese culture:

Taiwanese people tend to use Hoklo dialect in their daily language. Chia-hwa [her best Chinese friend] would learn some Hoklo slang and assimilate with other Taiwanese students more. During the learning process, I also would like to know how to say the same thing in Cantonese or in other Chinese dialects.

Jenny
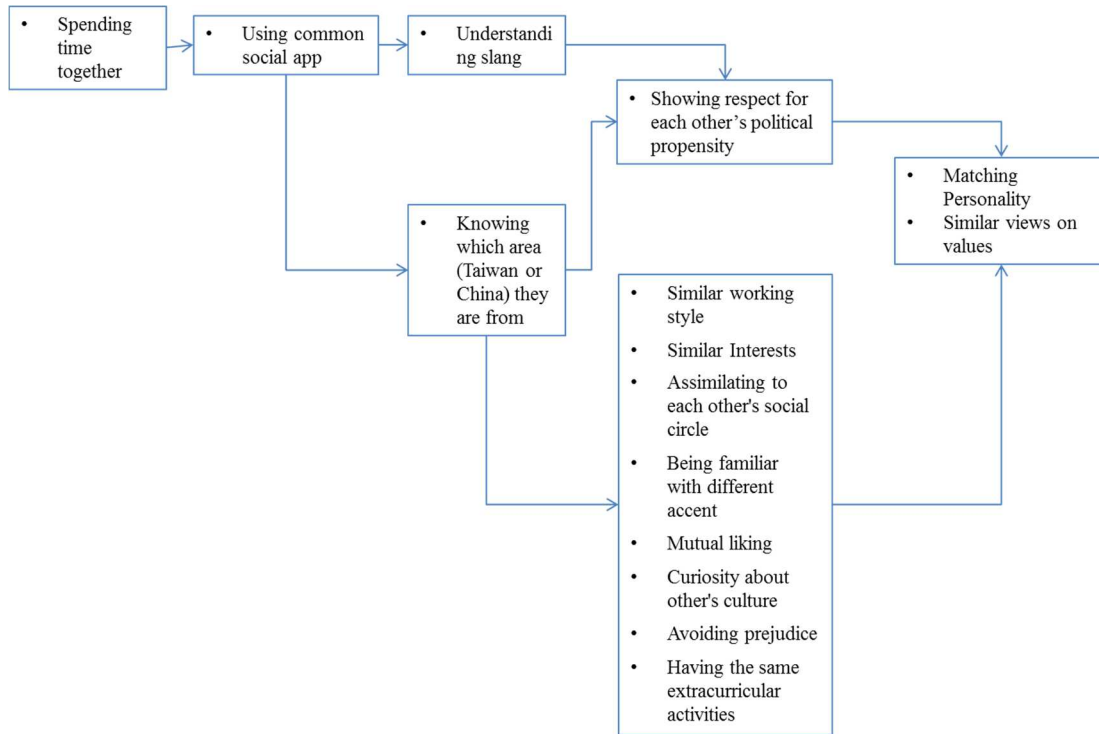
Figure 9. Jenny's ISM diagram

Jenny is 20 years old female and from Taiwan. In her ISM diagram, "spending time together" occupies the highest POS position. It leads to "using common social app". "Using common social app", then, leads to "understanding slang" and "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" in two separate boxes. "Knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" contributes to working style, "similar interests", "assimilating to each other's social circle", "being familiar with different accent", "mutual liking", "curiosity about other's culture", "avoiding prejudice", and "having the same extracurricular activities" in a cyclical box. "Showing respect for each other's political propensity" is supported by "understanding slang" and "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from". "Similar working style", "similar interests", "assimilating to each other's social circle", "being familiar with different accent",

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"mutual liking", "curiosity about other's culture", "avoiding prejudice", and "having the same extracurricular activities", along with "showing respect for each other's political propensity", contribute to "matching personality" and "similar views on values" in a box.

"Spending time together" occupies the position with the highest POS score. Jenny explained why she thinks "spending time together" would influence "using common social app":

> We spend a lot of time chatting via social app. While chatting, we chat about our lives, what we do, what kind of products we use, what TV programs we watch, what books we read recently. During our chatting, she would introduce me to something new, and I would do the same thing.

Jessie

Figure 10. Jessie's ISM diagram

Jessie, a 20-year-old female from Taiwan, identified "similar interests" and "similar views on values" as the highest POS scored factors in two separate boxes. "Simil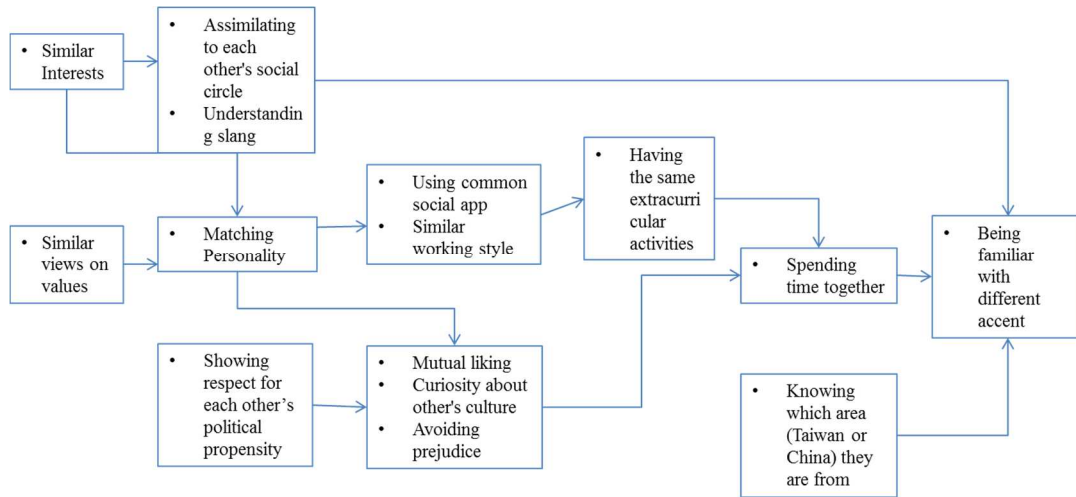ar interests" leads to "assimilating to each other's social circle" and "understanding slang" in one box and "matching personality" in a single box. "Matching personality" is

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also supported by "similar views on values". "Showing respect for each other's political propensity" contributes to "mutual liking", "curiosity about other's culture", and "avoiding prejudice" in one cyclical box, which is supported by "matching personality". "Matching personality" also supports "using common social app" and "similar working ttyle in one box, which contributes to "having the same extracurricular activities". "spending time together" is supported by "having the same extracurricular activities", "mutual liking", "curiosity about other's culture", and "avoiding prejudice". "Knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" is in single box and contributes to "being familiar with different accent". "Being familiar with different accent" is also supported by "assimilating to each other's social circle", "understand slang", and "spending time together".

Jessie identified "similar interests" and "similar views on values" as the factors with the highest POS score. She shared her experience on how "similar interests" would affect "assimilating to each other's social circle": "My friend I, we both love movies. We go to movies theaters all the time with her other friends. I also became friends with her other friends." She also shared how "similar views on values" would affect "matching personality":

I am coming from a better family background. My friend is also not stingy. I am not saying that we always take a taxi to everywhere or always go to a high-end restaurant. We can eat at a street food stand, and it is totally fine with us. However, sometimes, you would like to go to a good place to eat, and a friend won't judge me as a spoiled girl.

Joey
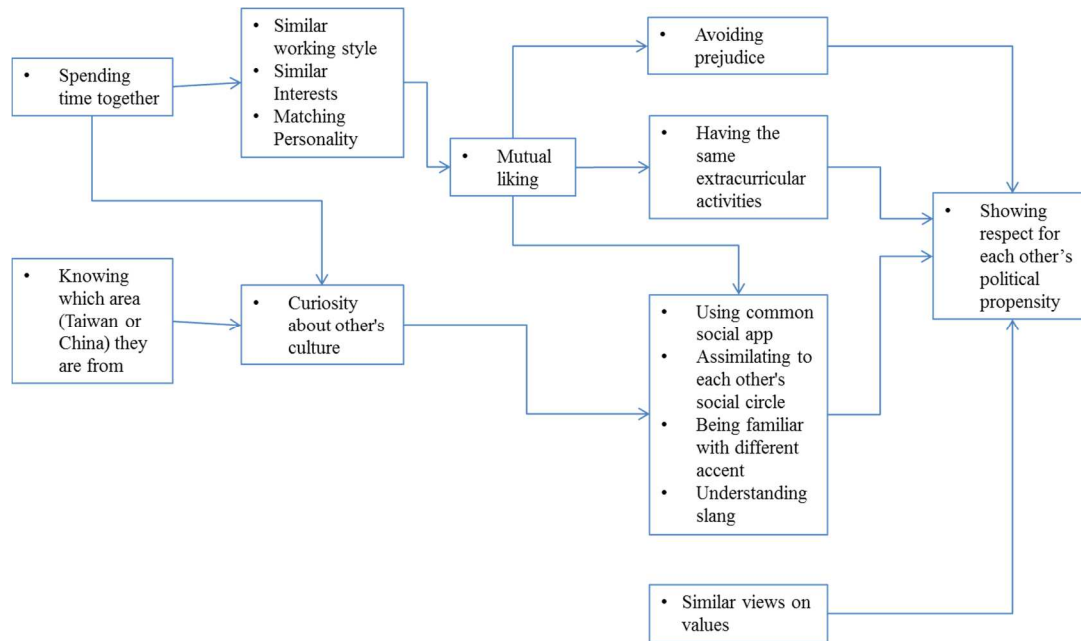
Figure 11. Joey's ISM diagram

Joey is a 20-year-old female from China. "Spending time together" and "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" are identified as the highest POS scored factors in separate boxes. "Similar working style", "similar interest", and "matching personality" are in one cyclical box and are supported by "spending time together". "Curiosity about other's culture" is supported by both "spending time together" and "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from". "Similar working style", "similar interests", and "matching personality" contribute to "mutual liking". "Mutual liking" supports "avoiding prejudice" and "having the same extracurricular activities" in separate boxes. "Using common social app", "assimilating to each other's social circle", "being familiar with different accent", and "understanding slang" are in one cyclical box and are supported by "mutual liking" and "curiosity about other's culture". "Similar views on values" supports "showing respect for each other's political propensity".

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"Showing respect for each other's political propensity" is also supported by "avoiding prejudice", "having the same extracurricular activities", "using common social app", "assimilating to each other's social circle", "being familiar with different accent", and "understand slang".

In Joey's diagram, "spending time together" and "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" are the factors with the highest POS score. She stated that "spending time together" would help discover "similar interests". Her friend and she both like gossip. When they spend time together, they would gossip about other friends. She also shared how the region she is from would affect the curiosity on culture: "I am Hakka from Guangdong province. I would speak Hakka to other Hakka-speaking friends from different parts of Taiwan and learn about how we speak Hakka differently."

JunJun
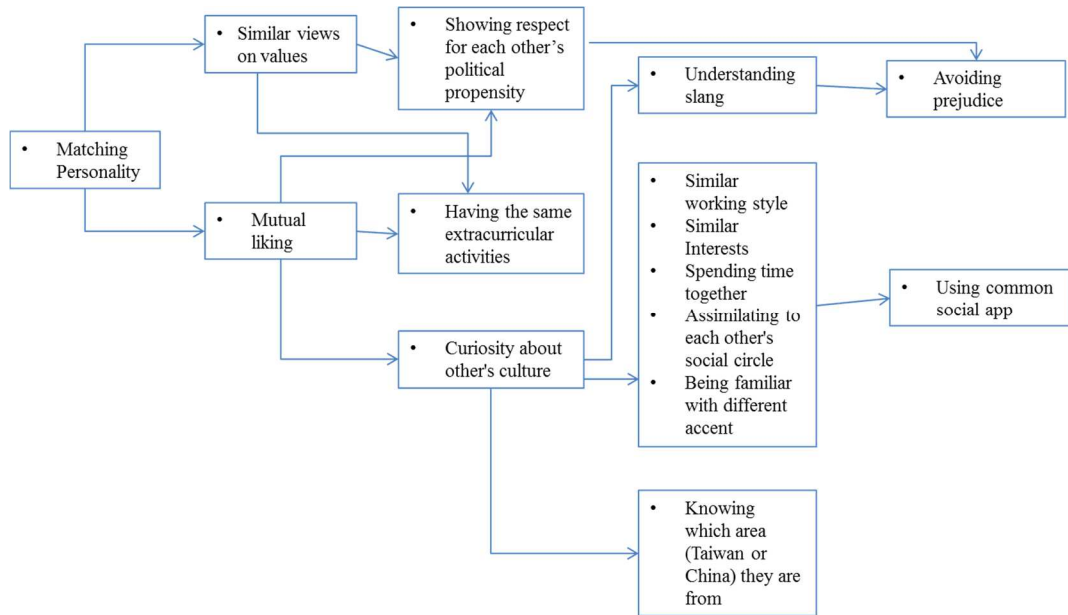
Figure 12. JunJun's ISM diagram

JunJun, a 20-year-old female from China, identified "matching personality" as the factor with the highest POS score. It contributes to "similar views on values" and "mutual liking" in two separate boxes. "Similar views on values" leads to "showing respect for each other's political propensity" and "having the same extracurricular activities". "Mutual liking" contributes to "showing respect for each other's political propensity", "having the same extracurricular activities", and "curiosity about other's culture". "Curiosity about other's culture" supports "understanding slang" and "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" in separate boxes and "similar working style", "similar interests", "spending time together", "assimilating to each other's social circle", and "being familiar with different accent" in one cyclical box. "Avoiding prejudice" is supported by "understanding slang" and "showing respect for each other's political propensity". "Similar working style", "similar interests", "spending time together", "assimilating to each other's social circle", and "being familiar with different accent" support "using common social app".

"Matching personality" is identified as the highest POS scored factor. She stated that one time her best friend visited her in her place, and they talked a lot and found out that they had "similar views on values". With "matching personality", they had the opportunity to talk more. As JunJun stated, "No one likes to spend time with someone with mismatching personality."

According to JunJun's diagram, "curiosity about other's culture" directly contributes to seven factors, almost half of the factors are supported by this factor directly. She stated that "curiosity about other's culture" would lead to many other aspects:

I don't know about Hoklo dialect, and I learned a little in Taiwan. When I talk to

my mom in Hangzhou dialect on the phone, my friends heard about it and wanted

to learn the dialect as well…Culture includes so many different aspects: language,

family values, ideology, etc.

Lee

Figure 13. Lee's ISM diagram

Lee, a 20-year-old female from China, identified "knowing which area (Taiwan or

China) they are from" as the highest POS scored factor. It contributes to "spending time

together" and then to "similar views on values". "Similar interests", along with "similar

views on values", leads to "showing respect for each other's political propensity". "Using

common social app", "similar working style", "assimilating to each other's social circle",

"being familiar with different accent", and "matching personality" are in one cyclical box

and are supported by "similar views on values". "using common social app", "similar

working style", "assimilating to each other's social circle", "being familiar with different accent", and "matching personality" contribute to "understanding slang" and "mutual liking" in separate boxes. "Understanding slang" is also supported by "similar interests". "Mutual liking" is also supported by respect to each other's political propensity. "Mutual liking" contributes to "avoiding prejudice" and "having the same extracurricular activities" in separate boxes. "Curiosity about other's culture" is at the end position of the diagram and is supported by "understanding slang" and "having the same extracurricular activities".

"Knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" occupies the highest POS scored position. Lee shared that individuals from certain parts of China would consider themselves as superior to individuals from other parts of China:

People from BeiShangGuang [Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou, the three biggest cities in China] would consider themselves with geographical advantages. They have geographical superiority…Some Chinese students would say they are from Shanghai, but in fact they just go to universities in Shanghai…When some Chinese students introduce that they are from, for instance, Liaoning province [northern part of China], Taiwanese students would be underwhelmed. However, if you say you are from Shanghai or Beijing, which are famous cities, Taiwanese students would be wowed…Shanghai is a big city with more information, museums, galleries, exhibitions, etc., compared to other rural places where individuals have to go to another town to see a movie.

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LY
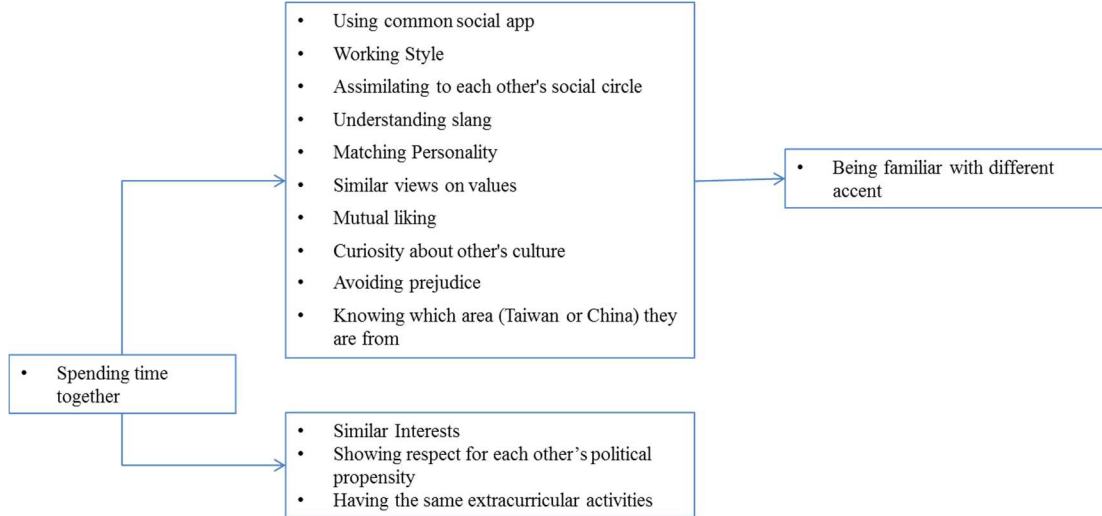
Figure 14. LY's ISM diagram

LY is 22 years old female and from China. LY's diagram is one of the unique diagrams. There are only three layers. The factor with the highest POS score is "spending time together". It contributes to two sets of factors. The first cyclical box includes "using common social app", "similar working style", "assimilating to each other's social circle", "understanding slang", "matching personality", "similar views on values", "mutual liking", "curiosity about other's culture", "avoiding prejudice", and "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from". This box leads to "being familiar with different accent". The other cyclical box includes "similar interests", "showing respect for each other's political propensity", and "having the same extracurricular activities".

LY identified "spending time together" as the highest scored POS factor. She shared that time is the key to many factors:

We both love movies. During the Taipei Film Festival, I invited her to come with me. If we had not spent time together, we would not know that we both love

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movies…We also spent time doing school projects together. It helped us find

ways to work well together.

Lynn

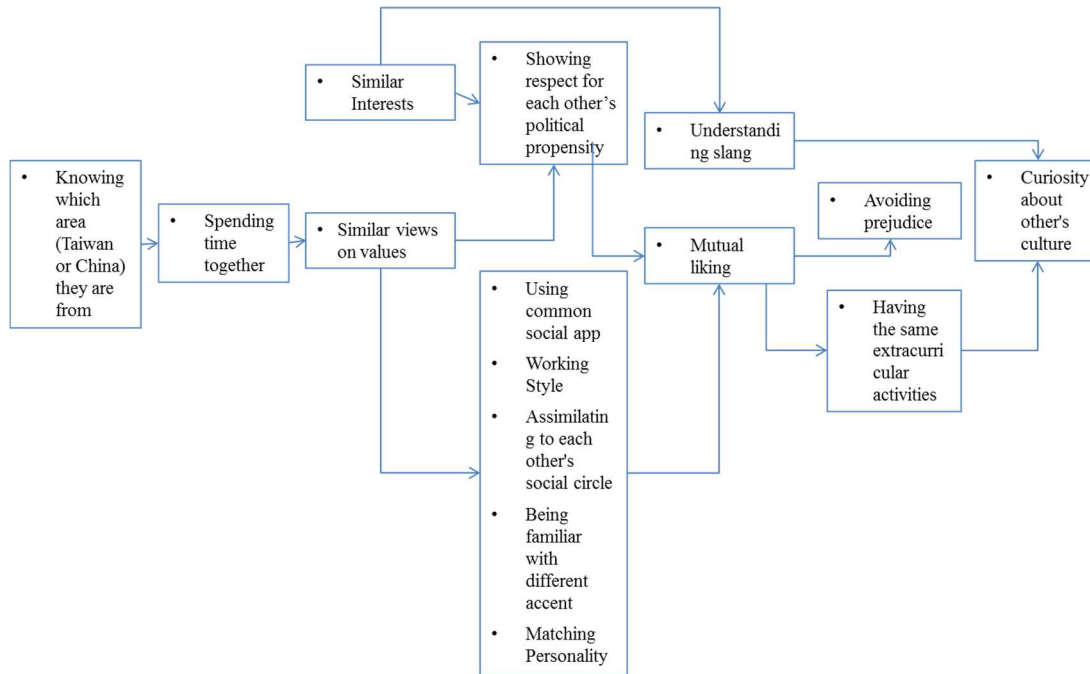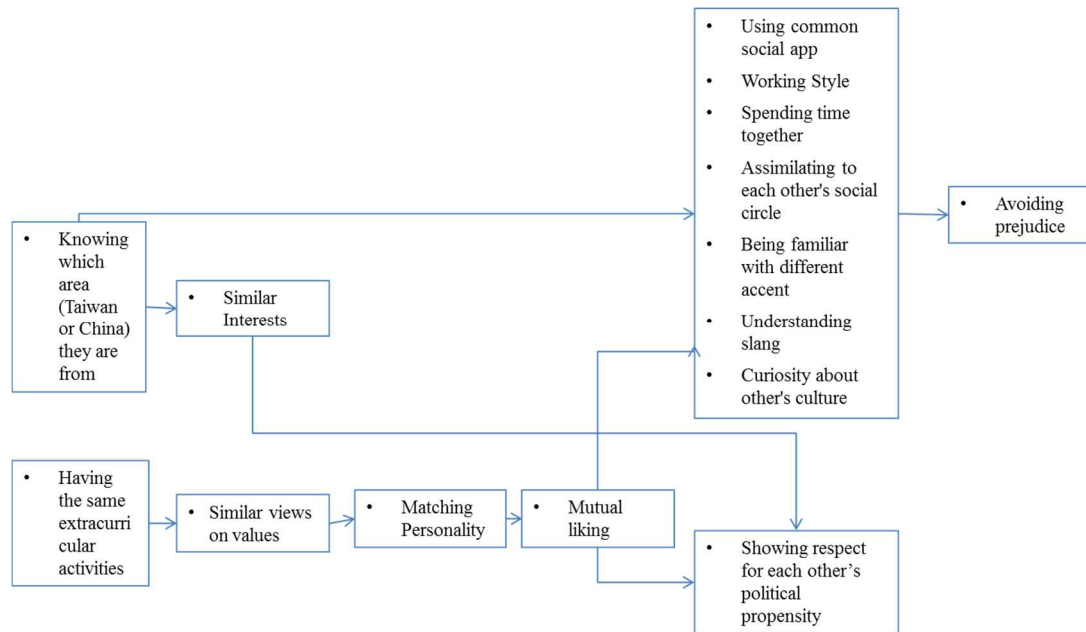*Figure. 15*. Lynn's ISM diagram

Lynn, a 20-year-old female from China, identified "knowing which area (Taiwan

or China) they are from" and "having the same extracurricular activities" as the highest

POS scored factors in different boxes. "Having the same extracurricular activities" leads

to "similar interests" and then leads to "matching personality". "Matching personality"

contributes to "mutual liking". "Knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from"

leads to "similar views on values". "Showing respect for each other's political

propensity" is supported by "similar views on values" and "mutual liking". "Using

common social app", "similar working style", "spending time together", "assimilating to

each other's social circle", "being familiar with different accent", "understanding slang",

and "curiosity about other's culture" are in one cyclical box and are supported by

"knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" and "mutual liking". Those factors are in one cyclical box and contribute to "avoiding prejudice".

"Knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" and "having the same extracurricular activities" are the factors with the highest POS score. Lynn shared her thoughts on how regional differences would affect friendship:

In the beginning, I was afraid of people from southern Taiwan [individuals from the southern part of Taiwan are considered more against Chinese people]. My grandparents built up this ideology in me. The first year I was in Taiwan, my roommate, Yoshing, invited me to her hometown Tainan [in southern part of Taiwan] for New Year's Eve. I was very excited. My grandma told me not to go. She told me that Taiwanese from the south hate Chinese people. They might bash me. I told my grandma it would be ok and then I still went. However, I still told Yoshing to protect me if I was in danger in a joking way. When I was in Tainan, Yoshing's family treated me very well. I realized that not everyone from the southern part of Taiwan held hostility against Chinese. It also made me curious about cultural differences in Taiwan.

Many interviewees pointed out the importance of geographical concerns for Chinese students and how it affects the friendship between Taiwanese and Chinese students. This concern even affects how they view each other in the Chinese population. Lynn pointed out that the geographical concerns also apply to Taiwanese students. Some Chinese students do have concerns if the Taiwanese students are from southern Taiwan since they are considered more hostile toward Chinese people.

Mandy
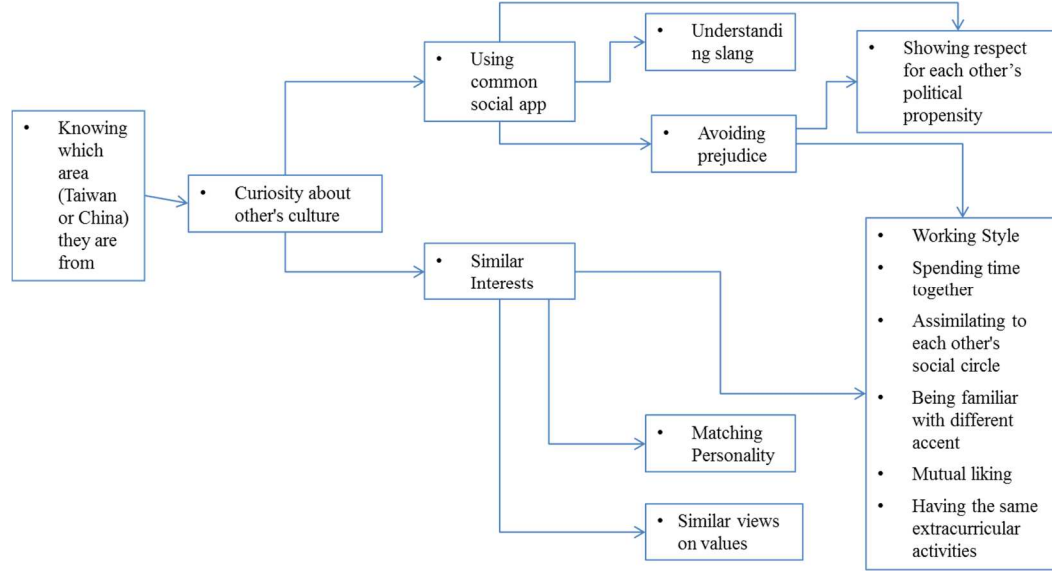
Figure 16. Mandy's ISM diagram

Mandy is 20 years old female and from China. She identified "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" as the factor with the highest POS score. This factor leads to "curiosity about other's culture". "Curiosity about other's culture" contributes to "using common social app" and "similar interests" in separate boxes. "Using common social app", then, leads to "understanding slang" and "avoiding prejudice" in two separate boxes. "Similar interests" leads to "matching personality" and "similar views on values". "Avoiding prejudice" leads to "showing respect for each other's political propensity". "Similar working style", "spending time together", "assimilating to each other's social circle", "being familiar with different accent", "mutual liking", and "having the same extracurricular activities" are in one cyclical box and are supported by "avoiding prejudice" and "similar interests".

"Knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" possesses the highest POS score in Mandy's diagram. She shared her experience on geographical concerns:

I believe that "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" relates to stereotype. In my opinion, I do have certain stereotypes against people from certain areas. I know it is bad, but I couldn't help it. For instance, I don't like classmates wearing slippers to school. It is alright if it is raining. However, I discovered that classmates from Tainan [Southern part of Taiwan] like to wear slippers regardless of the weather. I really don't like the casual styles of those from Tainan…I believe that when we talk about geographical concerns, we already link those concerns with stereotype.

Mandy also mentioned about how regional differences in Taiwan may affect friendship between Taiwanese and Chinese students. It indicates that geographical concerns are mutual. It does not limit to only Chinese students or Taiwanese students.

MuMu
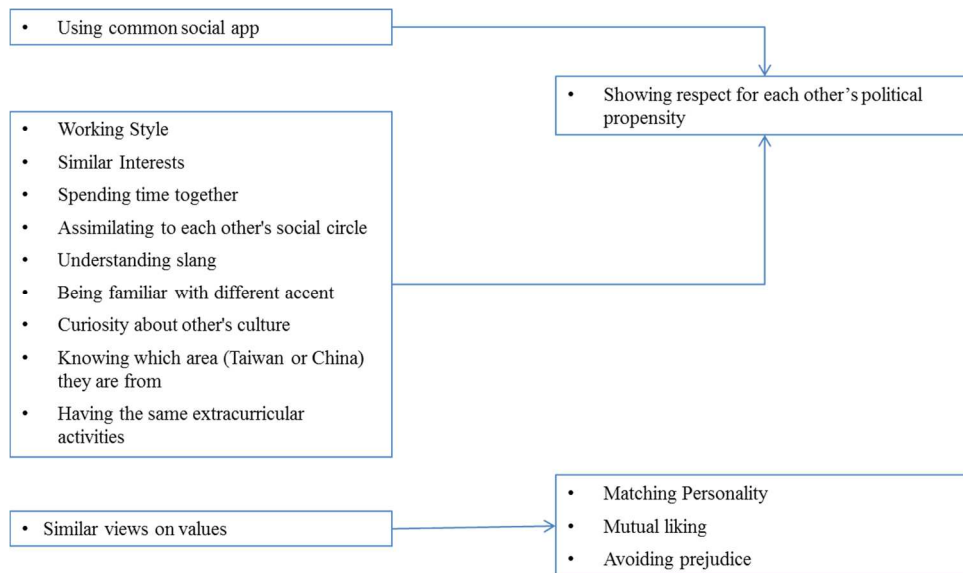
Figure 17. MuMu's ISM diagram

MuMu, a 20-year-old female from China, provided the third unique diagram. Her diagram has only two layers. The diagram is also separated into two parts. Factors in

those two parts do not have an influential relationship between them. "Using common social app" is in one single box. "Similar working style", "similar interests", "spending time together", "assimilating to each other's social circle", "being familiar with different accent", "mutual liking", "curiosity about other's culture", "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from", and "having the same extracurricular activities" are all in one cyclical box. Both boxes contribute to "showing respect for each other's political propensity". The other part of the factors starts with "similar views on values". It leads to "matching personality", "mutual liking", and "avoiding prejudice" in one cyclical box.

MuMu share her experience on how "similar views on values" would affect friendship:

I want to be a hard working student. Some Taiwanese students tend to be more relaxed. I would tell them not to be lazy and convince them to work harder…If they accept it, then it is great. If not, I will still do my part. With "similar views on values", it is easier to find out that we have similar personalities as well.

Princess Cat
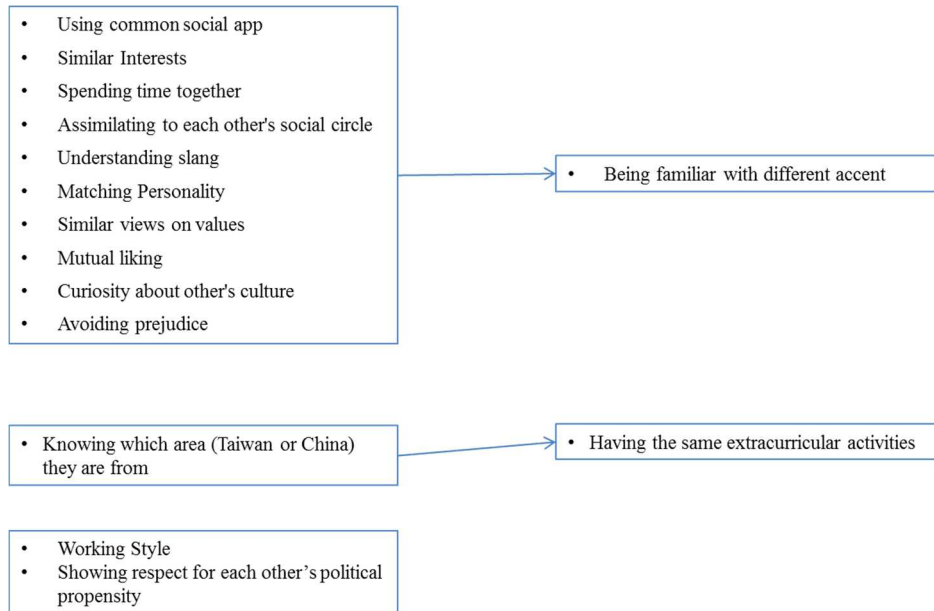
Figure 18. Princess Cat's ISM diagram

      Princess Cat is 20 years old female and from Taiwan. Her diagram is the fourth

unique diagram. Her diagram separates into three parts. The first cyclical box includes

"using common social app", "similar interests", "spending time together", "assimilating

to each other's social circle", "understanding slang", "matching personality", "similar

views on values", "mutual liking", "curiosity about other's culture", and "avoiding

prejudice". This box leads to "being familiar with different accent". The second part

starts with "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" and then contributes

to "having the same extracurricular activities". The third part is one single cyclical box

with "similar working style" and "showing respect for each other's political propensity"

in it.

      Princess Cat shared her experience on how "knowing which area (Taiwan or

China) they are from" would affect friendship:

When Ichun [her best Chinese friend] was in China, her university assigned

dorms based on the student's region. Students from the same province would be

assigned to the same room. Their rationale is that people from different provinces

would have different cultures and customs. The university would like to avoid

possible conflict situations since students from different areas may have

conflicted customs.

Wendy
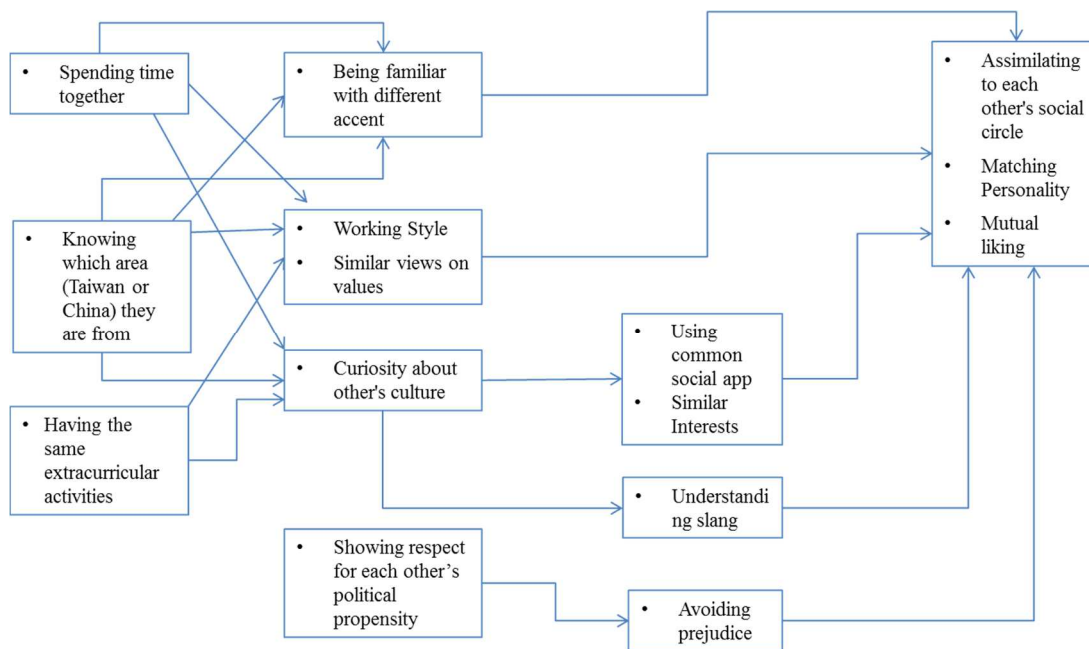
Figure 19. Wendy's ISM diagram

Wendy is 20 years female and old from Taiwan. The factors with the highest POS

score are "spending time together", "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are

from", and "having the same extracurricular activities". Those three factors are in

separate boxes. The second layer of factors start with "being familiar with different

accent", and this factor is supported by "spending time together" and "knowing which

area (Taiwan or China) they are from". The second box includes "similar working style"

and "similar views on values". This cyclical box is supported by "spending time together", "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from", and "having the same extracurricular activities". The third box includes "curiosity about other's culture" and is supported by "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" and "having the same extracurricular activities". This fourth box includes "showing respect for each other's political propensity". The third layer starts with "using common social app" and "similar interests". This box is supported by curiosity about culture. The second box includes "understanding slang" and is supported by curiosity about culture. This box includes "avoiding prejudice" and is supported by curious about culture and "showing respect for each other's political propensity". Three factors are loaded into the last cyclical box. Those three are "assimilating to each other's social circle", "matching personality", and "mutual liking". This box is supported by "being familiar with different accent", "similar working style", "similar views on values", "using common social app", "similar interests", "understanding slang", and "avoiding prejudice".

In Wendy's diagram, "curiosity about other's culture" is one of the factors that influences the other factors the most. She shared her thoughts on how curiosity on culture may affect language: "My friend and I discuss about what is trendy now and which TV series are hot. We would recommend each other to watch it and learn some slangs and trendy words from it."

Yuki
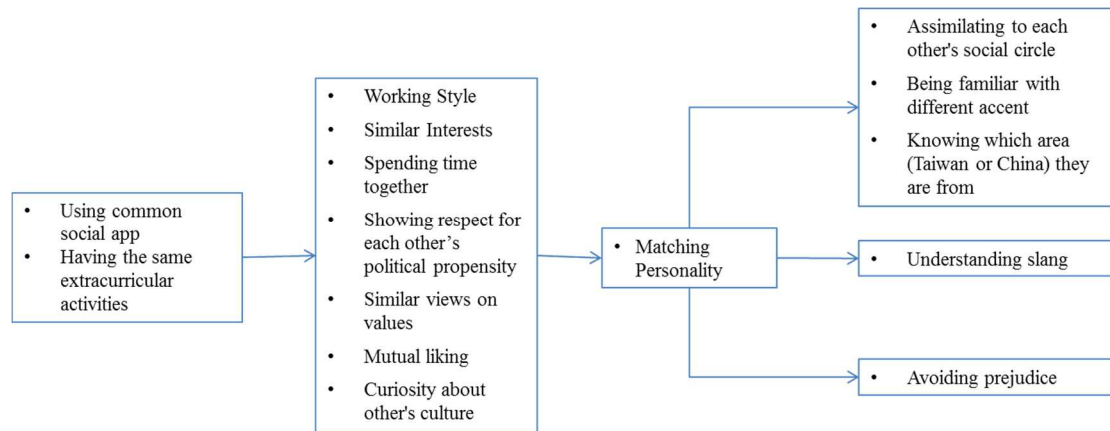
Figure 20. Yuki's ISM diagram

Yuki, a 20-year-old female from Taiwan, identified "using common social app" and "having the same extracurricular activities" as the highest POS scored factors. Those factors are in one cyclical box. Those factors contribute to "similar working style", "similar interests", "spending time together", "showing respect for each other's political propensity", "similar views on values", "mutual liking", and "curiosity about other's culture" in on cyclical box. Those factors then contribute to "matching personality". This factor leads to "assimilating to each other's social circle" and "being familiar with different accent" in one box, while "understanding slang" and "avoiding prejudice" are in two separate boxes.

Yuki identified "having the same extracurricular activities" as one of the highest POS scored factors. She shared her experience on how extracurricular activities may affect the "similar interests": "While we have the same extracurricular activities, we spent more time together. While we spent time together, we chat and discovered our interests."

Individual diagrams reflect single interviewees' mental structure on Taiwanese/Chinese friendship. ISM provides a way to quantify those diagrams and presents those findings as a whole. The advantage is that individual diagrams represent each individual's perspective. Meta-analysis can provide a glance on the whole picture combining those interviewees' points of view. The results from the meta-analysis may be closer to general experiences.

Meta-Analysis on Influence Scores Across Factors

In the previous section, individual diagrams were analyzed based on the factors in each diagram. In this section, the influence scores across all the factors will be combined and analyzed. The first part will be on POS score comparison. POS indicates how one factor occupies the position that is to the left end of a diagram. It reveals how close one factor is to the roots of the diagram. The second part will focus on influential scores. The influential scores will indicate how influential one factor would be across all factors and participants. It may provide a more holistic picture of how those factors play different roles in the friendship formation, development, and maintenance between Taiwanese and Chinese students.

The scores of 15 factors from 18 participants are listed in Table 3.

Table 3

Scores Across Factors

Item	Category	Factor	POS	ANT	SUC	ACT	NET S/A	INF
1	Social media	Using common social app	49	108	119	227	11	60
2	Working attitudes	Similar working style	49	116	120	236	4	53
3	Interests	Similar interests	55	90	138	228	48	103
4	Time	Spending time together	56	102	156	258	54	110
5	Assimilation	Assimilating to each other's social circle	41	155	100	255	-55	-14
6	Language	Being familiar with different accent	35	145	70	215	-75	-40
7	Language	Understanding slang	44	121	68	189	-53	-9
8	Political Issue	Showing respect for each other's' political propensity	45	56	34	90	-22	23
9	Personality	Matching personality	54	95	116	211	21	75
10	Values	Similar views on values	57	75	94	169	19	76
11	Emotional connection	Mutual liking	46	129	112	241	-17	29
12	Curiosity about culture	Curiosity about other's culture	49	113	119	232	6	55
13	Respect and tolerance	Avoiding prejudice	40	128	77	205	-51	-11
14	Geographical Concerns	Knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from	58	57	115	172	58	116
15	Shared experience	Having the same extracurricular activities	52	90	97	187	7	59

Comparing POS Scores

POS indicates the position one factor occupies on the ISM diagram. It reveals the potential supporting factors in the structure. The POS ranking is listed in Table 4.

Table 4

POS Scores

Item	Ranking	Category	Factor	POS
14	1	Geographical concerns	Knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from	58
10	2	Values	Similar views on values	57
4	3	Time	Spending time together	56
3	4	Interests	Similar interests	55
9	5	Personality	Matching personality	54
15	6	Shared experience	Having the same extracurricular activities	52
1	7	Social media	Using common social app	49
2	8	Working attitudes	Similar working style	49
12	9	Curiosity about culture	Curiosity about other's culture	49
11	10	Emotional connection	Mutual liking	46
8	11	Political issue	Showing respect for each other's political propensity	45
7	12	Language	Understanding slang	44
5	13	Assimilation	Assimilating to each other's social circle	41
13	14	Respect and tolerance	Avoiding prejudice	40
6	15	Language	Being familiar with different accent	35

The factor with highest score is "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from". Ironically, the factor "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" was not prominent in the voting stage. This factor voted fourteenth, just one position higher than the last one—shared experience. This factor was also added during the second stage, which means that it was not in any participant's mind when they first submitted ideas on Taiwanese/Chinese friendship.

The factors with the second and third highest POS scores are "similar views on values" and "spending time together". "Similar interests" and "spending time together" have been identified as important factors in friendship formation. The importance of those two factors is unveiled again via the POS score.

Comparing the Influence Scores

The main score used for meta-analysis is Influence Score. The influence score is listed in Table 5.

Table 5

Influential Scores

Ranking	Category	Factor	INFLU
1	Geographical concerns	Knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from	116
2	Time	Spending time together	110
3	Interests	Similar interests	103
4	Values	Similar views on values	76
5	Personality	Matching personality	75
6	Social media	Using common social app	60
7	Shared experience	Having the same extracurricular activities	59
8	Curiosity about culture	Curiosity about other's culture	55
9	Working attitudes	Similar working style	53
10	Emotional connection	Mutual liking	29
11	Political issue	Showing respect for each other's political propensity	23
12	Language	Understanding slang	-9
13	Respect and tolerance	Avoiding prejudice	-11
14	Assimilation	Assimilating to each other's social circle	-14
15	Language	Being familiar with different accent	-40

Those factors are grouped and the influence diagram is generated. The diagram is listed as Figure 21.

Participant Generated Model of Intercultural Friendship Formation*

Stage 1: Exploring

Knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from
INF = 116
Spending time together
INF = 110
Similar interests
INF = 103

Stage 2: Matching

Similar views on values
INF = 76
Matching personality
INF = 75

Stage 3: Engaging

Using common social App
INF = 60
Having the same extracurricular activities
INF = 59
Curiosity about other's culture
INF = 55
Similar working style
INF = 53

Stage 4: Deepening

Mutual liking
INF = 29
Showing respect for each others' political propensity
INF = 23

Stage 5: Bonding

Understanding Slang
INF = -9
Avoiding prejudice
INF = -11
Assimilating to each other's social circle
INF = -14
Being familiar with different accent
INF = -40

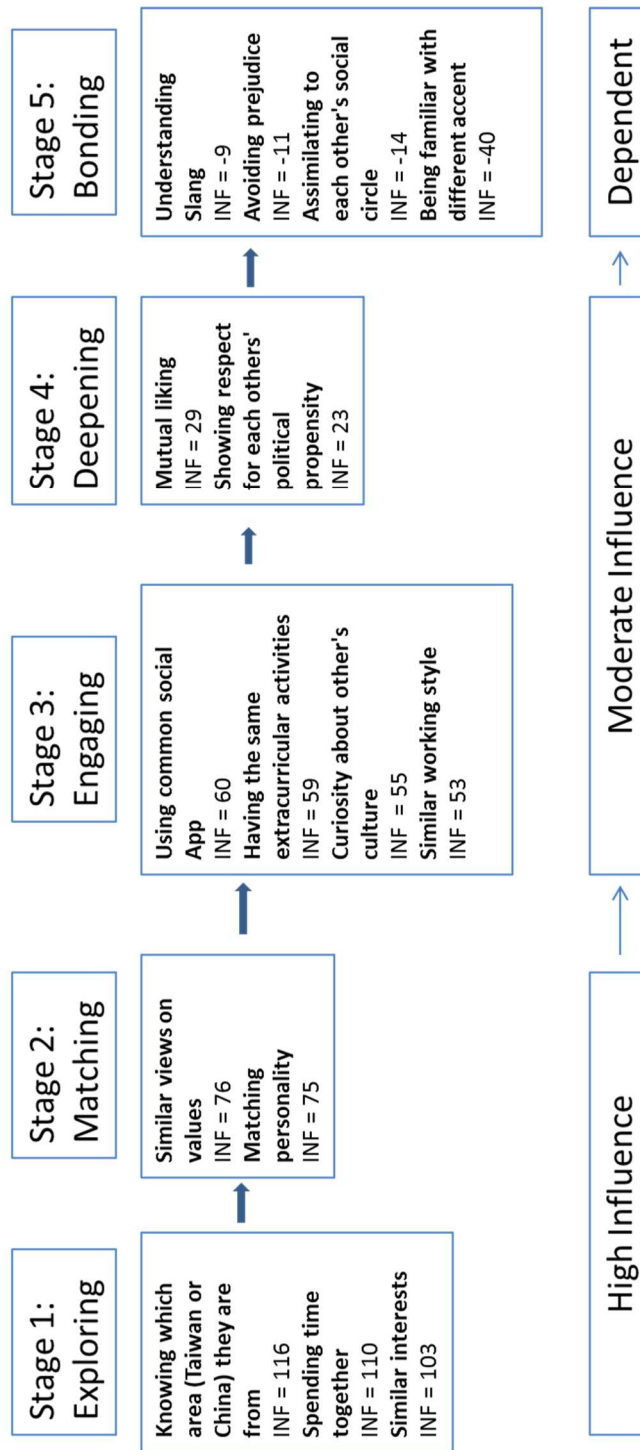High Influence → Moderate Influence → Dependent

Figure 21. Meta-Analysis diagram, Intercultural Friendship Formation Model

 * This model was generated with participants that are mostly female, young age and in

  a Taiwanese/Chinese friendship dyad.

Based on the meta-analysis, the factor "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" became the most salient factor among all the factors. What is interesting is that, as mentioned before, this factor was not provided in the first stage of the data collecting process but was proposed during the second stage with the facilitated focus group. In the voting process, "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" got the second lowest votes (five votes), which was just one more vote than the lowest factor—"having the same extracurricular activities". However, "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" has been identified as the most influential factor on friendship formation, development, and maintenance between Chinese and Taiwanese students after the one-on-one interview session with ISM. Another indicator of the importance of this factor is the POS. "Knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" also got the highest score on the POS. The POS indicates how far away the factor is from the right end. With highest score on the POS, "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" becomes the factor of origin to other factors. "Knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" represents the cultural backgrounds of the people. Just like one participant from Taiwan, Jess, mentioned "China is too big. People from different parts of China represent different cultural circles." Cultural background is related to where this person is from. It represents his or her ideology, values, and so much more. Jenny from Taiwan expressed that "if I know his or her [geographical] background, I can understand why he or she thinks this way. It can help me avoid viewing them negatively." Geographical concerns does not limit to Chinese or Taiwanese students. In fact, it affects students from other parts of the world as well. As Mandy from China stated, "Geographical concern directly links to stereotypes…Students from major

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[Chinese] cities tend to view others based on stereotypes...Geographical concerns does not limit to Chinese students. Even Chinese-speaking students are grouping by their origins—Hong Kong, Macau, Malaysia, Singapore, etc." Geographical background is also related to dialects. The most spoken dialects in Taiwan are Fukien and Hakka. Both dialects are common in the southern part of the Fukien province and the northern part of the Guangdong province. Students who came from those areas can communicate with Taiwanese students without difficulties. Joey from China stated, "I am Hakka from Guangdong Province… I can communicate with other Taiwanese students who can also speak Hakka. It helps me understand their slangs and accent more."

Geographical concerns has rarely been identified as an important factor in intercultural friendship from previous studies. One of the possible explanations is that previous studies on intercultural friendship focused on relationship dyads from different countries with different cultural backgrounds. Geographical concerns has become unspoken premises of previous studies. The latent rationale for studying relationship between the intercultural dyads is because individuals are from different places with different cultural backgrounds. In the case of friendship between Taiwanese and Chinese students, since Taiwanese and Chinese people have similar cultural backgrounds, where you are from became salient because the specific geographical locations represent certain cultural beliefs and ideologies. The latent premises in previous studies became the most significant factors in this study.

Another explanation may be the climate differences among the locations where individuals came from. Andersen, Lustig, and Andersen (1990) stated that the communication styles of individuals from different latitudes may be influenced by

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climate, temperature, sunlight, and other factors. They found out that "in the US, warmer, southern culture is characterized by communication that is more dramatic and stimulating but more socially-isolated and communication apprehensive than northern culture…southern culture is more verbally dominant, opinionated, intolerant, and authoritarian than are relatively more northern US cultures" (p. 305). Their study pointed out that if the one country is broad enough, the regional communication styles will be different due to the climate differences. China is one of the biggest countries in the world. The climate differences are huge from north to south and from east to west. However, some communication differences found in Andersen and his colleagues' (1990) study may not be applicable in this study. For instance, Andersen and his colleagues (1990) pointed out that individuals from southern U.S. tend to more dominant, opinionate, intolerant, and authoritarian. In China, the situation is reversed. Many interviewees pointed out that they believe individuals from northern China are more dominant, intolerant, and authoritarian. Chun, a 20-year-old from China, pointed out that both Peking University (in Beijing, northern part of China) and Xiamen University (in Xiamen, southern part of China) have research institutes for Taiwan issues. The institute in Beijing is more aggressive and dominant toward Taiwanese issues. This phenomenon may also link to the capital city Beijing. Since Beijing is located in the northern part of China, individuals from that part of China would be more assertive and authoritarian. Princess Cat, a 19-year-old from Taiwan, thinks that individuals from Beijing are more difficult to get along with. Jessie, 19, also from Taiwan, described her experience with a student from Beijing:

I met a student from Beijing a couple days ago. He really thinks he is from the Imperial Capital. No wonder other [Chinese and Taiwanese] people would describe Beijing as the Imperial Capital, just like Taipei is the Kingdom of Sky Dragon [indicates that Taipei is more superior to other places in Taiwan, originally from the Japanese comic book "Once Piece"]. This student from Beijing believes that other places in China are rural places. People from Beijing are even worse than people from Shanghai. For instance, when I tell him that the economics is rising in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region [and inner region in China], he said that is impossible. Another example is that he would describe some place with bad transportation conditions and say that is why he has to adapt to less civilized conditions. Those people have to catch up to the capital city and be civilized. I was so disgusted by his attitudes.

Those interviewees indicated that individual from the northern part of China do not possess the tendency to be more polite and indirect as Andersen and his colleagues (1990) found out. One thing that is certain is that individuals from different regions will have different cultural backgrounds and communication styles. Hirschle and Kleiner (2014) pointed out that urbanity and the degree of economic modernization may influence the creation of regional cultures. Regions with higher urbanization and economic modernization will form stronger cultural identities and shape unique regional images. Those unique cultural backgrounds may affect individuals living in certain regions and influence how they communicate.

The results also illustrate how valuable it is to use ISM as the method. During the voting process, "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" earned the second

lowest vote. This factor was also proposed during the second stage. It was not provided

from the initial factor collecting process in stage one. It indicates that this factor was not

considered as important as social media or other factors in participants' minds. However,

after the ISM process, this factor became the most influential one among those factors. It

shows that ISM is able to reveal the important latent factors even though those factors

may seem insignificant at first glance.

The second factor with the highest influence score is "spending time together".

Time has been identified as one of the biggest factors for intercultural friendship (Hotta

& Ting-Toomey, 2013; Lee, 2006; Sia et al., 2008). One of the important aspects is what

they do when they spend time together and what kinds of results it may accomplish when

they get along with each other. Gossiping and relationship bonding are activities friends

do when they spend time together. Wendy from China expressed that "gossiping is a

favorite for both of us. We just keep gossiping when we get together. It makes me feel we

are closer with each other." "Spending time together" also helps friends uncover "similar

interests". Yuki from Taiwan mentioned that "I have met many students from China.

After spending time with them, I can find out some "similar interests" with some of them

and become friends. For the rest, even though we did not have conflict or unpleasant

events, we just don't click."

The third highest factor is "similar interests". Glass, Gómez, and Urzua (2014)

identified that constraints of recreation will affect friendship development. They found

out that what international students do with host students during leisure time will

influence how tight their friendship will be. Students with more constrains on recreation

will deter their friendship development. Recreation constraints relate to "similar

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interests". For instance, drinking in a bar and watching sporting events are common recreational activities for U.S. students. However, for students from areas with strict rules on drinking (e.g., Middle East), it is difficult to build up friendships with U.S. students who tend to hang out in a bar. For Taiwanese/Chinese friendships, even though recreation constraints between the two groups are not that different, personal interests vary from person to person. Enxyel from Taiwan stated: "Because we [she and her best Chinese friend] have "similar interests", we joined the same club. During the process of working, we spent more time together and worked through differences between us. It also improved our friendship."

It shows that "similar interests" facilitates the Taiwanese/Chinese dyads spending more time together and knowing each other more. It also helps them to work better together. Janet from Taiwan also stated that, with "similar interests", she spends more time with her Chinese friends on shopping, finding nice coffee shops, and seeing movies. "Knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from", "spending time together", and "similar interests" are the three factors with the highest INF scores. Those three factors possess INF scores higher than 100 points, almost 20 points higher than the second block factors with score levels in the 70s. Those three factors in box one are labeled as "exploring stage" of friendship formation, development, and maintenance between Taiwanese and Chinese students.

The factors in the second block are "similar views on values" and "matching personality". "Similar views on values" refers to the views on money, dealing with conflict, studying, managing interpersonal relationship, and more. LY from China stated:

Studying is important to me. Because my friend and I both take study seriously, we won't skip class or mess up our homework. This situation will not happen. If we have different views of value on studying, you may distract me from studying hard and just want to have fun. You don't understand studying hard is important to me. We cannot be friends at all.

Another important view on value is money. How they spend money during shopping directly affects how they view each other. Lynn from China mentioned that she has some Taiwanese friends who are from rich areas in Taipei. Those friends tend to spend lots of money on luxurious products. She cannot stand those friends.

Religious belief is also mentioned. Mandy from China stated that she used to be against religious activities before she came to Taiwan. However, her best Taiwanese friend took her to Longshan Temple and worshiped the god of love. She began to change her mind and believed that if you hold onto your faith, things will go your way. She pointed out that being open-minded is the key to being curious about other's culture and understanding different personalities.

"Matching personality" refers to friends with similar personalities. Jessie from Taiwan mentioned that due to their "matching personality", her Chinese best friend and she spend more time together. When they get together, they tend to do silly things:

We are very goofy. We also like to do crazy things. One time when we texted each other asking what other person is doing before bed, she said she was doing a facial now. I said what a coincidence! I was doing a facial too. We, then, started taking selfies and sent them to each other. We kept doing those silly things and talked for the entire night. Because our goofy, comical personality, we are not

those girls with class and elegance. Our personalities also affect how we work

together and how we get along with each other.

"Matching personality" will also indirectly affect language. Chun from China

stated that due to "matching personality", she was willing to spending time on

familiarizing herself with different accents and slangs.

Both factors in block two have very close INF scores, which indicates both factors

may possess equal importance in this block. While block one factors represent the

exploring of intercultural friendship, block two factors represent the "matching stage"

friendship formation. With "similar views on values" and "matching personality", the

Taiwanese/Chinese dyads will further their friendship.

The lowest INF score ("matching personality") in block two has 75 points, which

is 15 points more than the highest scored factor in block three ("using common social

app"). This gap indicates that block two and block three have significant differences.

Factors in block three are "using common social app", "having the same extracurricular

activities", "curiosity about other's culture", and "similar working style". Those factors

may be seen as manifestation of action. All those factors either require interactants to act

on something or to express their attitudes toward the relationship between

Taiwanese/Chinese relationship dyads. "Using common social app" and "having the

same extracurricular activities" require Taiwanese/Chinese dyads to adopt a

communication channel that is common for both parties and to actively create shared

experiences. "Curiosity about other's culture" and "similar "similar working style""

indicate that expressing interest in other cultures and good team work skills are important

as well.

As stated by Erstad (2012), millennials tend to communicate via CMC channels. With a unique restraint on the Internet in China, using a commonly used social app became one of the factors in Taiwanese/Chinese friendship. During the voting stage, "using common social app" was the highest voted factor among all the factors. Lee from China stated:

Like when we are in China, we are used to using WeChat [Chinese version of WhatsApp]. But here in Taiwan, Line is the most common app to communicate with others. So we need to use Line or Facebook to communicate with other people since everyone is discussing school-related issues on those apps. And it definitely affects how we work together.

"Using common social app" also affects language. MuMu from China pointed out that due to the use of social apps in Taiwan, she learned many slangs. When she read something funny, her friend would guide her to visit PPT (Reddit in Taiwan) to read the original stories. She learned a lot of online jargon from PPT. Those efforts made her feel more assimilated into Taiwanese society.

"Having the same extracurricular activities" is under the category of shared experience. As college students, Taiwanese/Chinese dyads spend lots of time on their school projects. This aspect directly links to the other factor in this block—"similar working style". Other than school-related work and leisure time together, another way of creating shared experience and "spending time together" is extracurricular activities. When Taiwanese/Chinese dyads join the same club or the same extracurricular activities, they will spend more time together and work on the same thing other than school projects. Lynn from China shared her experience in some clubs:

I am pretty much an extracurricular activity enthusiast. I joined two or three different clubs. I just enjoy my time with other people in the clubs. I served as an administrator for two clubs. The first one, Hsin Chuang Ren, is not really a club. It is more like a schoolwide service organization. The second one, Cheng Pao News, is a student-run school newspaper. Since I am in the second year that Chinese students are officially admitted to come to Taiwan for college, I am the first Chinese student to become an administrative staff in both organizations. Other Taiwanese students were curious about why I want to join the club. What are the differences between Taiwanese and Chinese students? We also have to accomplish some tasks in the clubs and work together.

Extracurricular activities provide more opportunities to meet the conditions for positive contact in contact theory. Extracurricular activities require students to work together toward certain goals. They also provide opportunities for students to spend more time together. While working together, they possess a similar power status and are encouraged to work together by the authority. Mandy from China shared her experience working with her friends in the Chinese Music Club:

Many of my friends in the Chinese Music Club have the same hobby—Chinese music. We all have the same goal—to make this club a better place. We are very close with each other. We want to promote Chinese music to the public. The semester end concert is one of our biggest evants. We also work a lot on recruiting new members. We aim to make the Chinese Music Club like a big family. Everyone here can feel welcome and learn the beauty of Chinese music.

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Unlike school projects, extracurricular activities are something that the students are really interested in. They volunteer their time and efforts to accomplish certain goals and develop their friendships with each other within the process.

The third factor in this block is "curiosity about other's culture". Lee (2006) pointed out that being curious about others' culture is a crucial condition for intercultural friendship. However, in this study, "curiosity about other's culture" is in the third block. Many interviewees pointed out that they became curious about the other's culture after they developed their friendship with the other party. Chun from China pointed out that she believes that she was interested in one person and then she started wanting to know more about the other person's culture. Lee from China also stated a similar opinion. She thinks that she finds someone with a "matching personality" and then she wants to know this person further, including culture. MuMu from China expressed her experience:

> My best Taiwanese friend does not eat beef. I can understand someone who does not eat pork due to the fact that he or she is Muslim. Then my friend told me it is because her ancestors were farmers, and cows were used to plow. Out of respect for their contribution, her family does not eat beef…It is very uncommon in China. Once I knew her, I am more curious about this culture and learned more from her.

Lynn from China also pointed out that due to her involvement in different clubs, Taiwanese students would be curious about Chinese students and wanted to learn more about different cultures from them.

The fourth factor in this block is "similar working style". As mentioned before, Shih Hsin University is famous for mass communication majors. Many students are

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required to work in teams and accomplish different school projects. "Similar working style" is critical in Taiwanese/Chinese friendship dyads. Jane from Taiwan pointed out that she likes to have fun first and then do school work later. This affects who she tends to work with. She usually works with someone with "similar working style" and becomes good friend with him or her. If her working partner is a serious type and eager to get things done, she will feel stressed and cannot keep a deeper friendship. Janet from Taiwan shared her experience on how "similar working style" may influence her friendship with other people:

> Our close friend circle used to include another male friend. In the beginning, our relationship was balanced, and it felt good with those friends. The situation changed once we started working together and we found out that this male friend was not compatible on working style. He slowly faded out from our circle and became just a normal friend.

Factors in block three indicate the next steps once Taiwanese/Chinese dyads found out what was common between them. This block may represent the "engaging stage" of friendship formation when Taiwanese and Chinese students develop into a deeper relationship. The fourth block indicates how to deepen the friendship between Taiwanese/Chinese dyads.

The factor with lowest INF score ("similar working style") in block three is 24 points higher than the highest scored factor ("mutual liking") in block four. The gap between block three and block four indicates that factors in those two blocks play different roles in Taiwanese/Chinese friendship. Factors in block four are "mutual liking" and "showing respect for each other's political propensity".

"Mutual liking", in some interviewees' point of view, are influenced by other factors. For instance, Enxyel from Taiwan stated that "mutual liking" is influenced by "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from":

Since China is really huge, people being from the north or south will affect their personality and communication patterns. The same situation applies to Taiwanese people. The area you are from, north or south, Taipei or Tainan, also affects your personality. Those factors will determine if you like one person or not.

Even though—according to the responses from the interviewees and the influence score— "mutual liking" may seem like a factor that is influenced by other factors more, some interviewees also expressed that "mutual liking" would affect other factors as well. Heygo from Taiwan stated that because he and his Chinese friend like each other and hang out with each other more, they started to familiarize with each other's accent and slangs. Joey from Taiwan also stated a similar experience:

Because I like my [Taiwanese] friend, I learn a lot of cursing slangs when I hang out with her. It's like "mutual liking" releases certain constraints between us. We can say anything to each other.

She also stated that personality is one of the keys to "mutual liking". "If your personalities do not match, there is no way you will like a person." Her response may affirm that "mutual liking" is a factor that is supported by other factors more.

The other factor in this block is "showing respect for each other's political propensity". This result is a little surprising since political issues are probably the most concerning factor in Taiwanese/Chinese friendship. The category including this factor is political issues, which is the second highest loaded category in the second stage. During

the voting phase, it received 10 votes, which is a tie with other factors in the fourth place of the highest votes. However, after the ISM interview stage, this factor shows up as a more supported factor.

The result may reflect on my personal experience with Helen. When I first met Helen at Ithaca College, I did not express any political propensity until I knew her more. From a friendship development perspective, individuals will not touch some issues with high risk. According to communication accommodation theory, individuals who aim to improve liking with other people tend to use more accommodating communication strategies. Those strategies include avoiding topics with dissonance. In the Taiwanese/Chinese friendship, political topics may be brought up at a later stage of friendship development and maintenance.

The result can also be explained by using Ting-Toomey's (2005) identity negotiation theory. During our interview sessions, some interviewees did express the tensions they experienced in the identity negotiation dialects. Joey from China expressed her experience of dealing with the identity dialectics:

> I am very open-minded. I don't mind if someone is making fun of China's political environment. We had some argument on certain issues…He was kind of jokingly saying the Chinese government is authoritarian. I just replied that Taiwanese people should please come to rescue us from those dictators…Even though I am from China, I kind of lost hope on our government. I know it is impossible to have the same level of democracy as Taiwan.

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Other Chinese students are struggling between the political points of view between China and Taiwan. Lee from China shared her experience with her Taiwanese best friend on political differences:

Manfei [Lee's Taiwanese best friend] was educated that Taiwan is an independent country since she was very young. It contradicted what we learned in China, which declares that Taiwan is part of China… When I went back to China during the summer, my Taiwanese friends would say that I am going back to my own country. Or when they first learned that I am from China, they would ask what made me decide to study abroad. In my opinion, I do not think I come to another country for school. It bothers me a lot. I knew that the differences came from what we learned when we were young. I just decided not to argue with them [other Taiwanese friend] on this topic.

From the perspective of identity negotiation theory and communication accommodation theory, those Chinese students chose a more accommodating strategy to manage this potential conflict. On the other hand, all Taiwanese interviewees are aware of this conflict but chose to maintain the identity that Taiwan has its own sovereignty. Many Taiwanese interviewees are sensitive to those issues and express a moderate attitude with other Chinese friends. Janet from Taiwan shared her thoughts on political issues:

In my opinion, I always consider that Taiwan is an independent country. I can understand why Siyu [her Chinese best friend] would consider that Taiwan is part of China, and I know the differences are from our education and environment. I used to have debates with her. Now I decided not to discuss with her. I used to

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think that her information is incomplete and favors certain points of view. Now I know that it is not easy to change her mind, and I just talk about this topic less.

One of the interesting situations is that Chinese students are a minority in Taiwan. They have to experience the identity dialectic tensions while communicating with Taiwanese students. The situation may be reversed if the study was conducted in China. Taiwanese students would have to deal with this tension once they become a minority.

Factors in block four represent the "deepening stage" of friendship formation in Taiwanese/Chinese dyads. Building up "mutual liking" and being sensitive to political issues play important roles at this stage. Both factors in this block possess positive influence scores. The next block, block five, presents a different story. Factors in block five all possess negative influence scores, which indicates that those factors are mainly supported by other factors. The lowest score in block four ("showing respect for each other's political propensity") is 32 points higher than the highest scored factor ("understanding slang") in block five. The gap between block four and block five indicates that those two blocks represent different characteristics in Taiwanese/Chinese friendships.

Factors in block five are "understanding slang", "avoiding prejudice", "assimilating to each other's social circle", and "being familiar with different accent". Since those four factors possess negative values on influence scores, those factors are mainly supported by other factors, which can be considered as the results from the friendship formation and development.

The first factor in this block is "understanding slang". This factor is under the category language, which has two factors that were selected by the participants as within

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the 15 highest factors. It indicates that the participants originally consider language as an important factor in Taiwanese/Chinese friendship. Language has been identified as one of the most important factors in intercultural relationship by many scholars (Gill, 2007; Imamura et al., 2011; Lee, 2006; Sias et al., 2008). The language factor plays an important role in intercultural friendship when the interactants speak different languages. However, in the Taiwanese/Chinese friendship, both interactants speak Mandarin Chinese. Language became less important in this case. Even though the slangs and accents are different, it did not deter the friendship development and maintenance. According to communication accommodation theory, changing the use of slang and accents are accommodating strategies. Those strategies can be found in Taiwanese/Chinese friendship. Wendy from Taiwan stated that her Chinese best friend would normally avoid Chinese slangs when talking to her. Yuki from Taiwan also stated that her friend and she usually learned about online jargons. They use social apps a lot, and it affects the way they communicate. Those online jargons were mostly learned through this process. LY from China shared her experience on learning slangs from her Taiwanese friend and vice versa:

> In the beginning, I didn't understand what does "true or false" [which means are you for real? It is kind of interjection. It does not really mean anything] mean in Taiwanese slang. I was thinking why I would want to trick you. After spending time with Yishuan, I learned that sometimes it does not mean anything, and I started to use that slang as well. In some occasions, Yishuan also uses Chinese slangs as well, such as "I will kneel down to you" [which means I am asking you a big favor or I admire your efforts] or "oh sister" [which is an interjection].

As LY mentioned, she started to pick up those slangs while they spent more time together. Her Taiwanese friend also does the same thing. "Understanding slang" is a kind of result from the friendship. From the interviews, slangs did not pose as a barrier. Instead, slangs are like fun aspects in the process of friendship building.

The second factor in this block is "avoiding prejudice". According to the influence score, it appears that "avoiding prejudice" is a result after getting to know people from the other party. It may sound counterintuitive at first. However, contact theory pointed out that positive contact is the key to reducing prejudice (Dovidio et al., 2003; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew et al., 2011). The friendship between Taiwanese and Chinese students may also support this theory. Jessie from Taiwan shared her experience with Chinese people:

> My family tends to support the green party [Democratic Progressive Party, tends to be against China]. The news about Chinese tourists is mostly negative. When I visited the U.S., I also had a bad experience with Chinese tourists. I had prejudice against Chinese people before. Once I knew Ichun and spent time with her, I will not view all Chinese people negatively. I will judge them based on their individual behavior.

Lee from China also stated similar experience:

> Before I came to Taiwan for my college, I went back to my high school for some paper work. My teacher asked me where I would head for my college. I told her that I would go to Shih Hsin University in Taipei. She strongly recommended me not to come to Taiwan. She said the relationship between the Chinese and Taiwanese governments is very tricky. Taiwanese people are not very friendly

toward Chinese people either. Then I came here and met Manfei, and we became friends. I learned that not every Taiwanese is the same…Just like the old saying, to see is to believe.

Even though contact theory mainly focuses on how positive contact can change the majority's prejudice toward minority groups, the effects seem to be mutual in this study. The result also suggests that more positive contact can contribute to the goal of creating a better understanding between Taiwanese and Chinese people.

The third factor in this block is "assimilating to each other's social circle". It seems reasonable that once individuals become friends with each other, "assimilating to each other's social circle" is inevitable. Princess Cat from Taiwan shared her experience on how her friendship with her Chinese best friend also extended her social circle:

Because I visit my best friend's dorm a lot, I get to know her roommates. One of her roommates is a PhD student. She usually spends lots of time staying home writing or reading. Since I visit her dorm a lot, I started befriending with the PhD student, and we hang out a lot now.

Even though some interviewees expressed that they usually maintain their different social circles apart from each other, some friends do assimilate into each other's social circles. LY stated that since her family was in China, her best Taiwanese friend introduced her to her family, and she joined them for several family events, particularly on holidays.

The last factor in this block is "being familiar with accent". The influence score for this factor is -40. It indicates this factor is mostly supported by other factors. This factor is also under the category language, which is not significant in the

Taiwanese/Chinese friendship. The result also indicates that accent does not discourage the friendship development between Taiwanese and Chinese students. It may be interesting to replicate this study in other similar scenarios. For instance, friendship between U.S. and U.K. individuals may also pose this result since language will also play an insignificant role in this relationship.

Factors in this block represent as "bonding stage" of friendship formation. Since factors in this block all possess negative INF score, those factors were identified as dependents which indicated that those factors were supported by other factors.

The ISM analysis presents a latent influential map on friendship formation, development, and maintenance. The results unveil the potential map and how factors influence each other. The value of ISM is manifested through the structure. First, ISM unveiled the importance of the latent factor—"knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from". This factor was not salient in the first stages of the study. However, it became the most influential factor after the ISM interview process. Second, ISM groups different factors into different blocks. Those blocks represent a certain process of friendship formation, development, and maintenance in Taiwanese/Chinese dyads. Those blocks are formed based on the participants' decisions. The researcher did not intervene in this decision-making process. The results are generated by the participants. Third, the influence scores provide a quantifiable measurement to determine how influential the factors may be in the friendship process. Other scores also can provide different meaningful indications of those factors. For instance, the ACT score can point out which factors play turning-point roles in the relationship process. Those scores can be interpreted for different purposes.

The intercultural formation model was generated through the ISM scoring process. The model consists with five stages: exploring, matching, engaging, deepening and bonding. Factors in exploring and matching stages were with high INF scores. The lowest one was 75 points ("matching personality"). Those two stages were categorized as high influence. Factors in engaging and deepening stages were with moderate INF scores (between 60-23). Those two stages were categorized as moderate influence. Factors in bonding stage were with negative INF scores. This stage was categorized as dependent. Lee (2008) also proposed three stages and two transition phases in intercultural friendship development. The three stages are initial encounter, interaction, and involvement. The first transition phase requires interactants having some needs or interests for their friendship to move on. Second transition requires turning points to deepen their friendship. My model reflected to Lee's (2008) stages and transition phases. However, my model detected factors within each stage. With INF scores, the influential relationship among factors was also identified. For instance, factors in boning stage were all with negative INF scores. It indicated that those factors were supported by other factors. Even though language is identified as one of the factors in intercultural friendship from previous studies on intercultural friendship, it appeared to be the dependent in this model. The next chapter will discuss the implications behind the results and what the limitations on this study are. Some future direction will also be discussed.

Chen (2002) also proposed intercultural relationship development process. Six factors were proposed: initial interaction, relationship formation, perceived similarity, relationship sustenance, uncertainty management and self-disclosure. However, Chen (2002) did not identify the influential relationship between those factors. My model did

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confirm most of the factors and explained those factors further. For instance, in initial

interaction factor, Chen (2002) pointed out that in intercultural relationships, interactants

needed explicit messages and perception of accommodation to initiate relationships. In

my model, interactants needed to know about the other party's geographical origins,

spend time together and discover similar interest in the exploring stage.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The friendship between Taiwanese and Chinese students poses a unique situation compared to other intercultural relationships. First, Taiwan and China have long histories with different kinds of conflict between them. The biggest conflict involves sovereignty and the use of the name "China." The formal name of Taiwan is the Republic of China, a name that it has carried since World War II. The Taiwanese people, however, identify themselves less and less with the name "China." China, whose formal name is People's Republic of China, has experienced rapid economic growth and become one of the most powerful countries in the world. The name "China" represents the pride and untouchable identity for Chinese people and includes the idea that Taiwan is an inseparable part of China. An iteration of the conflict is the One-China Policy. Since there should be only one China in the world, a country can have an official diplomatic relationship with either the Republic of China or the People's Republic of China. Do Taiwanese people still consider themselves as Chinese? How do Taiwanese people consider their Chinese cultural roots and identity? Will Chinese people accept it if Taiwanese people declare they are not Chinese? How do Chinese people deal with the differences of the idea of "China" between Taiwanese and Chinese people? My dissertation does not aim to answer these questions. However, I do believe that those conflicts do create barriers between Taiwanese and Chinese friendship.

Second, language became a lesser issue in Taiwanese/Chinese friendship. Previous studies pointed out that language is one of the biggest barriers for intercultural

friendship formation. Since both Taiwanese and Chinese people speak Mandarin Chinese as their official language, language will affect friendship in different ways.

The focus of this dissertation is on friendship formation, development, and maintenance. Two research questions were proposed. The first question was: What are the factors that individuals in Taiwanese/Chinese student friendships identify as contributing to their friendship formation, development, and maintenance? The second question was: How do individuals in Taiwanese/Chinese student friendship dyads view the influence relationship among these factors? The following sections will summarize the findings, limitations, and future directions.

Major Findings and Implications

To answer the research questions, a qualitative study was conducted and the results were presented in Chapter 4. In this section, those findings will be discussed and the implications will be addressed. The benefits of adopting ISM as my method will also be discussed.

Factors on Taiwanese/Chinese Friendship

In stage one and two of this study, factors that may affect the Taiwanese/Chinese friendship were proposed and categorized, as presented in Table 1. Fifty-five factors and 14 categories were generated through this process. The first aspect to be discussed is the loadings of each factor. The highest loaded factors were respect and tolerance, political issue, social media, and language. Those highest loaded factors reflect how participants think about which factors may affect their friendship more before they were interviewed. The results from the categorizing process reveal a first glance at the factors affecting Taiwanese/Chinese friendship.

After the voting process, the 15 highest voted factors were identified. The results are presented in Table 2. The top three most voted factors are "using common social app" (social media), "similar working style" (working attitude), and "similar interests" (interests).

A comparison between the two sets of results reveals the differences between them. The highest loaded factors are respect and tolerance, political issue, social media, and language, and the highest voted factors belonged to social media, working attitude, and interests. The voting process was done after the participants' discussion, which would likely influence their opinions. Another phenomenon that should be addressed is that two factors in the language category were included in the 15 highest factors. This indicates that language still plays an important role in the participants' opinions. Two categories, language and social media, are both on the highest voted category and most loaded category lists. This may indicate that even after a discussion with other participants, views on which factors affect Taiwanese/Chinese friendship do not change dramatically.

The Influence Relationship Among Factors on Taiwanese/Chinese Friendship

The results from the one-on-one interviews with ISM (Figure 21) present a very different picture of Taiwanese/Chinese friendship formation, development, and maintenance than stage one and two—idea collecting, categorizing, and voting. The first block is the foundation of friendship building: "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from", "spending time together", and "similar interests", which was labeled as exploring stage. The second block is the ideology of individuals: "similar views on values" and "matching personality", which was labeled as matching stage. The third

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block is communicative behaviors: "using common social app", "having the same extracurricular activities", curiosity about the other's culture, and "similar working style", which was labeled as engaging stage. The fourth block is the turning points: "mutual liking" and "showing respect for each other's political propensity", which was labeled as deepening stage. The fifth block is immediate results of friendship building: "understanding slang", "avoiding prejudice", "assimilating to each other's social circle" and "being familiar with different accent", which was labeled as bonding stage.

Three theories were proposed as sensitized concepts in Chapter 2: intergroup contact theory (ICT), communication accommodation theory (CAT), and identity negotiation theory (INT). Those three theories provided frameworks to explain the results in the following sections.

ICT provides six conditions for effective intergroup contact: equal status, common goals, intergroup cooperation, support of authorities, law or custom, potential of friendship, and time (Pettigrew, 1998). Positive intergroup contact will reduce prejudice between two groups of people. Those conditions were manifested in the meta-analysis. For instance, time is in the first block, which represents the foundation of friendship formation. Common goals, intergroup cooperation, support of authorities, and law or custom reflect certain traits in "having the same extracurricular activities" and "similar working style". This is because both factors require Taiwanese and Chinese students to work together, and the reason they have to work together is to accomplish either school work or student organization tasks. Potential friendship also reflects on several factors, such as "similar interests", "similar views on values", and "matching personality". Equal status is manifested in their student status. Chinese students are not viewed as less

competent or less important than Taiwanese students. The goal of positive contact, as stated by scholars, is to reduce prejudice (Dovidio et al., 2003; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew et al., 2011). "Avoiding prejudice" is located in the fifth box, which indicates an immediate result due to Taiwan/Chinese friendship. Pettigrew (1998) also pointed out that prejudice can be reduced by positive contact if the outgroup members are doing stereotype-breaking behaviors. While Lynn from China learned about how individuals from the southern part of Taiwan were prejudiced against Chinese people, her friend Yoshing broke this stereotype and changed Lynn's opinions about southern Taiwanese people. This process is continuous and mutual. The meta-analysis result indicates that ICT is a good framework to explain Taiwanese/Chinese friendship.

While ICT focuses on how positive contact may reduce prejudice between ingroup and outgroup members, CAT explains how communication accommodation may improve "mutual liking". Convergence strategies will improve "mutual liking" while divergence strategies will decrease "mutual liking". CAT originally focused on different accents and dialects between individuals from different cultural backgrounds. The theory was extended to include other aspects of communication, such as nonverbal cues and topical choices. The meta-analysis resulted in an interesting phenomenon. Language was considered one of the prominent categories in first and second stage of study. Two factors in this category were voted within the highest 15 factors in stage two. However, after the one-on-one interviews, both factors in the language category were identified as the least influential factors among the others. "Understanding slang" and "being familiar with different accent" are in block five. Both factors belong to the bonding stage of friendship formation and development. On the other hand, the factor "mutual liking" is in block

four, which indicates a deepening stage in the friendship development. From the diagram, "mutual liking" leads to "understanding slang" and "being familiar with different accent". It appears that the influential relationship contradicts the theory suggested. However, when examining the meta-analysis diagram, at least one factor that was related to the convergence accommodation strategy belongs to previous blocks. Using a common social app is located in block three, which is engaging stage. Since millennials tend to use CMC as one of their major communication channels (Erstad, 2012), adopting a social app that is commonly used by both parties will be a convergence accommodating strategy. One of the interesting findings is that it appears that mostly the outgroup members accommodated the ingroup members by adopting the social apps that are commonly used in Taiwan. Chinese students have to use Facebook Messenger and Line to communicate with Taiwanese friends. This may reflect to what the CAT suggested that the outgroup members have to accommodate to ingroup members more than vice versa. The accommodation did not always happen this one way. Some Taiwanese students did adopt the Chinese version of social apps. One of the reasons is that when Chinese students went back to China, those social apps that are commonly used in Taiwan are banned in China. Taiwanese students have to switch to Chinese version apps to communicate with other Chinese students once they were in China.

Another factor that is related to CAT is "showing respect for each other's political propensity". Political issues are related to topical accommodation. From the interview data, Chinese students were more reserved in their manner and communication when discussing political issues. Taiwanese students can be more open about their political propensity since they are in their native country. They are in a majority group comparing

to the Chinese students. However, they still pay a certain amount of attention when communicating with Chinese students. "Showing respect for each other's political propensity" is located in the same block as "mutual liking". It indicates that these two factors influence each other.

Two factors ("understanding slang" and "being familiar with different accent") in the language category also seem influenced by "mutual liking". However, it may stem from other convergence communicative behaviors and lead to language. Some interviewees did mention that they learned some slang via social apps or other CMC communicative channels. MuMu from China shared her experience of learning Taiwanese slang by browsing several Taiwanese-only websites. Another explanation is that, according to the meta-analysis, other factors ("using common social app" and Showing "showing respect for each other's political propensity") are far more important than language in Taiwanese/Chinese friendships. Language differences became minor details. However, participants still believed that language was an important category in Taiwanese/Chinese friendship since two factors in that category were voted highest among other factors.

Language, undoubtedly, is one of the most important factors affecting intercultural friendship (Gill, 2007; Imamura et al., 2011; Lee, 2006; Sias et al., 2008). Imamura and his colleagues (2011) pointed out that Japanese students viewed other host students according to the host students' accommodating levels of language. If the host students adopted more convergence accommodating strategies, the Japanese students would view the host students positively. If the host students adopted more divergence strategies, the Japanese students would view them negatively. Sias et al. (2008) also

declared that language ability is prominent in intercultural relationship. Language ability refers to the sojourner's ability to communicate in a host country's language and the host's ability to accommodate the sojourner. While examining previous studies on intercultural friendship development, the sojourners and hosts speak different languages. Hence, language became a salient factor in the relationship. In the relationship between Taiwanese and Chinese, however, the situation is different. Since both Taiwanese and Chinese speak Mandarin Chinese as their formal languages, they possess equal language communicative ability with each other. Language became the least influential factors in this study. For the interviewees, dialects, slangs, and accents became a way of learning cultures for both parties. Sometimes, the differences in language even became entertaining. JunJun from China mentioned that she learned some Hoklo in Taiwanese while other Taiwanese learned about Hangzhou dialect. The language differences became a lubricant in their friendship. From the results, one conclusion that can be drawn is that language is important if the interactants in an intercultural relationship speak different languages. However, if the interactants speak the same language, the importance of language will decrease.

Even though language did not play an influential role in Taiwanese/Chinese friendship, it does not mean that CAT cannot explain the friendship between Taiwanese and Chinese students. Accommodation happened in many different ways, such as communication channels and topic choices.

INT provides a framework to explain how identity would be negotiated through communication. Since the identity issue is one of the biggest factors in Taiwanese/Chinese conflict, the negotiation process is important to understand. Ting-

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Toomey's (2005) identity negotiation theory provided five dialectics to examine the identity negotiation process: identity security-identity vulnerability, identity inclusion-identity differentiation, identity predictability-identity unpredictability, identity connection-identity autonomy, identity consistency-identity change. From the interviews, several dialectic tensions can be found. Many Chinese interviewees pointed out that their identity on "China" was challenged while they were in Taiwan. They pointed out that they felt uncomfortable when Taiwanese people expressed that Taiwan and China are two different countries. Lee from China expressed her opinions on this topic by stating that she does not think coming to Taiwan for school is "studying abroad." It was weird for them to hear that Taiwanese students would address it "going back to your country" when they returned to China for vacation. In their minds, Taiwan and China are the same country. This is evidence that Chinese students did feel the identity security—identity vulnerability dialectic tensions while communicating with Taiwanese students. On the other hand, Taiwanese students felt less dialectic tension during communication with Chinese students. Since Taiwanese students are in their home country, they did not feel the need to justify their identities to Chinese students. Janet from Taiwan described her debate with her Chinese best friend and attributed their different views on the Taiwan/China issue to the education they received and environment in which they grew up. She just decided to talk about this topic less. She did not feel that her identity was threatened.

Ting-Toomey (2005) also proposed mindful communication components for positive identity negotiation, including identity knowledge, mindfulness, and identity-negotiation skills. Those components can be identified in the meta-analysis. "Knowing

which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" represents the identity knowledge component in the diagram. "Knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" is under the category of geographical concerns in box one, which is the foundation of friendship formation. As stated before, geographical concerns indicate the individual cultural differences based on the area in which they grew up. Knowing which area the individual is from can provide a basic cultural understanding of this person. Enxyel from Taiwan stated that as long as she knows where an individual is from, she can determine if certain behaviors are just rude or if they are stemmed from the individual's regional culture. Lynn from China also stated that, in the beginning, she would be more careful when communicating with individuals from the southern part of Taiwan since those individuals are considered more against Chinese people. Mindfulness components and identity negotiation's skills components are manifested in "using common social app", "showing respect for each other's political propensity", and "avoiding prejudice". "Showing respect for each other's political propensity" and "avoiding prejudice" are mindful communication components. Both factors require mindful awareness of the differences between both parties. Using a common social app is one of the skills that would contribute to positive identity negotiation since choosing the right channel for communication is one of the keys to successful communication.

Even though the model was culturally specific, it can be extended to other intercultural friendship for several reasons. First, the model supported ICT and INT and partially supported CAT. In CAT, the factors that did not support the theory were the factors in language category. Since Taiwanese and Chinese both use Mandarin Chinese as their official language, it understandable that language factors were not as influential

as other factors. In other intercultural context, the importance of language may manifest as more influential. For ICT, six factors for positive contact were manifested in the model, which indicated that this model can explain intergroup contact in different intercultural context. For INT, the model also pointed out several mindful components in communication. Second, even though the factors in those five stages may be modified based on different intercultural contexts, the five stages can explain the process of friendship formation, development and maintenance.

Contributions to the Theories, Research Methods, and Praxis

This dissertation provided several insights to the theories, research methods, and praxis. For the theories, the results confirmed certain parts of the three theories while also providing new aspects. Additionally, the ISM methodology proved to be beneficial in this study. Finally, the results offered practical suggestions for Taiwanese/Chinese friendship formation, development, and maintenance.

Contributions to the theories. Three theories were applied to this study. This dissertation supported the hypotheses of ICT. Pettigrew (1998) pointed out six conditions for positive intergroup contact and how those conditions may lead to reducing prejudice. Those six conditions—equal status; common goals; intergroup cooperation; support of authorities, law, or custom; potential of friendship; and time—were manifested in several factors, which were located in the left side of the boxes (Figure 21). Reducing prejudice was one of the results from positive contact. Based on the meta-analysis, "avoiding prejudice" was located in the last box from the end and was supported by other factors.

CAT explained how individuals accommodate each other and improve "mutual liking". Dialects and accents were the original foci of CAT. The theory extended to other

communicative aspects, including nonverbal communication and topic choices. The results partially supported this theory. Participants did accommodate on using a common social app. Chinese students had to use Line and/or Facebook to communicate with their Taiwanese friends. Taiwanese students also needed to use WeChat when their Chinese friends were in China due to the restraints on Internet access in China. The results indicated a new aspect of CAT. Individuals have to accommodate not only verbal and nonverbal communicative behaviors but also communication channels on CMC. Previous studies on CAT and CMC focused on how individuals accommodate on CMC channels and how individuals created group norms through CMC (Postmes, Spears, & Lea, 2000; Riordan, Markman, & Stewart, 2013). But how the CMC channel was a means of accommodation was rarely mentioned. This dissertation may provide a new aspect of CMC channel accommodation. Another finding was that dialect and accent were not influential in this study. CAT suggested that individuals would start accommodating their dialects and accents to others. According to the results, "being familiar with a different accent" and "understanding slang" were the least influential factors among the others. The results did not support CAT in this circumstance. However, communication accommodation still happened in other forms, such as channel accommodation and topic choice in Taiwanese/Chinese friendship formation, development, and maintenance.

INT provided an insight on how individuals negotiate their identities while communicating with others. Five dialectic tensions and three mindful communication components for positive identity negotiation were proposed to explain the identity negotiation process. The results supported the theory in two ways. First, participants described their dialectic tensions while communicating with other individuals. Chinese

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students especially expressed their security-insecurity tensions while communicating with Taiwanese students. Due to their minority identity in Taiwan, Chinese students had to compromise and often questioned their Chinese political recognition in the communication process. Second, some mindful communication components were manifested in factors. For instance, the identity knowledge component can be found in the factor "knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from". Regional cultural backgrounds can facilitate individuals to choose proper communication strategies. The results supported the theory.

Qualitative methods and ISM. Qualitative methods provided an in-depth understanding of Taiwanese/Chinese friendship. Combined with ISM, this methodology proved to be appropriate for three reasons: (1) the entire process was participant-driven, (2) one-on-one interviews provided the chance for participants to reveal their true thoughts, and (3) ISM unveiled the latent influential relationship among those factors.

The process of this study asked participants to contribute their opinions from the very beginning to the end. During the first stages, participants were asked to provide their ideas on Taiwanese/Chinese friendship. During the second stage, participants were asked to clarify and discuss with each other. Then, they categorized the factors they had proposed. At the end of stage two, they were asked to vote on those factors. During the third stage, the participants were asked to determine the influential relationship among the factors. The entire process was participant-driven; participants provided ideas, categorized those ideas, voted on those ideas, and determined their relationship. The researcher's opinions were limited to a minimum. In a traditional interview process,

interview data are categorized, analyzed, and interpreted by the researchers. By adopting a participant-driven methodology, their opinions could be included as much as possible. Doing the one-on-one interviews in the third stage was a choice to secure the most honest responses. Since many of the participants joined this study with his or her best friend from the other party, interviewing them as a dyad was an option for consideration. The original thought was that it would be interesting to find out the negotiation process between the dyad. However, interviewing as a dyad may have sacrificed the honesty. In the end, the interviews were conducted in a one-on-one fashion, and it seems the one-on-one interviews did contribute to honesty in the results. At least one interviewee from China expressed her opinion that she would not be able to talk as freely as she wanted if she had to be interviewed with her best friend. This statement justified the decision for one-on-one interviews.

ISM provided an invaluable addition to identifying the latent influential relationship among factors. During the first two stages, the results were different, but some similar patterns could be detected. However, the meta-analysis based on the ISM interview data showed a very different picture. For instance, language was one of the most prominent categories during the first two stages and became the least influential in the meta-analysis diagram. "Knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from" was one of the least favored factors during the first two stages and became the most salient one in the third stage. ISM unveiled the latent relationship that could not be manifested by other methods. As Broome and Chen (1992) pointed out, ISM is suitable for analyzing complicated issues. ISM also adds influential scores to each factor and delivers quantifiable criteria to compare factors and determine the influential structure.

Applications to Taiwanese/Chinese intercultural friendship. With the protracted conflict between Taiwanese and Chinese people, encouraging both parties to establish friendship and start dialogue may be the first step to managing the conflict. As Broome (2013) pointed out, "dialogue offers the possibility for changing the damaging communication patterns that perpetuate conflict and lead to violence, while at the same time developing norms and structures for more effective responses to conflict." (p. 738). When Taiwanese universities started to accept Chinese students for degree-seeking programs, it posed an opportunity for establishing friendships between Taiwanese and Chinese students. By establishing friendships between these two parties, future dialogue may be possible, and the protracted conflict may be able to be managed properly.

The friendship formation model provided a stage-by-stage guideline for building friendship. With factors in each stage, individuals who encourage Taiwanese/Chinese friendship formation can craft their strategies to achieve that goal. This dissertation suggested several approaches for school administrators responsible for international student affairs on how to encourage friendship formation, development, and maintenance between Taiwanese and Chinese students. According to the results, students should be grouped with those who are not from their original area. As Pettigrew (1998) pointed out, individuals will break their prejudice if the outgroup members are against their pre-held stereotypes. With more contact with individuals from different areas, their stereotypes will be easily altered. The second most influential factor is time. Encouraging Taiwanese and Chinese students to spend more time together will also benefit friendship building. Creating a buddy system for Taiwanese and Chinese students may be a good solution. Taiwanese students could be required to show the Chinese students around the town and

join some extracurricular activities. The buddy system could also help Taiwanese and Chinese students discover their shared interests, which is the third most influential factor.

Limitations and Future Directions

This dissertation was conducted on a university campus to ensure there would be equal status for Chinese students and that both Taiwanese and Chinese students had the opportunity to build friendships, since there are certain restraints on Chinese people visiting Taiwan. The results were satisfying for answering the research questions, though several limitations still applied. In the following sections, limitations and some future directions are discussed.

Limitations

First, the sample size is small. There were only 18 participants in this study. Also, those participants were college students. This sample may not be generalizable to the majority of students. Different generations may have different patterns on friendship formation, development, and maintenance.

Gender imbalance may also be an issue in this study. There was only one male among the 18 participants. In this study, gender imbalance may influence the process of friendship formation, development, and maintenance since different genders may adopt different activities for friendship establishing. Female dyads may go shopping or do nails together while male dyads may play basketball or computer games for relationship bonding. Even though the function may be the same, the nuance behind those activities may be different. Another concern is that same sex dyads may have different trajectories than different sex dyads for friendship building. Researchers found out that female same sex dyads tend to value conversations while male same sex dyads value doing activity

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together more. Even though the boning behaviors between male and female sex same dyads were different, the levels of closeness are the same between male/male and female/female dyads (Floyd, 1995; Parks & Floyd, 1996). This dissertation did not focus on gender specific dyads even though the participants were mostly female. Since the bonding behaviors may be different between female/female and male/male dyads, some factors may be different in mostly male participants. However, according to studies, the levels of closeness are the same between female/female and male/male dyads.

Another limitation is that Shih Hsin University (SHU) is a university focused on journalism and mass communication. School projects are very common in their curricula. Taiwanese and Chinese students are constantly required to work in a team setting, which may emphasize the importance of "similar "similar working style"" or other related factors. Some other universities may require less teamwork projects, and the results may be different. Since SHU has a focused profession, their students may also possess similar qualities. If the study had been conducted in a comprehensive university, the participants' qualities may be different, and it might affect the final results.

The research time may also be another limitation. This study was conducted in less than one month from recruitment to completion of all 18 one-on-one interviews. This study was divided into three stages. One month was a short period for interviewees to ruminate on their responses. Because several of the interviews were conducted within one or two days of the focus group, some interviewees' true mental concepts of the answers may still have been influenced by the focus group process.

Another limitation related to time constraint was that the final interpretation was not a group decision. The idea procedure would require all participants to participate in

another group discussion once the overall meta-analysis was done. They would have the chance to view the meta-structure and express their thoughts, as well as interpret the results themselves. Since the schedule was very tight, I did not have the chance to invite all participants for another group discussion. The semester was already ended before I finished my last interview. Some of the participants had already gone back to China or other cities in Taiwan. Since the participants did not have the chance for the final group discussion, I generated the final interpretation. My interpretation may not be able to capture the participants' real ideas.

Since I am a Taiwanese, bias may be inevitable for me on Taiwanese/Chinese issues. This may be a limitation for interpreting those results. Another possibility was that the Chinese interviewees may have had reservations while answering my questions in one-on-one interviews. The minority identity for Chinese students may also pose a limitation that Chinese students cannot express their opinions freely.

Another limitation is that the entire study was conducted in Mandarin Chinese. This dissertation is written in English. I had to translate all the materials for non-Chinese readers. Since I did not require a back translation to ensure the meanings was consistent between Chinese and English contents, there might be some missing interpretations between those two languages.

Future Directions

For future studies, one of the possibilities is to conduct a similar study in China. Taiwanese students would be in the minority, and the Chinese students would be the majority. The dynamic could be totally different. Another dynamic would be the political and online censorship. This aspect may affect how Taiwanese students express their

political views and how Chinese students may manage the different views on those topics.

Another study could be conducted in the U.S., since both Taiwanese and Chinese students will be the minority. Even in the U.S., the participants should still be only Taiwanese and Chinese students to maintain consistency. Both parties have to deal with cultural isolation and culture shock, which creates a different situation. Another aspect is the communication channel they would adopt. Since Taiwanese students and Chinese students tend to use different social apps to communicate, it would be interesting to examine which one they choose and the reason for their choice. It is also a different environment in terms of political views and the negotiation of identity.

Studies among other English-speaking individuals may also be possible. For instance, friendships between people from the U.S., U.K., Australia, New Zealand, and/or South Africa would be interesting. Even though those countries do not have the same protracted conflicts like Taiwan and China, they still have certain historical entanglements among them. It would be intriguing especially from a post-colonialism perspective. The same situation may also be suitable for other European countries and their relationship with African and Latin American countries. For instance, how individuals from Spain make friends with other Spanish-speaking individuals from Mexico.

Another future possibility is to identify how friendship formation, development, and maintenance would be different in an online environment. Since CMC is one of the main communication channels for millennials (Estrad, 2012), identifying the process would be a good way to understand whether the friendship establishment is different

from a face-to-face relationship. As Postmes et al. (2000) and Riordan et al. (2013) pointed out, individuals did accommodate in the CMC environment while building friendship. Dovidio et al. (2011) also proposed that indirect and imaginary contact can also be effective for reducing prejudice. An online environment may be good way to make friendship happen.

Previously suggested future studies mainly focused on friendship. This study may also extend to other kinds of relationship, including romantic, family, and workplace relationships. Those relationships have more complicated social networks, which may suggest a different path for relationship formation, development, and maintenance.

In addition, more ISM research should be enacted, as it is a useful methodology to unveil latent relationships among variables. It can be applied to other topics and enrich the qualitative methods currently used in the communication field.

Conclusion

The friendship formation, development, and maintenance between Taiwanese and Chinese students is a complicated issue. With the protracted conflict and the same spoken language, the characteristics are different from other intercultural relationships. Several latent factors were identified using ISM as a method. With the results and methodology, this dissertation may provide a different perspective on intercultural friendship formation, development, and maintenance.

The results provided approaches to those who aim to encourage Taiwanese/Chinese friendship establishment. Even though the protracted political conflict is a huge barrier between Taiwanese and Chinese people, beginning contact and forming friendships between those two parties may be the first step to managing the

conflict. This dissertation provided applicable solutions to encourage friendship formation between Taiwanese and Chinese students in a university setting. Those solutions may be extended to other contexts such as online environment and may improve mutual understanding between Taiwanese and Chinese people.

This dissertation also provided a possible approach to understanding other protracted conflict groups. As Broome (2013) pointed out, dialogue is one way of peace building. This study may indicate a way to build up friendship between conflicted group members and open the possibility to dialogue. Furthermore, dialogue may lead to positive conflict resolution and peace building.

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APPENDIX A

HISTORY OF TAIWAN

Taiwan and China are considered to have the same cultural roots, especially under the influence of Confucianism (Yum, 1988). However, Taiwan has a different historical trajectory than China, and those differences make the Taiwanese a unique ethnic group. As Huang et al. (2004) pointed out, in Taiwan, Taiwanese and Chinese identities are parallel rather than nested. The history of Taiwan definitely fostered the unique identity development. This section includes a brief history of Taiwan. The first part is about the aboriginals who were present before any Chinese immigrants settled in Taiwan. The second part relates to the first wave of immigrants from China and the impact they had on the Taiwanese aboriginals. The third part discusses the Dutch colonization and the late Ming dynasty. The fourth part describes the era that Taiwan was first officially under the rule of Qing China. The fifth part describes the domination of Japan in Taiwan, and the sixth part presents the history of Taiwan after World War II (WWII).

The Aboriginals

Taiwan aboriginals are a group of unique people who are not the same as Chinese immigrant Taiwanese people. Stainton (1999) stated that their languages are Austronesian, and their cultures and physiques are also identified as Austronesian people. Three different origin theories have been proposed. The first one is the southern origin. Theorists from this perspective believe that ancestors of Taiwan Original Peoples are from the Southeast Asian Peninsula. They originally came from that part of Asia and spread out to Indonesia through the Philippines and then reached Taiwan. Some of the important statements in this perspective include: "Aboriginal people as ancient remnants (even a doomed race), the Asians (Chinese) mainland as generally irrelevant, a conceptual and historical separation between China and Taiwan" (Stainton, 1999, p. 31).

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The importance of this perspective is that it drew ethnic and political borders between Taiwan and China. The author himself supported this perspective. The second perspective is the northern origin, which suggests that Taiwan Aboriginal Peoples arrived from mainland China by using one kind of canoe that was found in both Taiwan and the Fukien province of China. Several important statements representing this perspective include: "China at the center, and a place of origin for cultures across the Pacific, Taiwan aborigines as part of the story of the expansion of the Chinese nation and destined to be reunited with it" (Stainton, 1999, p. 37). This perspective emphasizes the historical and cultural ties between the Taiwan Aboriginal People and mainland China. It is mostly used as evidence that Taiwan is an inseparable part of China. The third perspective is "Taiwan as Austronesian Homeland." Stainton (1999) stated that linguistic scholar Isidore Dyen proposed that language is the key to tracing the origin of the Austronesians. Taiwan Aboriginal People preserved more than 20 languages, and three of them are the oldest branches of the Indonesian group. He believed that Taiwan was the logical homeland for the Austronesians. Several important statements from this perspective include: "Taiwan at the center and a place of origins, Taiwan's connection with China only in remote past. Taiwan as homeland of Taiwan aboriginal history" (Stainton, 1999, p. 40). The author stated that this perspective is not purely an aboriginal discourse but rather a Taiwanese nationalist discourse. In recent studies, genetic evidence showed that 60% of Taiwanese people are descendants of Austronesians no matter which language they speak. The research also showed that DNA profiles indicate that Taiwanese people are different from Chinese people (Stainton, 1999). With the debates on the origins of Taiwan Aboriginal People, the main ideas are somewhat related to the connection to the mainland China. As

Stainton (1999) stated, the origins are always a political issue and will remain as the politics of Taiwan's future.

Fukienese Immigrants in the Ming Dynasty

The descendant of Fukien immigrants remain the largest population in Taiwan. Wang (2005) pointed out that 70% of Taiwanese people considered themselves as Fukien descendants. Fukien is a province located in the Southeast of China. Vermeer (1999) pointed out that during the Yuen dynasty, Fukien was prosperous for its fishery, industries, and global trading. Ch'uan-chuo was one of the biggest international seaports at that time. However, during the Ming dynasty, the government decided to close the seaport, ended international trading, and even imposed restrictions on fishery. People in Fukien suffered under this policy. However, the international trade continued in some ways. Smuggling and piracy became prominent along the Fukien coastline. Those trades usually related to Japan at that time. The unregulated activities gave other Fukienese the chance to migrate to Taiwan. At that time, crossing the Taiwan Strait was very risky due to illegal shipping and unsophisticated navigation techniques. However, it did not stop the Fukienses as they tried to find new ways to survive in Taiwan. At that time, Taiwan was considered a den of pirates by the Ming dynasty. That was another reason that the Ming dynasty forbade Chinese people to migrate to Taiwan (Vermeer, 1999). Taiwan did not have any official rulers in the Ming dynasty.

The Era of Dutch and Cheng Domination

Due to its excellent geographical location, Taiwan is the transportation hub between Southeast and Northeast Asia. Wills, Jr. (1999) pointed out that "during the seventeenth century, maritime Chinese, Japanese, Spanish, English, and Dutch warriors

and traders all sought to settle on the great island, make it a commercial base, and profit

from its riches" (p. 85). The Dutch came to Taiwan to establish a trading post to trade

with China and Japan. The Taiwanese aboriginals and Chinese settlers were against the

Dutch people at first. However, they soon learned that the Dutch could help their trade

with China and Japan and keep Taiwan a safe place for settlers. So they decided to

cooperate with them. After discovering many natural resources in Taiwan, such as pepper,

sandalwood, and other tropical goods, the Dutch decided to build a colony in the south of

Taiwan. At that time, the northern part of Taiwan was under Spanish control. Dutch

troops pushed north to gain control of that part of Taiwan. Following the military force,

the missionaries came to Taiwan. Missionaries disseminated Christianity to the

Taiwanese aboriginals and did not stop after the Dutch were cast out of Taiwan. The

missionaries were not limited to Dutch either. Missionaries from other countries also set

their feet on the island. The aftermath is that most of the Taiwanese aboriginals are

Christians today. During the Dutch reign, the rulers encouraged interracial marriage

between Dutch and Taiwanese aboriginals. Many Taiwanese people today still have

Dutch genes from that period.

In 1644, the Ming dynasty was overrun by the Qing dynasty. In the 1650s, several

powerful rulers from the Ming dynasty, mostly princes from other royals related to the

old emperors seized control in the south part of China. One of the kings conferred the

title of "the great general" to Cheng Ch'eng-kung. Cheng's father was a pirate along the

southern coastline of China. Cheng decided to occupy Taiwan as the base for the Ming

dynasty to regain control of China. After some battles, Cheng claimed to rule Taiwan.

Even though the initial intention was to use Taiwan as the base to reclaim the throne of

China, "it was not entirely clear what Cheng Ch'eng-kung intended to do next" (Wills, Jr., 1999, p. 95). At the time Cheng claimed to reign over Taiwan, almost all the princes of Ming were either dead or captured by the Qing Empire. Without the authority of the Ming dynasty, Cheng planned to adopt the imperial surname and claim himself as the successor of the Ming dynasty. He even named the Casteel Zeelandia, the Dutch fortress built in Tainan that was the biggest city of Taiwan at that time, the "Eastern Capital." With Cheng's dominance, Taiwan had a Chinese ruler for the first time. During Cheng's dominance between 1661–1683, he mostly focused on settling Han people, mostly from the Fukien province, in Taiwan and kept trading with Japan, European countries, and Chinese smugglers and pirates. In the beginning, the Qing Empire was trying to conquer Taiwan by force. After some failed attempts, the Qing dynasty lost interest in taking Taiwan by force and summoned Cheng to surrender. Cheng was considering the proposal. However, he did not make it. He passed away before signing the agreement. During his late years, the Cheng family experienced severe disputes among family members. It jeopardized their ruling over the Taiwanese people. After Cheng's death, Shih Lang, the maritime commander of Qing Empire took over Taiwan. However, Qing did not intend to actually control Taiwan. The Empire's goal was to eradicate any resistance from the previous dynasty and take over Taiwan as collateral. After reclaiming Taiwan, "Shih Lang met with Alexander van's Gravenbroek, one of a small group of Dutchman who had been held on Taiwan ever since the Cheng conquest of 1661–2, and asked him to ask his masters in Batavia how much they would pay to get Taiwan back; the latter were predictably uninterested" (Wills, Jr., 1999, p. 102). The Qing Empire did not plan to dominate Taiwan. However, the reality was that Taiwan was in their hands, and they had

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to deal with it.

Becoming a Qing Territory

After the Dutch declined to take Taiwan back, the Qing government planned to abandon Taiwan in 1683. The original plan was to retreat and send Chinese immigrants back to Fukien. Those who did not have family in Taiwan would have to return to Fukien. Under this policy, Chinese people in Taiwan had dropped to 8,000 compared to 120,000 in the Cheng era (Shepherd, 1999). Shih Lang strongly opposed the idea of abandoning Taiwan. After several debates, Shih Lang won the argument, and the Qing decided to keep Taiwan. The Qing government made Taiwan a prefecture of the Fukien province. At the same time, the ban on maritime trade between Taiwan and China was also lifted. It encouraged fishermen and traders to travel between China and Taiwan more often. However, the Qing government still feared the possibility that Taiwan may become the incubator of rebellion. The government enforced the quarantine policy to restrict Fukienese from migrating to Taiwan. The quarantine specified that only single men could legally sail across the Taiwan Strait. This policy enabled the male labors to go to Taiwan in spring for agriculture and return to their families in Fukien after the fall harvest. The government also established the policy to segregate the Fukien Han and Taiwanese aboriginals in order to decrease any possibility that the Fukien Han might marry aboriginal women. The segregation also assured the monopoly trade between Fukien Han and aboriginals. Despite the Qing's intention, a rebellion occurred in 1721 in opposition to those policies. After the rebellion and other events occurred, the Qing government had to change their policies on Taiwan. The restriction was lifted.

With the possibility of owning lands by the Fukien Han, a new class of rural

landlord emerged. These elite groups brought a new impact to Taiwan's society and economy (Chen, 1999). The changes also urged more political involvement in Taiwan. The Qing government had to respond to those requirements. Another urge was from the treaties between the Qing and other countries. In one of those treaties, Tan-sui and An-p'ing, two of the biggest seaports of Taiwan, officially opened to the world. Custom officials were needed to administrate trading activities (Gardella, 1999). At that time, sugar and tea were two of the most profitable products produced in Taiwan. Other valuables were also exported, like camphor and juniper. The third motivation was from Japan. Due to the newly developed military and the desire to expand their territory, Japan began to aggressively invade Taiwan. The Qing government decided to make Taiwan a province in 1884. The advantage of becoming a province included more opportunity for political involvement, more armed forces to defend against invasion from other countries, and the beginning foundation of infrastructures in Taiwan. At that time, the political capital was established in Taipei, now capital of Taiwan, instead of the biggest city, Tainan. The first commercial railroad of the Qing dynasty was built in Taiwan during this time. After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95, Taiwan (including the Penhu Islands) was ceded to Japan.

Japanese Colonization

In 1895, Taiwan was officially ceded to Japan. Seizing Taiwan was evidence that Japan had transformed into the modern era. Lamley (1999) pointed out that Meiji Japan, the Japanese Era that was ruled by Emperor Meiji, showed "the status of a colonial power achieved" (p. 203). The abundance of resources and the strategic location of Taiwan became the focus for Japan. In order to catch up with the Western powers, Japan had to

conquer Taiwan. After First Sino-Japanese War, Japanese troops started to take over

Taiwan. However, the process was not peaceful. There was a lot of resistance to the

Japanese military. Unlike other European colonizers that were only interested in

establishing trading bases, Japan aimed to build up a political power. The Japanese

government eventually took over the control of Taiwan. After 1898, the Japanese

government enacted series of policies to encourage Taiwanese people to assimilate. One

of the important policies was the education reformation. As Lamley (1999) stated, the

fourth governor-general, General Kodama Gentaro, asked his chief of civil

administration, Goto Shinmpei, to establish a new education system and "the common

school not only offered instruction in Japanese language and culture, but also training in

classical Chinese and Confucian ethics as well as in practical subjects, including science"

(p. 210). However, few Taiwanese people could be admitted to second-level education or

higher. The subjects were also limited to medical and engineering subjects for Taiwanese

people. However, those policies had already improved the education level of Taiwanese

people. Goto, with his Western medical training, embraced the Western financial and

economic system. His and his successors' policies greatly improved the development of

infrastructure in Taiwan, including new a railroad system, irrigation system in Kanan

plain, establishing an electricity power grid, and the dispensary system of certain goods,

such as sugar, timbers, cigarettes, salt, opium, etc.

At that time, the Japanese government relied on a tight social system to maintain

the harmony of Taiwanese society. However, several rebellions still occurred during the

colonial era, especially from the Taiwanese aboriginals. From 1915 to 1936, Taiwan

experienced a relatively peaceful and economically profitable era.

During the Second World War (WWII), Taiwan became the garrison and logistic provider to Jingo Japan, the Japanese era that focused on military force development and invading other territories. Many Taiwanese males served as soldiers, and many females were forced to become comfort women and serve in different comfort houses in East and Southeast Asia. After WWII, Taiwan's status became a complicated issue.

After World War II

After WWII, Taiwan was reclaimed by the Republic of China (ROC), the official successor of Qing dynasty. However, the process was agonizing. In the beginning, Taiwanese people were happy to go back to Chinese rule. However, the situation was that Taiwan had been dominated by Japan for 50 years. Their language, culture, and values were not compatible to China anymore. Also the ROC government or Nationalist, Kuomintang (KMT), still had a point of view on Taiwan very similar to the Qing dynasty: Taiwan was just a frontier to the entire nation. Nationalists did not pay too much attention to the actual rule of Taiwan (Phillips, 1999). Nationalists did worry about whether the Taiwanese elite, who had Japanese education, would actually support their regime. They enacted a more restrained policy for ruling Taiwanese people. Of course, this policy turned and haunted the Nationalist government. One of the most influential incidents in modern Taiwanese history happened. "The February 28 incident epitomized the collision between decolonization and reintegration. The self-government linked these two complicated processes" (Phillips, 1999, p. 292). On the evening of February 27, 1947, six police officers arrested a woman for illegally selling cigarettes in Taipei. During the action, several citizens gathered to support this woman, and one of the policemen shot a bystander in the crowd. Riots spread throughout the entire country. Many Taiwanese and

Nationalist officials were killed in the incident. The aftermath is still influential even today. This incident reiterated the distrust between Taiwanese people and the KMT government. This distrust existed long after the KMT government relocated to Taiwan.

In 1949, KMT lost the civil war to the Communist Party and the Nationalist government relocated to Taiwan. At that time, the KMT government seemed to be doomed. The U.S. State Department, for some time, had planned to recognize the newly formed People's Republic of China (PRC). The turning point was the Korean War. The U.S. government ordered the seventh fleet to the Taiwan Strait and stopped the conflict between Communist and Nationalist. With the changing attitude toward Communist parties around the world, U.S. economic and military aid to Taiwan continued. In 1971, the ROC was replaced by the PRC in the United Nations (UN). In 1979, the U.S. officially established diplomacy with the PRC and cut off with the ROC. Even though Taiwan and the U.S. do not have official diplomacy, the two countries established the "Taiwan Relations Act" to regulate the interactions between Taiwan and the U.S. Taiwan and China were in a pre-war state until 1987 when Taiwanese government terminated martial law. After 1987, Taiwan and China started to build up a special relationship between each other.

While a detailed history of Taiwan is beyond the scope of this dissertation, I will only focus on those events that would influence the formation of Taiwanese identity and must omit some topics considered important by some Taiwanese people. For instance, the ethnic groups within Taiwanese society cannot be described thoroughly. Most Taiwanese people believe that there are four different ethnic groups within Taiwanese society: Hoklo (ancestors from the southern part of Fukien province who speak the Hoklo dialect),

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Hakka (ancestors from the southern part of China who speak the Hakka dialect),

mainlanders (those who came to Taiwan with the Nationalists after 1949), and the

aboriginals. The conflict among those groups is historically and socially complicated.

Some events even influenced the entire society (e.g., the February 28 Incident). Due to

length limitations, I regret to leave out those parts of history. However, I believe that what

I described provides a good picture of why Taiwanese people consider themselves as a

different ethnic group than Chinese people.

APPENDIX B

FACTORS LIST IN ENGLISH AND CHINESE

Item	Category	Factor	類別	因素
1	Social media	"using common social app"	媒體	嘗試用對方常用的社交軟件
2	Working attitudes	"similar "similar working style""	做事態度	做事方式
3	Interests	"similar interests"	興趣	相同的興趣愛好
4	Time	"spending time together"	時間	有時間可以相處
5	Assimilation	"assimilating to each other's social circle"	融入	融入
6	Language	"being familiar with different accent"	語言	習慣口音
7	Language	Understand slang	語言	了解不同的流行用語
8	Political issue	"showing respect for each other's political propensity"	政治	尊重對方政治立場
9	Personality	"matching personality"	人格特質	性格上的合拍
10	Values	"similar views on values"	價值觀	共同價值觀
11	Emotional connection	"mutual liking"	情感的連結	相互喜歡
12	Curiosity about culture	"curiosity about other's culture"	對文化的好奇心	互相對對方文化好奇
13	Respect and tolerance	"avoiding prejudice"	包容與尊重	不要以刻板印象去設想對方的立場
14	Geographical concerns	"knowing which area (Taiwan or China) they are from"	地域關係	從哪的地區來的
15	Shared experience	"having the same extracurricular activities"	共同經驗	社團活動

APPENDIX C

HUMAN SUBJECTS (IRB) APPROVAL

EXEMPTION GRANTED

Benjamin Broome
Human Communication, Hugh Downs School of
480/965-0394
Benjamin.Broome@asu.edu

Dear Benjamin Broome:

On 6/2/2015 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	China? Which China?: Intercultural friendship formation, development, and maintenance between Taiwanese and Chinese students
Investigator:	Benjamin Broome
IRB ID:	STUDY00002728
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	• Informed ConsentForm-Chinese.pdf, Category: Consent Form; • Interview&FocusGroupQs_Chinese.pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • Protocol_Broome_Chen_Dissertation.docx, Category: IRB Protocol; • RE STUDY00002728 Intercultural friendship between Taiwanese and Chinese students.pdf, Category: Translations; • Preliminary Survey.pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • Interview&FocusGroupQuestions.pdf, Category: Measures (Survey questions/Interview questions /interview guides/focus group questions); • BackTranslation.pdf, Category: Translations; • Informed Consent Form.pdf, Category: Consent Form; • PreSurvey_Chinese.pdf, Category: Other (to reflect anything not captured above);

The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal Regulations 45CFR46 (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 6/2/2015.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

Sincerely,

IRB Administrator

cc: Tzu-Chiao Chen
        Tzu-Chiao Chen