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台灣社會認同意識對於中國媒體在台觀感之影響

The Influence of Taiwanese Social Identity

On Attitudes Toward Mainland Chinese Media

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Abstract

Taiwan and China, countries whose citizens share a common ancestry, do not share a common social-identity. Using "social identity theory" (Tajfel, 1978) as a basis, this study seeks to understand how Taiwanese citizens view media from Mainland China in contrast to media from their native country. Asking questions about viewing intention and focusing on film's in the romance and sports genres, this study found that sports film's posters caused Taiwanese participant's to record a significant viewing preference for films from their own social group of Taiwan. Findings from the romance genre found no viewing intention preferences but a stronger willingness to engage in information seeking behaviors when films were from Taiwan. These findings help strengthen social identity theory's link to media research through showing that in-groups prefer their own media to the media of out-groups.
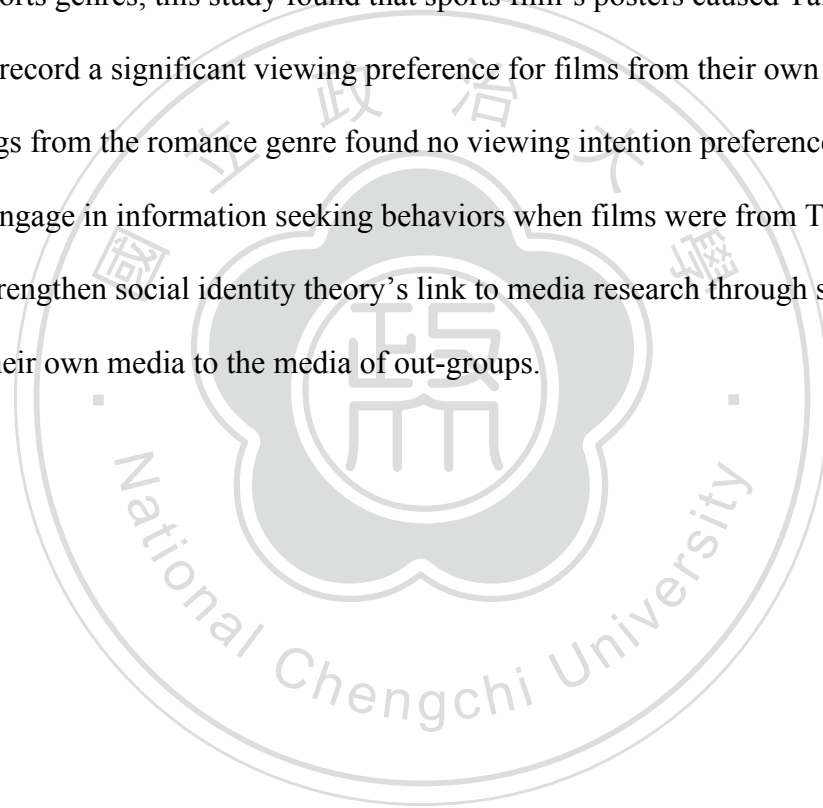
中文摘要

中國大陸和台灣雖然在文化上一脈相承，但是兩地在社會認同上並沒有達成共識。本論文以Tajfel的「社會認同理論」為骨幹，試著去了解台灣人對於來自中國大陸的媒體與跟自己本土產出的媒體有什麼不一樣的看法或觀感。利用設計電影海報來測試台灣民眾對於電影的興趣與注目焦點所在，研究結果發現，台灣人在運動類型的電影，對於本土產出的作品有明顯的偏好，也就是較為認同自己本地的社會族群。但是在羅浪漫愛情類型的電影就沒有相對強烈的本土偏好，但還是會積極去蒐集該類型電影的相關資訊。所以本研究藉由證明同一個族群偏好自身的媒體產物，也強化了社會認同理論的概念。

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Introduction

Mainland China has always had a stated political agenda to unite with Taiwan. Choon-Yin Sam, a scholar of economics and Asian studies, describes the Mainland Chinese position as being supremely interested in reunification and he points to their passing of an Anti-Secession Law in 2005 as proof of this assessment. The law stipulates within the second article that, "There is only one China in the World" (qtd. in Choon-Yin, 2010 p. 94). Hard power manifestations of this desire to take back the island would be in the impressive number of missiles China has pointed at its neighbor, which the China Post has estimated reached the 1,900 mark in 2010 ("China May Up Missiles", 2010). Yet, there is also a cultural approach that China has taken. China seeks to emphasize the shared Chinese cultural heritage in the two regions as a justification for the reunification of the two states.

For China the idea of a Taiwanese identity is in conflict with its assertion of control over the region. Jacques de Lisle (2010) makes particular mention of this cultural component in China's global soft power strategy, which seeks to insight a "sense of shared Chinese-ness . . . in Taiwan despite the broad rise of a Taiwan identity" (p. 511). Cultivating shared cultural experiences between the two regions is one way to subversively achieve the goal of bringing the two countries closer together. Winning over the hearts and minds of the Taiwanese population would make any subsequent political policies with a reunification aim much easier to implement.

Although the term "soft power" makes the process sound sinister, and there is no doubt China has a political motive, however cultural exchange is not necessarily malicious: reciprocal exchanges between governments has, on occasion, been found to promote trust (Rao, Pearce, and Xin, 2005). The exchange of culture between the two regions are encouraged on both sides, by politicians from both Taiwan and China, since it is a process that facilitates mutual

understanding (Ko, 2010). The Mainland Affairs Council of Taiwan display principles of cultural exchange on its website, which it agreed upon in its 41st council meeting on January 31st, 1994, stating it hopes to: "promote the development of culture and art of the two sides through the exchange programs of cultural articles and the people of artistic attainments" ("Principles for Cross Strait Exchanges", 1994). From a governmental standpoint, cultural exchange is, for the most part, welcomed by the government of Taiwan.

Media imports, such as films that screen across Asia, are a particularly effective way to propagate culture. Films are cultural products that contain, as Craig, Greene, and Douglas (2005) contend, the unique perspective of the cultures that produce them. Beyond that they are elements of popular culture enjoyed by almost everyone. The exporting of films along with encouraging co-productions is a way in which China is simultaneously able to push a cultural and economic agenda, all with the hope that their cultural perspective reaches a large audience.

Gao Zhihong (2009) puts forth that China has a stated goal in its national filmmaking policy to promote it's national culture, and further, China wants to disseminate its films globally with a Hollywood style industry that competes internationally. Gao goes on to outline how, from a political policy standpoint, the films of China are extensions of the country's political, cultural, and economic goals. Gao takes a rather negative view of this goal, saying that the film policy in China has been "hijacked by the government to implement its political and ideological agenda" (p. 434). Since films are cultural products, implementing a political agenda through popular cultural is quite possible. The governments of China and Taiwan recognize this fact and have often used films to promote the culture of their respective nations.

Yet how the people of Taiwan receive the cultural products of China is beyond the control of either government's desire to promote exchanges. Taiwan and China have a long

history of political tension; one Asian studies scholar Steven Goldstein characterizes it as 50 years of balancing between tension and peaceful stalemate creating a "status quo of deadlock". There are certain issues such as Taiwan independence that the two sides will never find common ground on (Goldstein, 2002). Therefore, to separate political prejudices from any exchanges between the two countries, especially a cultural exchange such as a film, would seem to be a difficult task.

The challenge to bring outside films into the Taiwan market has increased since, as of recently, Taiwanese audiences have begun to develop a stronger taste for local films. The local film industry has seen record box office returns, a trend that began in 2007 with the film *Cape No. 7 (海角七號)* bringing in NT$520 million and continued into 2010 with *Monga (艋舺)* and 2011 with *You Are the Apple of My Eye (那些年，我們一起追的女孩)* both yielding similarly high returns (Chang, 2012). Much to the delight of the struggling Taiwan film industry, it seems that capitalizing on the local stories and cultural of Taiwan has resonated with audiences who seem hungry for media material that they can relate to. These recent films do just that: drawing on the shared experiences of the Taiwan cultural and contributing media representations that audience members from Taiwan can easily understand.

If China seeks to successfully reach the Taiwanese audience, the question for China becomes: what types of films should they use in their soft power media campaigns directed at changing Taiwanese public opinion? How strong is the Taiwanese aversion to the Chinese Mainland? How strong is the Taiwanese preference toward local films? How willing are Taiwanese audience members to engage with their Mainland counterparts in an effort to understand the Mainland's politics and culture? Being that recent trade agreements such as ECFA have encouraged trade and investment in all sectors of business and linked the economies

of these two nations (Wren, 2012), it seems that they are destined to have further economic, political, and cultural relations in the future. These questions deserve serious consideration by those in the media cultural industries.

Therefore, this study aims to shed some light on how Taiwanese audience members differ in their feelings about local films as opposed to those imported from China. This study will do so by conducting an experiment with Taiwanese college students, comparing their opinions toward different stimuli: variations of film posters. The implications of any prejudices recorded from Taiwanese participant's views of out-group media not only help those seeking to understand Taiwanese audience members, but should also extend to any media research seeking to understand how media is perceived when it passes between different social groups.

This thesis's chapters are organized as follows: 1) Introduction; 2) Literature Review, outlining how Tajfel's "social identity theory" (1978) and Turner's "self-categorization theory" (1978) relate to media research and what this may mean for Taiwanese perceptions of Mainland Chinese media; 3) General Methodology, breaking down the experimental design of the study; 4) Experiment One, containing the methodology, results, and discussion for first experiment conducted, which analyzed responses to a sports genre film stimulus; 4) Experiment Two, containing the methodology, results, and discussion for the second experiment conducted, which analyzed responses to a romance genre film stimulus; and the 5) Discussion and Conclusion, which discusses the social and theoretical implications of this research.

Literature Review

Self-Categorization, Social Identity Theory, and Taiwan

Despite China's assertion of control over the region, Taiwan is its own political entity. The country creates laws and governs itself. National pride is certainly present within many if not most of the citizens of Taiwan. Tony Yu and Diane Kwan (2008) outline how national identity is "a collective perception of self . . . the difference between 'we' (in-group) and 'them' (out-group)" (p. 35). The research of Li Mei Chin (2003), found that all Taiwanese participants who grew up and lived in Taiwan had strong identification with Taiwan but not all participants had identification with China despite the fact that their traced lineage begins on the Mainland. In fact Taiwanese group identity often defines itself separately from a Chinese group identity.

Li's hypothesis behind the research is based in part on Turner's self-categorization theory and in part on Tajfel's social identity theory. These theories contributed to Li believing that people who incorporate the ethnicity of Taiwanese into their identity, subsequently identify less with a Chinese identity. Due to social identity theory and self-categorization theories previous relevance in research involving Taiwan and Mainland China it would be worthwhile to look at these theories and further apply them to research involving ethnic relations among the two regions.

Theory Origin. A major point Tajfel (1978) first made in regards to social identity theory is that in order to maintain a social group's identity, the group needs to distinguish itself in a positive way. In-groups seek to leverage themselves over out-groups. If a given group currently feels superior in some respect they will try to maintain that superiority as a "legitimization of their self image" (p. 76). As applied to the case of Taiwan and China it should

hold true that those who consider themselves Taiwanese will emphasis the positive attributes of the Taiwanese identity while comparatively taking an inferior view of the Chinese identity.

By extension, the desire to view in-groups in a positive light creates the desire to assist in-group members over out-group members. In the much sighted original experiment of this phenomenon, arbitrary groups were created among subjects and they were instructed to hand out sums of money, being unable to award money to themselves subjects chose to give higher sums to their group members. In a follow up experiment, when presented with the option to maximize the total amount given to everyone in the study subjects choose instead to insure that their group received more rewards than the out-group, even if it resulted in less money overall for their group. The point wasn't the net economic gain but rather subjects seemed to be concerned first and foremost with their group "winning" (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971). The arbitrary formation of the groups is noteworthy: with no real basis for identification with their group members, individuals are still inclined to see those with a similar social classification succeed over those considered different, even if the social classification is a contrived one.

Turner (1978) questioned as to why this rewarding of group members with no perceived gain to oneself occurs. He hypothesized that the reward process was an attempt to differentiate the groups, so members can experience a sense of pride over other groups. Since relations with other social groups are unavoidable, a social identity maintains a positive self-image through an individual's evaluation and comparison to other groups, a process Turner called self-categorization.

Once self-categorization is established, a sense of social competition becomes a way to increase the social image of the group in relation to its rivals. Turner tested for this by changing the reward from a material item such as money to an arbitrary indication of superiority, points.

Inter-group discrimination was again found even when there were no perceived economic gains from the process.

Social competition between groups highlights an important reason why some cases of discrimination would occur between separate groups and others would not. To assume all inter-group behavior is antagonistic, that a group must define itself through an inferior view of all other groups, is of course an over generalization; it is only in socially competitive situations that this occurs. Previous research analyzing black Americans feelings of group cohesion found it was in general not correlated with feelings of animosity or anger against the white community (Herring, Jankowski, & Brown, 1999). The reason for this could perhaps be that there is no need for the black community to differentiate itself from the white community, as the two are clearly separate. Tajfel and Turner's understanding of inter-group discrimination was that the purpose was to positively distance an in-group from an out-group. The need for this would commonly stem from a competitive or close relationship between the two groups such as an ambiguity of group categorizations.

Chinese identity. The Chinese community has this competitive relationship within itself, as citizens of Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland China all lay claim to the Chinese ethnicity. Yet the social categories of these three identities are made apparent by their political differences and separate historical experiences. It is because of similarities, and the potential for confusion between the social categories of Hong Kong, China, and Taiwan that there is more of a need for these groups to establish clear differences. In interviews with Hong Kong Chinese, conducted by Ladegaard (2011), on their perceptions of other races, the stereotypical view of Mainlanders was by and large a negative one. Ladegaard attributed this to a desire to create a clear 'we-they' dichotomy as a result of the possibility of confusion between the two groups. Hong Kong

Chinese reinforced their positive group identity by clearly pointing out the negative differences of Mainlanders, a group that otherwise could be considered similar to their own.

The need for inter-group distinction would seem to be even more necessary in the relationship between Mainland China and Taiwan, which is locked in a political conflict that constantly requires Taiwan to assert its independence from the Mainland. It has been publically stated and understood for some time that the Chinese government has an aim to unite with Taiwan: a country that wants to be sovereign (Reinke, 2009 p. 748). From this position if there is to be an independent Taiwan state it needs to establish its separation from the Mainland, and for those who choose to represent their identity as Taiwanese they will need to establish positively valued differences from their Mainland Chinese counterparts. Since the competitive relationship is a strong one, social identity and self-categorization theory would suggest that Taiwanese identification would cause negative views of the Chinese identity and resistance to Chinese culture as a way of preserving a Taiwanese identity formation.

Media Use

Uses and Gratification. The goal of this study is to relate social identity to how it would affect media usage. This goal is best achieved with a uses and gratifications approach, which suggests media is selected which appeals to our needs and wants. The original formations of the uses and gratifications theory rose out of a need to take into account the desires of the audience member and acknowledging them as active participants in their mass media use (Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1973-1974). Uses and gratifications has since been used in such research as tying participants moods to genre preferences in movies (Krcmar, Green, Banerjee, & Bagdasarov, 2008) and looking at how gender identity formation effects television viewing preferences (Dos Santos, Kotowski, & Harwood, 2007). The important point of a uses and gratifications approach,

and why it is useful in understanding how social factors effect media use, is that it proposes that certain social and psychological processes affect media choices and individuals often select media to fulfill desires created through social conditions.

Social Identity, Self-Categorization, and the Media. Applying social identity and self-categorization theory, the media that would most gratify in-groups would be media that has positive portrayals of that social group and negative portrayals of out-group counterparts. Attending only to this media is often called selective exposure (Weaver, 2011; Cooks & Orbe, 1993). Michael Slater (2007), when assessing the theoretical connection between media selectivity and social identity gratifications put forth this theoretical proposition:

> In general, those individuals who identify with a given set of religious, ideological, or lifestyle beliefs and values (i. e., a shared group or communal identity) will have certain preferred media outlets, and will selectively attend to content that reflects and shares the values of that social identity group. (p. 290)

The simplest way to ensure exposure to favorable portrayals of ones in-group is to avoid the media of out-groups. Media outlets and sources that have proven to have friendly portrayals of in-groups are a safer bet.

Slater's model is a spiral that expands on a simple uses and gratifications approach. Selection of certain media that favors the "in-group" will reinforce that social identity, contribute to stereotypes of it, and lead to stronger "in-group" identification through making that identification more salient. Slater's spiral contends that often the social conditions, such as stereotypes, that contribute to certain media choices are reinforced through the media itself. Slater acknowledges that to measure both aspects of this spiral process would take years, as it is a process that occurs over time. This research will only focus on one end of the spiral of

selectivity: that a social identity contributes to media choices. It is, however, worthwhile to keep in mind that media choices do in turn reinforce any given social identity.

In seeking to understand how social identity effects media choices, it has been found viewers are often attracted to media that reinforces their identity beliefs, avoidance is often found when a given social groups encounters media related to out-groups. Knobloch-Westerwick and Hastall (2010) in their research found selective exposure applied to news stories. When certain participants saw positive stories about their social groups they were more willing to watch them. These participants had a low interest in general with news stories pertaining to out-groups. In research more particular to entertainment media, Weaver (2011) measured audience members media choices based on the presence or absence of actors of different races. Consistent with social identity theory, the presences of a black leading actor had a negative impact on white audience members desire to see films. Weaver supposed the race of the actors cued the audiences to content less relevant and less positive to their in-group. Abrams and Giles (2007) recorded that the more African Americans identified with black culture, the more they engaged in selective avoidance of television, which predominately has negative or no portrayals at all of black Americans. It seems that often, in order to preserve the self-conception of in-groups, media representations created of and by out-groups are often avoided all together.

In contrast, KrÃ¤mer and Trepte (2006), found little to no evidence certain in-groups favor media from their home country. In a study conducted once with British and German and again with American and German nationals, most preferred to watch television shows from a foreign country rather than their home country. However, similar to the earlier example of Herring et al. (1999) finding that African American self-esteem is not dependent on animosity toward a white out-group, it is likely that no identity formation is at stake between the German

and American identity or between the German and British identity. Krämer and Trepte (2006) supposed there may even be a curiosity about the out-group.

For a Taiwanese audience member exposed to Chinese media, identity formation is at stake. The Taiwanese identity defines itself directly as being against the Chinese identity. Taiwanese people cannot deny that their ethnic roots began in Mainland China (Yu & Kwan, 2008) and therefore must work harder to justify the legitimacy of a Taiwanese ethnicity. One such manifestation of an effort to maintain their Taiwanese identity should be that Taiwanese identification results in avoidance of and animosity toward Chinese media imported to the island. Based on the literature, I, therefore, formulate the following hypotheses.

H1a: *In general* Taiwanese participants will show less intention to view films when prompted by stimuli suggesting films are Mainland Chinese and more intention when prompted by stimuli suggesting they are from Taiwan.

However it must be considered that seeing a film in a movie theater would potentially require a very different level of commitment and interest than seeing a film on television. As Keane and Kim-Shyan (2005) contend, different mediums elicit different affects. There is often a recorded difference in the viewing audiences between the movie-theater and DVD mediums (Stanley, 2006), and the movie theater and television mediums (Robins, 2006). Therefore any hypothesis about viewing intention should be broken done into the various mediums of viewing films for greater clarity. Broken down into medium the viewing intention hypothesis would also contend that:

H1b: Taiwanese participants will show less intention to view films *in a movie theater* when prompted by stimuli suggesting films are Mainland Chinese and more intention when prompted by stimuli suggesting they are from Taiwan.

In addition:

> H1c: Taiwanese participants will show less intention to view films *on DVD* when
> prompted by stimuli suggesting films are Mainland Chinese and more intention when
> prompted by stimuli suggesting they are from Taiwan.

And finally:

> H1d: Taiwanese participants will show less intention to view films *on television* when
> prompted by stimuli suggesting films are Mainland Chinese and more intention when
> prompted by stimuli suggesting they are from Taiwan.

Other Measures of a Social Identity Media Bias

Other than expressed viewing intentions, a social identity bias could manifest itself in
other ways. It should be considered that expressed viewing intention may not be an accurate way
to understand all participants perceptions of a given piece of media, as Nabi and Krcmar (2004)
explain, viewing intention can often be impeded by "situational constraints" (p. 299). For
example people may not intend to view films for monetary reasons even though they think they
may enjoy it. Therefore, there should be other attempts made to measure participant's social
identity media biases.

Perceptions. It would be useful to measure more basic enjoyment processes, which as
Nabi and Krcmar assert, contribute to the more advanced behavior of intending to view a certain
piece of media. Basic processes such as positive affect, identification, and learning have been
found to be present in previous media research when an expressed viewing intention was not
(Nabi & Tsay, 2006). In other studies positive feelings did translate to and were consistent with
the participants viewing intention (Ye & Zhou, 2007). The point being that positive feelings of

perceived enjoyment are the first step before a clear intention to view a given film is made. Therefore, the following hypothesis is proposed.

H2: Taiwanese participants will display less positive perceptions towards the films when prompted by stimuli suggesting they are Mainland Chinese films and more positive perceptions of the films when prompted by stimuli suggesting they are Taiwanese films.

This would occur due to Taiwanese participants' desires to maintain more positive feelings of their in-group over their Mainland Chinese counterparts as a way of self-affirmation.

Information Seeking. Positive feelings are one reaction that may precede an expressed viewing intention, a desire to seek out more information about the films may be another. So while participants may not be entirely committed to seeing any films due to external factors, such as cost, they may be more willing to do research on one product over another before making a decision.

Information seeking has been found in previous research to be a precursor to purchasing, including such actions as peer-to-peer deliberation, thorough review of all product information, and the consulting of experts (Midgley, 1983). In the absence of viewing intention, information seeking could certainly occur in a product that consumers are interested in but still unsure about, yet this would only occur if participants were in fact open to the idea of purchasing the product. The act of information seeking would therefore, theoretically, be less likely in the event of a prejudice created by something irrelevant to quality, such as a social identity bias, which is more of a peripheral processing technique, less reliant on actual substance. Petty and Cacioppo (1986) explain that, information seeking is more of a commitment to the central processing route and is, therefore, indicative of high involvement because of a social identity based media bias:

H3: Taiwanese participants will display less information seeking behaviors towards the films when prompted by stimuli suggesting they are Mainland Chinese films and more information seeking behaviors when prompted by stimuli suggesting they are Taiwanese films.

Priming Self-Identification

Priming, simply put, is the idea of making certain ideas more salient in the eyes of individuals in order to influence their opinions (Scheufele, 2000). Researchers often use priming in experiments to trigger, or make more salient, certain feelings, values, or aspects of a participant's personality so the effects of those feelings, values, or personality traits can be more easily measured. This can be done by having participants engage in certain activities such as reading articles or free writing on a specific subject connected to the emotions that researchers wish to prime. The purpose of a prime is to often to see how it influences the "responses to an allegedly unrelated subsequent task" (Oyserman, 2008 p. 313), often in comparison to a control group that does not participant in the priming activity.

Forehand and Deshpande (2001) noted that although ethnic identity is a trait determined by social and cultural experiences, it can be primed to be more salient in the minds of individuals. Forehand and Deshpande (2001) found that priming ethnic identity in their experiment with simple words such as "Asia" or "Europe", to remind participants of their ethnic identification, increased awareness and identification with their ethnic identity, and increased identification with a stimulus targeted at their ethnicity. Vincent Dru (2007) found that when in-group and out-group identifications were primed, via answering questions on their opinions of in-group and out-group members, ethnic prejudice was increased. McGarty (2001) maintained that out-group prejudice and in-group cohesion only manifests itself in conditions where

comparisons between groups are primed, such as asking participants how they would feel living in another country and how they feel about foreigners. McGarty (2001) cited that the absence of primes resulted in much less significant correlations between group identification and in-group biases. If this were indeed the case then it seems priming the identity of participants would be a necessity in any social identity research.

For priming's effect on viewing intention the following hypothesis is purposed:

H4: Primed to consider their ethnic identity, Taiwanese participants will show less intention to view films when prompted by stimuli suggesting the films are Mainland Chinese and more intention when prompted by stimuli suggesting they are from Taiwan.

For priming's effect on positive perceptions:

H5: Primed to consider their ethnic identity, Taiwanese participants will display less positive perceptions towards the films when prompted by stimuli suggesting they are Mainland Chinese films and more positive perceptions when prompted by stimuli suggesting they are Taiwanese films.

And for priming's effect on information seeking behaviors:

H6: Primed to consider their ethnic identity, Taiwanese participants will display less information seeking behaviors towards the films when prompted by stimuli suggesting they are Mainland Chinese films and more information seeking behaviors when prompted by stimuli suggesting they are Taiwanese films.

Self-Identification Variance

Despite the fact that the national identity of the government is certain, the cultural or social identity of Taiwanese citizens is, however, more confused. Due to shared cultural experiences, the perceived social identity of many Taiwanese citizens varies. People living in

Taiwan may consider themselves as part of the "in-group" of Taiwanese but also part of the "in-group" of Chinese, because of a shared history and experiences with both localities. This causes the national identity of Taiwan, as a whole, to be vague, due to the number of cultural allegiances citizens could legitimately lay claim to. The majority population is ethnically Han Chinese, originating from the Chinese Mainland; however living in Taiwan for generations obviously has produced in many citizens a closer identification with their new locality over their Chinese roots. It is still possible though that there is variance in how Taiwanese view their social identity, some in Taiwan still may identify with his or her Chinese heritage more strongly than others and some may identify with their Taiwanese heritage with more zeal than others, and this variance needs to be accounted for.

In previous ethnic identification research the population was often broken into three groups, those who consider themselves wholly Chinese, wholly Taiwanese and those who consider themselves to be mixed, claiming both Taiwanese and Chinese identities (Li, 2003). The trend identified by the Election Survey Center at National Chengchi University in Taiwan, shows the population of Taiwan identifying more and more as wholly "Taiwanese", less and less as "both Taiwanese and Chinese", and barely identifying at all as "Chinese". The latest survey numbers put 54.2% of the population as identifying themselves as Taiwanese, 39% as both Taiwanese and Chinese, and 4.1% as Chinese (Election Studies Center, 2011). This marks a difference from only three years ago; the 2008 survey numbers put the identity classifications at a near even split with 44.7% identifying as both Chinese and Taiwanese and 43.7% identifying as Taiwanese, with 4.0% identifying as Chinese (Election Studies Center, 2011). If this trend continues it seems that more and more of the population will be part of a more clear "in-group" that considers its Chinese others, especially those on the opposite side of the Taiwan Strait, to be

separate. For now, however, accounting for the variation on ethnic self-identification in Taiwan should give further insight into what contributes to the aversion or attraction to a given countries media.

If participants feel within themselves a significant identification with their Chinese heritage it would be unlikely for them to need to distance themselves from China's culture, it is more probable they would embrace it according to social identity and self-categorization theories. Conversely if participants feel within themselves a stronger identification with their Taiwanese heritage than they would likely be the more adamantly opposed to the Chinese films and by way of contrast more attracted to films from Taiwan. Therefore:

> H7: The level of identification participants feel toward their Taiwanese heritage relative to their level of Chinese identification will influence attraction to the films: their level of attraction to the Taiwanese and Chinese films aligning positively with their self-stated social identity level.

Meaning the more social identification one feels toward Taiwan the more attracted they would be to a Taiwanese film; conversely more identification with a Chinese identity would result in more attraction to the Chinese film.

Controlling for Audience's Movie Going Preferences

The object of this study is to see if there is a noticeable basis toward a film made in Taiwan over a film made in China due to the participant's identification as a citizen of Taiwan. This will be achieved by having no differences in any aspect of the film stimuli used, except certain visual cues that indicate either a Taiwanese or Chinese production location. However, the fact that movie preference varies amongst individuals is something that should be considered; of course the same film will inspire different reactions in different participants. The location of a

film is likely a subtle bias that most people are likely not aware they have. More obvious biases such as only liking certain genres or a preference for a particular actor will more than probably have a big influence on the results. These preferences should therefore be controlled for as best they can.

   Audience Preferences. Determining what exactly draws audience members to see films is of course of much concern to marketing professionals, therefore much research has been done in order to determine what factors are most important when trying to entice audiences to see a film (Litman, 1983; De Vany & Walls, 1999; Chang & Ki, 2005; Craig, Greene, & Douglas, 2005; Simonton, 2009; Fetscherin, 2010; Suárez-vázquez, 2011). Certainly no one study has been able to perfectly understand what certain variables will make a film a surefire success. In fact De Vany and Walls (1999) determined the variance to be infinite, based on their statistics there was no way to tell what factors made any given film successful. Craig, Greene, and Douglas (2005) also contended the possible variables that go into a film's success are infinite. Still, a framework of variables has developed through these studies, all of which are possible motivators for an individual wanting to see a certain film.

   In an attempt to quantify what made a successful film, Litman (1983) broke down a film's enticing components into four categories; testing whether genre, rating, the presence of stars, or the production cost of the film had an impact on revenue generated. Expanding on these variables Chang and Ki (2005) had a much longer list. The variables Change and Ki felt important were: whether the film was a sequel, the actors, the director, the budget, the genre, the MPAA rating, critic's feedback, audience feedback, who the distributor is, the release date, and the number of screens on which the film is shown.

Chang and Ki's variables looked at variables applicable to box office sales from the United States but Fetscherin (2010) also found similar variables in the context of an international film release, so the variables, do not simply apply to the context of films released in United States. Fetscherin's (2010) research model measured: genre, MPPA rating, star power, director power, season, number of screens, distributor power, and audience review. In looking over previous research, Fetscherin (2010) isolated the most commonly tested variables that go into a film's success.

A good number of these variables will be irrelevant to this study. This study is not using sales as a dependent variable but rather only presenting a marketing campaign for a film and seeing what interest it generates in participants. Given the fact that we are not analyzing the economic success of the actual product, the relevant variables are only those that apply to the marketing campaign itself, not the more logistical elements of a film's release such as the number of theaters it is shown in, as these will not be evident in the shown stimulus. For this study the idea was to limit the presence of predictor variables shown in the stimulus that could be of influence to participants in order for the results to be less muddled. Of Fetscherin's (2010) variables the two that could still be found in created stimulus were genre and star power and these were considered and controlled for.

Star Power. The influence of star power on potential audience members was not relevant to this study due to the lack of any notable actors or actresses in the stimulus used. The stimulus has actor names on the poster but none of these names are of known actors. The names themselves may be of interest to participants, but this is unlikely.

It was considered that the lack of known actors may have a negative impact on viewing motivation, as people are sometimes motivated to see films due to the presence of their favorite

actor or actress, of which the stimulus has none. Many studies have wondered if the presence of a known and well-liked actor is responsible for high audience turn out to a given film. The conventional logic is of course that a big name star will increase ticket sales and some research has indeed found data to support this conclusion (Canterbery & Marvasti, 2001). Other studies, however, have actually found that the data does not support the claim, and that the success of a given film cannot be attributed to the presence of a big name star (De Vany & Walls, 1999; De Vany & Walls, 2004; Suárez-vázquez, 2011). Often, a superstar has been found to help the chances of a film's success but no conclusive data can determine if this is due to the presence of the star. Suarez-Vaquez (2011), for example found that having stars in a film was not a necessarily a quality indicator to potential viewers. The lack of stars in the stimulus should, therefore, cause no unbalanced increase in certain participants viewing motivations due to a partiality to a particular movie star, nor should it have a negative effect on viewing motivations due to a dislike of any particular actor.

Genre. One of the most consistent factors found to have an effect on box office results is genre (Chang & Ki, 2005; Festcherin, 2010). Certain genres were found to be preferred over others by audience members, in Chang and Ki's (2005) experiment, for example, horror films seemed to fair better at the box office than all other genres. Festcherin (2010), who was testing Bollywood films, found romance to be the most popular genre.

Everyone has different genre preferences and different countries and cultures of course should have different general genre preferences. This makes the impact of genre on the desire of audience members to see films a complex matter and one that can clearly affect this experiment. Therefore in order to enhance the external validity of our experiment separate stimuli were created for two different film genres in order to see if there is a consistence preference of

Taiwanese films over Mainland Chinese films across genres. For logistical reasons it was only possible to conduct this experiment with two separate genres, so the genres used were a matter of careful deliberation.

In 2007, d'Astous, Colbert, and Nobert found, particular film genres are associated with the countries that produce them well and this connection between genre and country of origin was found to impact audience members viewing decisions. For example, individuals were found more willing to see a martial arts movie from Japan then they are from Spain. This makes multiple genre conditions all the more important since it is possible that there are particular genres either associated with Taiwan or China. Either country may have a reputation in the mind of participants for producing a given genre well. The two genres selected: romance and sports were selected to specifically try and account for this bias. These genres were picked because they were thought not to contain a particular bias, however if a bias amongst either genre exists, producing the study twice in separate genres would allow the bias to be identified, which is, in itself, an interesting finding.

Romance. Taiwan's most frequently produced genre is arguably romance, a little less than half of the films produced in Taiwan in 2012 were romances ("Taiwan Film Archive", 2012). Mainland China also produced a large amount of romances in 2012 ("Chinese Film Archive", 2012). China has a much larger film industry than Taiwan and therefore produces a wider variety of film genres and has high grosses across genres. It produces its fair share of romances that have grossed highly ("Weekly Box Office", 2012). Taiwanese viewers seem to enjoy romances produced in their country and Chinese viewers seem to equally enjoy the romances their country produces. The fact that the romance genre is popular in both respective countries of origin means it was thought to yield higher viewing preference results. Romance

was also thought to be a relatively popular film genre with university students who are the target demographic of this experiment.

Sports. The sports genre was selected for being a relatively neutral genre; neutral in the sense that neither country is particularly famous for creating films in the sports genre. It is assumed that neither country has a clear association with the sports genre, as there are very few examples of sports movies coming out of either country in recent years ("Taiwan Film Archive", 2012; "Chinese Film Archive", 2012).

Moreover, in contrast to a romantic film, sports films can be somewhat political which makes the genre an interesting contrast to the romance genre. The nationalistic nature of sports is also something that should be expected to insight in participant's national pride as global sporting events are often framed in nationalistic terms especially amongst competing nations (Gao, 2010). Therefore, it is expected a sports film stimulus would record high affect in terms of the social identity and self-categorization impact on the viewing motivations, positive perceptions, and information seeking behaviors of participants.

Control Questions. Although these genres were selected because they were thought to be of interest to participants, every individual has their own genre preference. This was controlled for in the pretest; participants were asked their interest level in either romance films or sports films, depending on which genre condition they were placed in. Controlling for participants self stated level of interested stimulus genre they view should ensure that the recorded results are in fact due to a social identity bias and not a genre bias.

General Methodology

The proposed hypotheses were tested through an experimental research looking at Taiwanese participant's responses to various film poster stimuli. Particular attention was paid to differences based on which experimental condition participants were placed in: either a Taiwanese or Chinese film poster condition.

Procedure

The experimental design was a 2 x 2 factorial design. This design was used to measure the difference of participant's viewing motivations between the groups. Participants were randomly placed into one of the four conditions. Conditions were separated by the difference in stimulus location, as well as separated into both a self-identity prime condition and no self-identity prime condition. ANCOVA was then used to measure dependent variable differences between groups. Participants in each condition received a pretest asking movie preferences, self-identity, and demographic questions.

	Taiwan Poster	Mainland China Poster
Pretest Self-Identity Prime	I	II
No Self-Identity Prime	III	IV

Figure. 1 Experimental Conditions

The 2 x 2 design illustrated in figure 1 shows participants have the possibility of being placed in one of four conditions: 1) the Taiwan poster and self-identity prime condition; 2) the Chinese poster and self-identity prime condition; 3) the Taiwan poster and no self-identity prime condition; or 4) the Chinese poster and no self-identity prime condition.

Being placed in the Taiwanese poster conditions (conditions I and III) meant that participants were shown a film poster with a Taiwanese location manipulation, while being placed in the Chinese poster conditions (conditions II and IV) meant participants were shown a film poster with a Chinese location manipulation.

The "self-identity prime" conditions (I and II) received self-identity questions in their pretest and were asked to write a short paragraph related to why they love Taiwan. Participants then viewed the stimulus and were given posttest questions asking about viewing motivation, perceptions, and information seeking behaviors. The "no self-identity prime" conditions (III and IV) were not asked to write a paragraph and did not receive identity questions in their pre-test, as the question itself was thought to be another possible prime to social identity.

Two experiments were conducted to understand how genre influenced participant's responses. The experiment was conducted once for the sports genre and once for the romance genre. Both experiments were identical, both containing the same four conditions.

Materials

This experiment based its findings on responses to separate stimuli. Various manipulations of posters of an imaginary film were put together especially for the purpose of this research. These original visual stimuli were used alongside descriptions of the films. This was done to increase the strength of the stimuli and for the purpose of external validity; visual

advertisements coupled with descriptions are one of the many ways audience members are introduced to new films. Audience members often evaluate their viewing decisions based on a number of factors, visual advertisements and descriptions among them, and this research will contribute to understanding the cultural elements of that process.

Four separate film posters were created for this study. Two different posters were created for each genre: a romance poster and a sports film poster. Within each genre there are both a Taiwanese and Chinese version of the poster. The only difference between posters is a small location manipulation, i.e. different country flags in the background and different city names on a billboard, every other aspect of the poster is identical. The various manipulations of the film poster stimuli for the experiment are as follows: 1) a Taiwanese sports film manipulation; 2) a Chinese sports film manipulation; 3) a Taiwanese romance manipulation and; 4) a Chinese romance manipulation (see appendices A, B, C and D).

For the sports posters the only change between location conditions was the flag in the background, which indicated country of origin. The romance posters had separate flags indicating country of origin; additionally the city name on the train station in the background is either Taipei or Beijing depending on the location condition. The film descriptions, for both location conditions are again identical except for the city and country names, which are repeated periodically throughout the description; for the Taiwanese location manipulation, Taiwan and Taipei is repeated, China and Beijing are repeated for the Chinese manipulation.

It was of supreme importance that in both genre posters the difference between the Chinese and Taiwanese manipulation was clear. Krämer's (2006) method of tying a country identification to a particular television production was through simply stating the country of production at the end of a plot description. Krämer's findings however did not prove any social

identity avoidance based on country differences. Krämer supposed that attaching a simple mention of the country of production at the end of a plot description was too subtle of a cue that participants perhaps ignored. Krämer wondered if adding more specific localities in the description, such as recognizable city names, would increase the salience of the location prime.

This change was made in our description of the films with repeated mentions of the city of Beijing and country of China in the film descriptions of the Chinese manipulations, and the repeated mentions of the city of Taipei and country of Taiwan in the Taiwanese manipulations. This coupled with the visual component of the experiment, the poster differences, should make the location cues of this experiment sufficiently salient.

Manipulation Check

A manipulation check with a small focus group of eight participants was run to confirm the salience of the location primes. The participants were shown a poster and asked whether or not they were sufficient indications of the film's country of origin, all eight participants correctly identified the film poster's intended location of origin.

Measurements

Viewing Intention. The dependant variable of viewing motivations measured in the post-test were measured with the questions: "How likely would you be to go see this film in the movie theater?"; "How likely would you be to rent and watch this film on DVD?"; and "How likely would you be to watch this film on TV, if it is aired?" All answers were measured on a 5-point scale from "very likely" to "not at all". These measures are similar to the measures used by Weaver (2011), who found it necessary to separate viewing intention into different possible viewing mediums. Averaged together and called "General viewing intention", the three questions have high reliability with a Cronbach's Alpha ($\propto$) of 0.843. The range of means for this scale is 3

to 15.

These questions were also individually measured because the responses to these questions were expected to differ in participants based on the medium of film viewing. Therefore the three questions that made up the scale were also separately measured as their own dependent variables, called "theater viewing", "DVD viewing", and "television viewing".

Perceptions. Positive and negative perceptions of the film were measured on a five-point scale of "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree", questions measuring attitudes being as follows: "I general I like this film as a whole."; "Based on the poster and description the plot of this movie looks entertaining."; "The plot description and poster of this film are enticing."; and "Based on the poster and description of the plot I think this movie will be exciting." In addition there was also a negative attitude variable, "Based on poster and description of the plot I think this movie will be boring" which was reverse coded. The responses to these five questions were all averaged together to form a scale, which made up the dependent variable of "positive perceptions" ($\propto = 0.818$), with means ranging from 5 to 25.

Information Seeking. Information seeking was measured by the following questions: "How likely would you be to seek out more information about this film (either on the news or on the internet)?" "How likely would you be to discuss this film with friends?" "How likely would you be to watch a preview of this film?" " How likely would you be to go find out what critics have to say about this film?" The responses to these questions were measured on a five-point scale. These four questions were then averaged together to form a scale of the dependent variable "information seeking" ($\propto = 0.823$) with means ranging from 4 to 20.

Identity. The National Election Center at National Chengchi University (NCCU), which has conducted surveys on Taiwanese identity since 1992 presents three identity options for those

surveyed to select, with a fourth "no response" option. The NCCU survey words its identity

question this way:

> In our society, there are some people who call themselves 'Taiwanese' some who call themselves 'Chinese', and some who call themselves both. Do you consider yourself to be 'Taiwanese', 'Chinese', or both? (qtd. in Chou, 2011).

The same wording from the NCCU survey was used in this experiment to prime participants,

however it was slightly modified. For the purpose of making the data easier to analyze, the

question in this experiment's pre-test was made into a five-point scale and the question was

broken into two parts. The wording for this study was as follows: "In our society, there are some

people who call themselves 'Taiwanese' some who call themselves 'Chinese', and some who

call themselves both. On a scale of 1 to 5 (1 being 'Not Taiwanese' and 5 being 'Very

Taiwanese') How Taiwanese do you consider your self to be?" And, "On a scale of 1 to 5 (1

being 'Not Chinese' and 5 being 'Very Chinese') How Chinese do you consider yourself to be?"

Contrary to initial expectations self-reported identity had very little variance in

participants: 83 percent of respondents recorded that they were very Taiwanese, a five on the

Taiwanese identity scale, with only 11 percent recording a four and the remaining 6 percent

recording a three or lower. Conversely, Chinese identity levels indicated that around 66 percent

of those who answered felt they were a one or two, little to no feelings of Chinese identity and

only around 13 percent of respondents recorded a four or five, high levels of Chinese identity.

Participants therefore were by and large very connected to their Taiwanese identity with only

some variance between them as to how Chinese they felt.

To account for this low variance and create a more even distribution for analysis, level of

Chinese identity was subtracted from level of Taiwanese identity creating a single variable with

which to test hypothesis 7, how identity levels effects viewing intention. The new variable

indicated the identity gap participants feel between their Taiwanese and Chinese heritage; a low gap, lower number on the scale, would indicate that participants feel as connected to their Chinese heritage as they do their Taiwanese heritage. A higher number would indicate the participants feel a very strong connection to their Taiwanese and a very low connection to their Chinese identity.

In addition to looking at the main effect of the strength of "Taiwanese Identification" on viewing intention it will also be necessary, and more important in testing the hypothesis, to understand how this variable interacts with the different stimulus location conditions, the identity variable was therefore standardized with the location variable by Z-score. This new standardized identity variable was multiplied with the new standardized location variable to create an interaction term: "Taiwanese Identification and Location Interaction".

It should also be noted that any analysis done to determine Chinese and Taiwanese identity and its interaction effects were only done with the responses from the priming conditions, which contained 107 participants in the sports genre experiment and 108 participants in the romance genre experiment, because the identity questions were only included in the priming condition questionnaires.

Priming

Previous method's used to prime social identity has been to ask participants to write a short paragraph about a certain aspect of their identity. Yopyk and Prentice (2005) asked student athletes to either write about a past athletic achievement or a past academic achievement thereby priming the different aspects of their identity. Those primed with the athlete aspect of their identity did subsequently worse on a given math test. Priming students to feel more connected to their university has also been done through getting them to write about positive experiences they

have had with other students (McLeish & Oxoby, 2011). Writing on a given aspect of a person's identity is a way to achieve a high-level identity salience as it forces the participant to think in depth about their personal experiences as a member of a given group.

Having participants write about something they love about Taiwan, coupled with asking them to identify their ethnicity, which in and of itself has been used in previous research as a social identity prime (Shih and Pittinsky, 1999), should be a way to trigger high Taiwanese identity salience amongst those in the prime condition. In this study, priming was done by asking participants this open-ended question: "Please write briefly (4 or 5 sentences) about something you love about Taiwan". Social identity salience questions were also only asked of participants in the prime condition as it was thought possible any social identity related questions would also prime participants.

Control for Genre Interest

The responses to the questions "On a scale of 1 to 5 how enjoyable do you find sports films?" and "On a scale of 1 to 5 how likely are you to go see a sports film?" were used as co-variants to control for the level of genre interest participants may or may not have in sports films. The responses to the questions "On a scale of 1 to 5 how enjoyable do you find romance films?" and "On a scale of 1 to 5 how likely are you to go see a romance film?" were used as co-variants to control for the level of genre interest participants may or may not have in romance films

Translation

All questions were translated into Mandarin Chinese for the benefit of the Taiwanese participants (see appendix E).

Experiments One and Two

Breaking this study into multiple experiments was done to test how the results varied

across different film genres. Experiment one was conducted with the sports genre stimuli. Experiment two was conducted with the romance genre stimuli. For the sake of clarity, each experiment section contains an explanation of the methodology, results, and a discussion of the findings related to that particular genre.

Experiment One: Sports Film

Both experiments are meant to test the same hypotheses. Experiment one will first test the hypotheses presented in relation to the sports film genre.

Methodology

Participants. Participants were 214 students recruited among classes at Shih Hsin University and National Chengchi University, two of the leading communication schools in Taiwan. Participants were 30 percent male ($N = 64$) and 70 percent female ($N = 150$), between 26 and 18 years old (M age = 19.9).

Procedure. The students were told during their class times that they would be participating in an experiment about Taiwanese students' media viewing preferences. Any non-Taiwanese students in the class were identified at this point and excluded from the study. The students were then randomly placed into one of the four conditions. The students took a pretest, either containing a self-identity prime or not and viewed either a Taiwan film poster or a Mainland Chinese film poster, all depending on which condition they were randomly placed into: a 2 x 2 experiment design. The participants then recorded their viewing intentions and perceptions about the film. In some cases the students were offered extra-credit for their participation.

Results

Data Analysis. ANCOVA was first used to compare the conditions and test hypotheses 1 through 6. Interest in the sports film genre and likelihood of viewing a sports film, were used as co-variants to control for genre interest.

Hypothesis 7, the impact of the level of recorded Chinese and Taiwanese identity, was tested with a linear regression analysis. Only responses from the primed conditions were used (N = 107), as only participants in these conditions were asked the relevant identity questions.

Viewing Intention. When looking at hypothesis 1a, which states that Taiwanese participants have more intention in general to view a Taiwanese film over a Chinese film, the difference in recorded, averaged, viewing intention of participants in the Taiwanese and Chinese poster condition did find significance ($F = 8.93$, $p < .01$, see Table 1). The participants being significantly more inclined to go see the Taiwan made film ($M = 7.75$) over the Chinese made film ($M = 6.75$). Therefore, H1a is *supported*.

Looking at this dependent variable more closely, and breaking down viewing intention into the various mediums of viewing the film, there are notable differences. Relating to hypothesis 1b, which states that Taiwanese participants have more intention to view a Taiwanese film in a movie theater over a Chinese film, the recorded viewing intention of participants did find a significant difference depending on the stimulus location ($F = 13.72$, $p < .01$, see Table 1). This difference in means favored the Taiwanese location stimulus ($M = 2.36$) over the Chinese one ($M = 1.93$). H1b is, therefore, *supported*.

Hypothesis 1c, stating that participants will show more intention to view DVD's when prompted by stimuli suggesting the films are from Taiwan, did not find significance in the sports genre (see Table 1). Therefore, H1c is *unsupported*.

Hypothesis 1d, that participants will favor viewing a Taiwanese film on television over a Chinese film on television, saw the difference in viewing intention between location conditions for this variable did find significance ($F = 7.54$, $p = < .01$, see Table 1). The difference in means

again favored the Taiwanese location condition ($M = 3.19$) over the Chinese location ($M = 2.82$).

Therefore, H1d is *supported*.

Table 1.

Sports Genre Viewing Intention

	Mean Differences ∇		Significance	
	Taiwanese	*Chinese*	*F*	*p*
General	*Condition*	*Condition*		
Viewing Intention	7.75	6.75	8.93	.003**
	Taiwanese	*Chinese*	*F*	*p*
Movie Theater	*Condition*	*Condition*		
Viewing Intention	2.36	1.93	13.72	.000**
	Taiwanese	*Chinese*	*F*	*p*
DVD	*Condition*	*Condition*		
Viewing Intention	2.19	2.00	1.97	.161
	Taiwanese	*Chinese*	*F*	*p*
Television	*Condition*	*Condition*		
Viewing Intention	3.19	2.81	8.10	.005**

**Significance found at the .01 level
∇ The means in this table are adjusted to account for participant's interest in and willingness to see a sports film.

Positive Perceptions. Hypothesis 2 supposed that participants would display less positive perceptions towards Mainland Chinese films and more positive perceptions of Taiwanese films. However, positive perceptions across location conditions did not find a significant difference between the responses to the Taiwanese and Chinese film posters ($F = 1.43$, $p = .23$). Therefore, H2 is *unsupported*.

Information Seeking. Hypothesis 3 predicted that participants would display less information seeking behaviors towards Mainland Chinese films and more information seeking behaviors toward Taiwanese films. Responses across the location conditions show that there was a significant difference between location conditions in information seeking behaviors ($F = 6.80$, $p < .01$, see Table 2), with an increase in the mean when the film posters were of Taiwanese

origin (*M* = 10.72), relative to when they were of Chinese origin (*M* = 9.52). Therefore, H3 is

subsequently *supported*.

Table 2.

Other Measures of Social Identity Media Bias in the Sports Genre

	Mean Differences ∇		Significance	
	Taiwanese Condition	*Chinese Condition*	*F*	*p*
Positive Perceptions	13.29	12.75	1.43	.232
	Taiwanese Condition	*Chinese Condition*	*F*	*p*
Information Seeking	10.72	9.52	6.80	.010**

**Significance found at the .01 level
∇ The means in this table are adjusted to account for participant's interest in and willingness to see a sports film.

Priming. Contrary to our hypotheses, priming participants as to their Taiwanese social

identity did not create a larger gap between those who viewed the Chinese film poster stimulus

and those who viewed the Taiwanese film poster stimulus.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that, when primed to consider their ethnic identity, Taiwanese

participants would show less intention to view Mainland Chinese films and more intention to

view films from Taiwan. It was found that priming did not compound the effect of the location

bias, and the interaction between the priming and location conditions was insignificant (*F* = .01,

p = .897). Therefore H4 is *unsupported*.

Hypothesis 5 predicted that, when primed to consider their ethnic identity, Taiwanese

participants would display less positive perceptions towards Mainland Chinese films and more

positive perceptions towards Taiwanese films, but priming did not create a significantly wider

gap in the positive perceptions of the Taiwanese and Chinese film poster (*F* = .56, *p* = .45).

Meaning H5 is *unsupported*.

Hypothesis 6 supposed that, when primed, Taiwanese participants would display less information seeking behaviors towards Mainland Chinese films and more information seeking behaviors toward Taiwanese films. Information seeking behaviors, which saw a significant difference between Taiwanese and Chinese film poster conditions, did not find the difference increased by a social identity prime. The interaction between priming and location did not find significance ($F = 1.13$, $p = .28$) meaning that H6 is *unsupported*.

Interestingly what occurred in the majority of variables was that priming increased the means of both the Taiwan and Chinese film condition responses rather than increasing the Taiwan film condition responses and lower the Chinese condition responses as the hypotheses predicted. General viewing intention, in both location conditions was significantly increased ($F = 6.28$, $p < .05$, see Table 3). The difference between priming conditions was by a margin of $M = 6.84$ in the non-primed condition, to $M = 7.66$ in the primed condition.

The significant differences between the priming and non-priming conditions were also recorded when the viewing intention variable was broken into its respective mediums: theater viewing ($F = 4.40$, $p < .05$, see Table 3), favoring the prime condition ($M = 2.27$) over the non-primed condition ($M = 2.02$); DVD viewing ($F = 4.25$, $p < .05$, see Table 3), also had a mean increase favoring the prime condition ($M = 2.23$) over the non-primed condition ($M = 1.96$); and television viewing ($F = 4.97$, $p < .05$ see Table 3), had a mean increase again favoring the prime condition ($M = 3.15$) over the non-primed condition ($M = 2.85$). For viewing intention, priming increases viewing intention regardless of the location of the films production.

Priming did not significantly increase respondent's positive perceptions of either film condition ($F = 1.30$, $p = .25$) or their desire to engage in information seeking behaviors for either film condition ($F = 2.61$, $p = .10$).

Table 3.

Priming's Main Effect on Viewing Intention in the Sports Genre

	Mean Differences ∇		*Significance*	
	Primed	*Unprimed*	*F*	*p*
General Viewing Intention	7.66	6.84	6.28	.013*
	Primed	*Unprimed*	*F*	*p*
Movie Theater Viewing Intention	2.27	2.02	4.40	.037*
	Primed	*Unprimed*	*F*	*p*
DVD Viewing Intention	2.23	1.96	4.25	.040*
	Primed	*Unprimed*	*F*	*p*
Television Viewing Intention	3.15	2.85	4.97	.027*

*Significance found at the .05 level
∇ The means in this table are adjusted to account for participant's interest in and willingness to see a sports film.

Chinese and Taiwanese Social Identity Influence. The Chinese and Taiwanese identity variables were taken from responses to questions that were only asked of participants in the primed conditions ($N = 107$). The Chinese identity was then subtracted from Taiwanese identity to measure the identity gap between participant's Chinese and Taiwanese social identities. To test the interaction effect between identity and location, an interaction term was created by multiplying the Z-score of the identity gap variable and that of the location variable to prevent the influence of multi-collinearity (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003).

Hypothesis 7, stating that the level of identification participants feel toward their Taiwanese heritage will influence their attraction to the films was *unsupported*. The differences in social-identity identification did not have a significant main effect on viewing intention responses (p = .115, see Table 4). Furthermore, the interaction effect between location and Taiwanese identification levels had no significant influence on viewing intention responses ($p = .96$, see Table 4). This means that a participant's level of social-identity identification did not

correlate with how likely participants were to see films from a location that matched their social-identity. According to the analysis, participant's identifying more with their Taiwanese identity were not necessarily more likely to want to see the Taiwanese film and participant's identifying more with their Chinese identity were not more likely to want to see the Chinese film.

Table 4.

Social Identification Degree's Influence on Viewing Intention for Sport Genre

Model	Std. Error	β	T	P
Constant	2.276		4.207	.000
Location Manipulation	.486	-.241	-2.537	.013*
Taiwanese Identification	.155	-.151	-1.588	.115
Taiwanese Identification and Location Interaction	.246	.004	.046	.963

*Significance found at the .05 level

Discussion

In many ways Taiwanese participants, looking at the sport genre poster, were found to have a measured preference for the film produced in Taiwan over the Mainland Chinese equivalent.

Viewing Intentions. In the Taiwanese poster condition the intention of participants to go and see the films portrayed in the stimulus were stronger than the viewing intention of participants in the Chinese poster condition and this was even true when interest in the sports genre and willingness to see sports films were controlled for. Given the fact that the stimuli were identical in every way excluding the country flag placed in the background, it can be generalized that respondents favored a sports film produced in Taiwan over one produced in Mainland China,

This finding upholds the basic tenants of self-categorization and social identity theory that individuals favor their self-understood in-group to an out-group. This finding also helps strengthen the link between social identity theory and media use; that media choices are made

along social identity lines and that media produced by in-groups are favored over media produced by out-groups.

These results give little insight into reasons why Taiwanese participants preferred films produced by their own in-group. Possible causes could be that a preference for the Taiwanese film could reinforce dominance of a Taiwanese group identity through a belief in the superiority of Taiwanese media production skills. It could be a way of monetarily supporting their in-group through media purchases such as ticket sales, or avoidance of Chinese films could simply be a way to avoid media representations outside of their realm of experience or beliefs. Whatever the case, the different preferences in media choice show that Taiwanese participants set a boundary, that media produced in Mainland China is not equal to media produced in Taiwan, at least in the tested genre of a sports film.

Breaking down the viewing intention variables into their various mediums, preference for the Taiwanese film over the Chinese film was present when participants were asked if they would see the film in a theater and when asked if they would see the film on television but not when asked if they would see the film on DVD. It seems the DVD viewing medium is not prevalently used by Taiwanese college students, who, when asked how often they viewed films in theaters ($M = 1.67$), on DVD ($M = 1.31$) and on television ($M = 3.02$), recorded DVD viewing as the least utilized medium of the three. It is possible that DVD use is not something this age demographic does or hopes to do, as it is a dated medium which some research has found audiences are trending away from (Stanley, 2005) often in favor of internet movie viewing (Ha, 2010). To be sure theater viewing is not much more popular of an activity but it is assumed theater viewing was enough of a symbolically important activity to cause a difference in responses when there was a different location of production.

In fact, means for viewing intention in all mediums, across both location conditions were low; Taiwanese location condition means being $M = 2.36$ for theater viewing, $M = 2.19$ for DVD viewing, and $M = 3.19$ for television viewing, and Chinese condition means being $M = 1.93$ for theater viewing, $M = 2.00$ for DVD viewing, and $M = 2.81$ for television viewing, when possible answers ranged from 1 to 5. These low means suggest that participants are in effect not necessarily displaying a generally strong desire to see the Taiwanese film but rather an stronger dislike of the Chinese film.

Positive Perceptions. The lack of significant difference in positive perceptions amongst location condition is an interesting finding. Although there is an expressed difference in viewing intention based on the films location of production the expressed perception of the film's quality does not differ. This could be due to the fact that any selective exposure based on location of production does not manifest itself in a recognizable way to participants: meaning participants thought process is likely not a systematic one: first considering Chinese films to be of worse quality and therefore preferring to see a Taiwanese film, but rather participants simply tend to prefer a film made in their own country even when quality perceptions about both films are equal.

It could mean the social identity bias is truly a nationalistic bias, wanting to support ones country by buying a ticket to a Taiwanese film despite perceptions of the films quality. This is quiet similar to early social identity experiments which showed participants wanted to help their group win a competition despite receiving less monetary gains overall (Tajfel et al., 1971).

Alternately it could be, as Slater (2007) perceived, social identity affected media choices through a desire to avoid confusing media representations. Participants were simply trying to ensure favorable portrayals of their in-group through their film selection. This choice isn't really

a quality decision but rather a way to avoid the cognitive dissonance that would occur when seeing negative portrayals of one's in-group.

Information Seeking. Respondents were more willing to engage in information seeking behaviors when the sports film poster they viewed was of Taiwanese origin. Information seeking, much like viewing intention, is an action that requires a certain level of effort. Discussing a film with friends, looking into reviews, and watching a preview of a film all require that an individual is open to exposing themselves to this piece of media. The fact that participants are less willing to do this in the Chinese location condition seems to speak to the avoidance of certain media representations that Slater (2007) suggested would exist if a social identity bias were present. An unwillingness to seek out information about a film is another level of disinterest worth considering along side the unwillingness to spend money or time viewing the film. The difference in information seeking behaviors between participants in location conditions is therefore even more evidence there could be a social identity bias present in Taiwanese participant's media choices.

Priming. Perhaps the most interesting finding was that priming participants to consider their Taiwanese identity did not increase the gap in viewing intention but rather raised viewing intention in both conditions. Perhaps the social identity prime was not polarizing enough, only asking how Taiwanese and Chinese they considered themselves to be and then asking them write what they enjoy about living in Taiwan. This type of prime probably induced positive perceptions of their home but did not incite participants to consider the differences between Taiwanese and Chinese culture. It is possible that viewing intention in both location conditions increased because it caused respondents to feel pride toward their heritage, which included the Chinese aspects of their identity. This result could be encouraging for the prospects of those

wishing to promote cultural exchange between Taiwan and China based on a shared cultural identity. There seems to be real possibility that Taiwanese individuals could be induced to feel more connected to their Chinese roots, and if this connection were stressed it could result in these individuals being more open to viewing certain Chinese media productions.

Chinese and Taiwanese Social Identity. How separate or connected participants felt toward the Chinese aspect of their identity had seemingly no effect on their reactions to the location stimuli. This is likely due to the fact that any level of Chinese identity participants feel will always be secondary to their Taiwanese identity. Very few participants recorded feeling more Chinese than Taiwanese; only 3 participants recorded higher levels of Chinese identity than Taiwanese identity, for everyone else Taiwanese identity levels were greater or equal to Chinese identity levels.

Any differences or variations participants recorded in their level of Chinese or Taiwanese identity did not seem to change the fact that Taiwanese participants preferred the Taiwanese film to the Chinese film, which seems to show that despite any minor variations in social identity salience, Taiwanese citizens, at least those questioned in this study, are a unified social group who react similar to in-group and out-group media representations.

Experiment Two: Romance Film

The second experiment measured the same variables and hypotheses as the first but in the context of a romance film.

Methodology

Participants. Participants were 215 students recruited among classes at Shih Hsin University and National Chengchi University, two of the leading communication schools in Taiwan. Participants were 31 percent male (N = 68) and 69 percent female (N =147), between 28 and 18 years old (M age = 20).

Procedure. The procedure for the romance film experiment was identical to the sports film experiment.

Results

Data Analysis. ANCOVA was first used to compare the conditions and test Hypotheses 1 through 6. Interest in the romance film genre and likely-hood of viewing a romance film, were used as co-variants to control for genre interest.

Hypothesis 7, the impact of the level of recorded Chinese and Taiwanese identity, was tested with a linear regression analysis. Only responses from the primed conditions were used (N = 108), as only participants in these conditions were asked the relevant identity questions.

Viewing Intention. Hypothesis 1a states that Taiwanese participants would have more intention in general to view a Taiwanese film over a Chinese film. Analyzing the responses to a romance genre stimulus found that intention to view the films did not differ significantly based on the films location of production (F = .55, p = .45, see Table 5), meaning for the romance stimulus conditions, H1a is *unsupported*.

Looking closely into each of the variables that make up viewing intention, Hypothesis 1b supposed that Taiwanese participants have more intention to view a Taiwanese film in a movie theater than a Chinese film. However, the findings indicated that the difference in intention of participants in separate location conditions to view the respective films in a movie theater was insignificant, ($F = 1.61$, $p = .20$, see Table 5). H1b is, therefore, *unsupported*.

Hypothesis 1c, stating that participants would show more intention to view DVD's from Taiwan than they would intention to view DVD's from China, when tested found that the difference in intention to view the films on DVD across location conditions did not find significance ($F = .37$, $p = .34$, see Table 5), leading to the conclusion that H1c is *unsupported*.

Hypothesis 1d contends that participants will favor viewing a Taiwanese film on television over a Chinese film on television. The findings indicated that the difference in intention to view the film on television did not find a significant difference in responses from the Taiwanese and Chinese film poster conditions ($F = 3.40$, $p = .06$), H1d is subsequently *unsupported*.

Table 5.

Romance Genre Viewing Intention

	Mean Differences ∇		Significance	
	Taiwanese Condition	*Chinese Condition*	*F*	*p*
General Viewing Intention	8.06	7.82	.55	.457
	Taiwanese Condition	*Chinese Condition*	*F*	*p*
Movie Theater Viewing Intention	2.36	2.21	1.61	.205
	Taiwanese Condition	*Chinese Condition*	*F*	*p*
DVD Viewing Intention	2.31	2.44	.37	.340
	Taiwanese Condition	*Chinese Condition*	*F*	*p*
Television Viewing Intention	3.39	3.16	3.40	.067

∇ The means in this table are adjusted to account for participant's interest in and willingness to see a romance film.

Positive Perceptions. Hypothesis 2, which supposed that participants would display less positive perceptions towards Mainland Chinese films and more positive perceptions of Taiwanese films, found that positive perceptions across location conditions were not significantly different between Taiwanese and Chinese film poster conditions ($F = 2.42$, $p = .12$, see Table 6). Therefore, H2 is *unsupported*.

Table 6.

Other Measures of Social Identity Media Bias in the Romance Genre

	Mean Differences ∇		Significance	
	Taiwanese Condition	*Chinese Condition*	*F*	*p*
Positive Perceptions	13.65	12.96	2.42	.121
	Taiwanese Condition	*Chinese Condition*	*F*	*p*
Information Seeking	11.05	9.98	5.81	.017*

*Significance found at the .05 level
∇ The means in this table are adjusted to account for participant's interest in and willingness to see a romance film.

Information Seeking. Looking into Hypothesis 3, which predicted that participants would display less information seeking behaviors towards Mainland Chinese films and more information seeking behaviors toward Taiwanese films, found that responses across the location conditions had a significant difference ($F = 5.81$, p $< .05$, see Table 6), finding more willingness to engage in information seeking behavior in the Taiwanese location condition ($M = 11.16$) than in the Chinese location condition ($M = 9.86$). Therefore, H3 is *supported*.

Priming. Hypothesis 4 stated that when primed to consider their ethnic identity, Taiwanese participants would show less intention to view Mainland Chinese films and more intention to view films from Taiwan. The interaction between location and priming conditions did not significantly affect the mean viewing intention ($F = .06$, $p = .79$). H4 is, therefore, *unsupported*.

Hypothesis 5, which supposed that when primed to consider their ethnic identity, Taiwanese participants would display less positive perceptions towards Mainland Chinese films and more positive perceptions towards Taiwanese films, was *unsupported*, with no significant difference in the mean of positive perceptions based on the interaction between priming and location conditions ($F = 1.22$, $p = .27$).

Finally, hypothesis 6 which supposed that when primed, Taiwanese participants would display less information seeking behaviors towards Mainland Chinese films and more information seeking behaviors toward Taiwanese films, was also *unsupported*, again seeing no significant mean change for the information seeking variable caused by the interaction between location and priming conditions ($F = .07$, $p = .77$).

Again all three hypotheses related to the effect of priming were unsupported. Furthermore, unlike the sports genre conditions, the romance genre conditions did not show that the mean viewing intention was higher in the primed conditions that it was in the unprimed conditions. The differences between priming and non-priming conditions found no significant results, priming having minimal effects in the romance genre experiment.

Chinese and Taiwanese Social Identity Influence*. As in the sports genre experiment*, only the primed conditions were asked the social identity questions so responses were only available from these participants ($N = 108$).

Hypothesis 7, stating that the level of identification participants feel toward their Taiwanese heritage will influence their attraction to the films was *unsupported* in the romance genre as it was in the sports genre. Taiwanese identification had no main effect on viewing intention responses ($p = .07$, see Table 7), and the interaction effect between location and Taiwanese identification levels had no significant influence on viewing intention responses ($p =$

.64, see Table 7). Again participant's level of social-identity identification did not correlate with how likely participants were to see films from a location that matched their social-identity.

Table 7.

Social Identification Degree's Influence on Viewing Intention for the Romance Genre

Model	Std. Error	β	T	P
Constant	.751		12.159	.000
Location Manipulation	.475	-.122	-1.266	.208
Taiwanese Identification	.239	.172	1.780	.078
Taiwanese Identification and Location Interaction	.240	-.044	-.462	.645

Discussion

Viewing Intention. When the genre of the film poster was changed to romance, differences in location had little to no influence on respondent's viewing intention. Differences in overall viewing intention were insignificant, as were differences in intention to the view the film in a movie theater, on DVD, and on television. Participants were recorded with no measurable preference for the Taiwanese romance condition over the Chinese romance condition. After controlling for participants interest in and willingness to see films in the romance genre, this was true for all viewing intention measures.

The difference between the viewing intention responses in the romance genre condition and the sports genre conditions more than probably stem from the social identity influence being higher in the sports genre. The political nature of sports and nationalistic feelings sports have been shown to inspire (Billings & Angelini, 2007; Gao, 2010), could themselves have been a social identity prime and caused respondents to feel closer to their national identity. A romance film on the other hand is not even slightly political in nature so respondents were probably less likely to consider their national heritage when viewing the stimulus and the means in the separate location conditions were often not significantly different as a result.

Positive Perceptions. For the romance genre there was a lack of significant difference in positive perceptions amongst location condition. This finding is not surprising because if positive perceptions about the films did not differ in the sports genre experiment, where differences were found in the viewing intention responses, then it only seems logical there would be no positive perception differences in the romance genre experiment. As it seems positive perceptions were not connected to any social identity biases that participants may have. Finding no significant difference in positive perceptions between the Taiwanese and Chinese film responses in either genre experiment appear to confirm that perceptions of the film as a measure do not react along social identity lines.

Information Seeking. Despite no other recorded social identity effects in the romance genre experiment there was still a strong preference of participants to engage in information seeking behaviors in the Taiwan condition over the Chinese condition. If information seeking is a precursor to purchase intent, as Midgley (1983) suggests, it means it is an activity usually engaged in prior to a concrete viewing intention being formulated in an individual. Although differences in the location of the films were not a strong enough factor for participants to consider them important in deciding whether or not to view a romance film, they did influence the initial information seeking process that precedes viewing intention.

Another reason for the lack of mean difference in viewing intention could be because respondents were not interested enough in seeing the films in the first place to consider the location of the films. This was to be accounted for in this research by including the information seeking measure, testing if any other behaviors, aside from viewing intention would be susceptible to a social identity bias. There are many factors that can influence viewing intention, as much research aimed at understanding box office success has shown (Litman, 1983; De Vany

& Walls, 1999; Chang & Ki, 2005; Craig, Greene, & Douglas, 2005; Simonton, 2009; Fetscherin, 2010; Suárez-vázquez, 2011). While ticket prices and even time of the year can influence a potential audience members ticket purchasing choices, unwillingness to engage in behaviors to seek out more information about a media choice show an avoidance in some fairly low stakes behaviors; previews, reading reviews, and asking friends about a film are all low cost and take up little time.

The preference to engage in information seeking behaviors of Taiwanese media over Chinese media therefore seem to offer even more evidence that the avoidance of media produced by out-groups is the initial reaction of in-group members. While the viewing intention results in the romance genre, near equal means between location conditions, suggest that it is possible for the preliminary bias to be overcome; the information seeking results, significantly different means across location conditions, confirm that out-group media must put in more effort initially to be noticed because of the unwillingness of in-groups to actively look for out-group media.

Priming. The lack of effect priming had in compounding any social identity biases caused by location differences was the same in the romance genre as it was in the sports genre. Again the nature of the prime was such that it only sought to incite positive feelings about having a Taiwanese social identity rather than provoking any negative stereotypes or conflicts held against a Chinese social group. Using a more salient and or negative prime might be more effective in inducing the compounding effect predicted in the hypothesis.

However, a negative prime may not have been effective in the romance genre. Unlike the sports genre, priming had no significant affect at all on participants who viewed the romance genre stimulus. In the sports condition priming raised overall viewing intention as well as movie-theater viewing intention, DVD viewing intention, and television viewing intention across both

location conditions while the romance genre responses recorded no such priming effects. For the sports genre the positive nature of the prime may have primed participants to feel more connected to the Chinese and Taiwanese aspects of their identity but unlike a sports film priming in the romance genre did not incite any connections to heritage or ethnicity of any kind.

Again we see that identity is less relevant to Taiwanese participants for a romance film, wherein the country the film takes place has little impact on how events are perceived and priming participants to consider their own social allegiances did not appear to change this fact.

Chinese and Taiwanese Social Identity. With no social identity based differences found in participant's responses to viewing intention, or any increased effect as the result of priming it is of course unlikely that different strengths of identity would have any effect on increasing or decreasing participants responses. Since no identity salience effects were recorded in the sports genre experiment, where viewing intention differences and priming effects were found, of course the romance genre, being less susceptible to overt social identity media biases, certainly would not record any differences based on the subtle changes in responses caused by stronger or weaker social identification.

Discussion and Conclusion

Summary

Overall, Taiwanese college students recorded different responses to stimuli depending on whether the location of production was either Taiwanese or Chinese. In general expectations about how social identity would influence Taiwanese respondents media choices held true. Participants often preferred media that was made in Taiwan, consistent with previous research, particularly the model Slater (2007) proposed, that in-group members will seek out and consume media that shares their values. Through this research it was shown that Taiwanese participants are more inclined toward their own media. This was evident in respondents being more inclined to see a Taiwanese sports film, particularly when the Taiwanese film would be showing in a movie theater or on television. It was evident in the inclination of respondents to engage in information seeking behaviors relating to a Taiwanese sports film. It was also shown in the inclination of respondents to engage in information seeking behaviors relating to a Taiwanese romance film.

Genre Differences

The location difference in the sports genre and the location difference in the romance genre both incited participant's reactions consistent with their social identity allegiances although they manifested themselves in different ways when the genre of the stimulus poster changed. The sports genre incited participant's to consider social identity more with respect to viewing intention, where as the romance genre only incited participants to consider social identity with respect to information seeking behaviors, which leads to the conclusion that the sports genre itself allowed for stronger social identity effects. Stronger in the sense that viewing intention was the most active of the dependent variables measured, requiring the most

commitment in terms of potential time and money spent. Reasons for the stronger effect in the sports genre could be due to the nationalistic, political, and even patriotic nature of sports; no such overtones exist in the romance genre.

Even more rudimentary of a reason could stem from the fact that flag was larger in the sports condition posters than it was in romance condition poster (see Appendices A through D), allowing for a more salient connection to be made between the change of location and the participants own social identity. However, even the reason for the differences in flag size were due to the fact that it would not be plausible that a romance film would have the same prominent placement of a country flag that a sports film would, again stressing the political properties present in the sports genre and lacking in the romance genre.

Priming Effects

The priming method used did not increase the gap between the Chinese and Taiwanese film's viewing intention, perceptions, or information seeking behavior responses. It seems the prime was not vitriolic enough to inspire the necessary animosity against the Chinese out-group.

Priming was not entirely without results: priming did in fact raise the viewing intent of those respondents in the sports genre experiment regardless of what location condition they were in. Although priming only raised viewing intention in the sports genre experiment not the romance genre experiment, offering further evidence that social identity effects are more prevalent in media that is inherently political or ethnically based. Priming, it seems, only amplifies existing social identity biases, it cannot create them in situations where such bias are not relevant.

Furthermore, priming was only meant to inspire the Taiwanese aspects of participant's identity, however it is possible that those participants who had latent Chinese identity allegiances

may have been incited to feel more Chinese identification through the inclusion of question

"How Chinese do you consider yourself to be?" In retrospect it would have been wise to include

identity questions at the end of the post-test to further understand more specifically what was

primed in participants, and see if in-fact participant's Taiwanese or Chinese social identity

salience was raised after being primed.

Information Seeking Behavior Significance

The finding that the information seeking behaviors of participants in both film genres

were significantly varied depending on the films country of origin was not trivial. This finding

suggests that out-group media is at a disadvantage when targeting social groups different from

their own. Information seeking behaviors although not the same as viewing intention, which

expresses an interest in patronizing the promoted media product, indicate that participants are

open to exposing themselves to the marketing of the media product and therefore have a higher

chance of being persuaded into becoming a viewer. The fact that the Chinese film recorded less

willingness of participants to engage in information seeking behaviors relative to the Taiwanese

film, and the fact that this occurred in both film genres especially the non-political romance

genre, illustrates the potential barrier that Chinese media may find when marketing a film in

Taiwan.

Industry and Marketing Implications

Asian media markets, especially the ambiguously termed "Chinese" market are often

lumped together in the eyes of Westerners. It should be remembered that the "Chinese" market

alone is composed of three separate cultures all laying claim the identity of "Chinese": Hong

Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland China. Individuals in these separate cultures do not see themselves

as one group and make different media viewing choices based on their unique social identities.

Above all this research illustrates how members of the Taiwanese ethnicity cannot be considered the same market as their Mainland Chinese counterparts, as Taiwanese citizens themselves view Taiwan as a separate culture and make separate media viewing decisions as a result.

For Chinese media professionals it should be important to consider that when entering a film into the Taiwanese market, Chinese films might want to down play their production origin, keeping country specifics, such as country flags, Chinese production company names and so on out of their marketing campaigns. It may be especially fruitless for Chinese films of a political nature, such as the one depicted in our sports genre condition, to be promoted in Taiwan. Films that are political and may inspire nationalistic feelings may also trigger social identity prejudices when viewed by out-groups. Other topics Taiwanese audiences may avoid from Chinese media producers would be war, political suspense films, and accounts of more recent historical events. Marketing more politically neutral films such as romances, comedies and kung fu films in the Taiwan market would likely prove more fruitful as there is less chance for these types of film to prime any social identity differences or political animosity potential audience members may feel toward China.

Currently industry professionals seem to be moving in the right direction, as more and more collaboration is occurring between production companies from Taiwan and production companies from the Mainland. To cite one example, Chinese production company Huanyi Brothers has partnered with Taiwan companies Atom Cinema and Honto Productions to begin to distribute projects across Taiwan (Tsui, 2012). The collaboration projects often incorporate both Taiwanese and Chinese actors and have even incorporated locations from both countries such as in the film *Love (愛)* (Niu, 2012), which was filmed in both Taipei and Beijing. From a social identity perspective, co-productions such as these would help open the collaborating country's

market, as it allows audiences members from both social groups to be able to indentify with certain elements of the film. It is worth noting that *Love* is a romantic comedy, which has little chance of inciting any political feelings amongst audience members.

Conversely, Taiwanese production companies need to be particularly careful about what films they collaborate with the Mainland on. Although the move toward co-productions is smart for Chinese production companies seeking to get its media to be more successful internationally, it could be risky for Taiwan to constantly attach Chinese production names to it's films, which Taiwan often does for financial backing (Coonan, 2012). The recent high box office of local films could be in jeopardy if the local authenticity of the films is lost. Taiwan filmmakers would be wise to minimize the information advertised about their Chinese collaborations and carefully pick which films they choose to do so with. Films should carefully consider when deciding whether to use Chinese resources, such as Chinese locations and actors. For certain topics no problems should result but directors would be wise to keep some films more local. More research can be done to see how audience members from both locations respond to these types of collaboration projects and comparisons can even be done to see which produce the best results at the box office.

Theoretical Implications

Through this study social identity and self-categorization theories have more evidence to suggest they play a part in media viewing behavior and more specific information as to when the effects occur. Social identity influence is more salient when the media itself incites in-group cohesion in some way, being political, nationalistic, or ethnically charged; acting itself as a prime. This was seen when social identity based differences of viewing intention were only found in the sports genre experiment. To think of it another way, the type of media that is made

specifically to appeal to the social identity of certain groups, a nationalistic or ethnically exclusive piece of media, excludes whatever groups define themselves against those representations. For example, Taiwanese citizens should certainly reject media made to appeal to Chinese nationalism and visa versa. This finding adds some perceptive to how social identity and self-categorization relate to media use, as it is not all out-group media that in-groups strongly reject, only certain, more controversial representations.

Adding to the validity of social identity theory were the information seeking results, which showed biases were present in both genre conditions. Differences in information seeking behavior do not suggest a strong aversion to out-group media, but rather only a slight preference in-group media; so while strong social identity biases may only be present in certain types of media, there are initial biases present when in-groups are faced with any type of out-group media.

Information seeking behaviors were a very useful measure to include in this study: they added more insight into how audiences reacted to the different stimuli. Had information seeking behaviors not been included, the romance genre experiment would have shown no significant social identity based effects. Previous research that used viewing intention as a dependent variable to test for interest in a particular piece of media did not also test for information seeking behaviors (Weaver, 2011; Krämer & Trepte, 2006), but it would be wise for future media research intending on using viewing intention as a dependent variable to also include information seeking behaviors. Through this research information seeking was shown to be a precursor to viewing intention in the eyes of participants and showed the more subtle effects of the independent variable: how participants reacted to a location difference in the stimuli. While viewing intention is susceptible to outside factors that are more difficult to control for, such as a

participant's financial situation or time concerns, testing information seeking behaviors is another way to test interest in a particular piece of media, with less confounding factors.

The other important theoretical implication of this research is that it is one of the first to look at social identity theory as it relates to groups so ethnically similar. Li (2003) recognized that Taiwanese individuals consider themselves to be a socially separate group from Chinese individuals, but Li's research did not look into any effects resulting from the separate social identity classifications, such as a media viewing preference, which this research did. Analyzing the Taiwanese and Chinese social identity classifications is unique because other research connecting media preferences with social identity did so with more clearly separate identities such as black and white Americans (Weaver, 2011; Abrams & Giles, 2007), Asian and Caucasian college students (Forehand & Deshpande, 2001), or age differences (Knobloch-Westerwick & Hastall, 2010). The difference of Taiwanese and Chinese citizens is more confused: it is a cultural difference rather than an ethnic one; a difference that itself is the subject of much research (Li, 2003; Yu & Kwan, 2008). Looking at social identity theory as it relates to ethnic groups that are very similar helps to illustrate how different those groups really are. Seeing the social identity differences between the ethnically similar Chinese and Taiwanese cultures contribute to the discussion that the idea of a social identity, especially when it concerns race, is more of a construct than a tangible ethnic difference.

Limitations

Demographic. The results of this study cannot be generalized to the entire population of Taiwan, as all participants were university students. It was assumed that university students would be an ideal group to conduct the experiment with as many marketing campaigns are aimed at the 18 to 34 year old demographic (Atkinson, 2006). However further research on movie

going preferences in Taiwan might be better served by testing young working professionals; the university students recorded low overall instances of attending movies in theaters. Recorded averages to the question "How often do you attend films in theaters?" fell somewhere in between "less than one a month" and "once a month" ($M = 1.68$). Young working professionals with more disposable income would likely attend more films in theaters and therefore any results relating to how their social identity effects ticket purchasing choices would retain more external validity for companies seeking to market in Taiwan, since this would be an important target demographic.

Genre. As this study showed, genre heavily influenced the degree of difference between the responses of participants in opposing location conditions. Our study only experimented with two genres, therefore we only know how social identity biases effects Taiwanese viewing intention with respects to romances and sports films. There are many different genres a film can be and each genre has its unique properties. Different properties may or may not prime potential audience member's social identity and a predisposition to a domestically made film. As discussed previously, it is assumed that the sports film had higher viewing intention differences because it inspired nationalistic feelings in participants but it would be worth while to test this theory through other genres with nationalistic overtones such as, war films, political suspense films, and accounts of recent historical events. These nationalistic films should be compared to more politically neutral film genres, such as romance, comedies, kung fu films, mysteries, and horror films.

In fact another avenue of research could be to test Taiwanese viewers perceptions of what genres are produced best by which Asian countries. This research can be an extension of the research of d'Astous, Colbert, and Nobert (2007), which showed that particular film genres were

seen as better when produced by certain countries that had a history of producing these films well. Seeing how important genre is on the results collected in this study alone, it is clear that collecting more extensive genre perceptions for the Asian motion picture audience will allow for a valuable well of resources that can be used to augment a plethora of potential media research in the increasingly large Asian film market.

DVD Use. The fact that this research recorded extremely low averages for the DVD viewing medium, not finding significance in either genre experiment, seems to reinforce research which supposes that this medium is waning in popular use (Stanley, 2005; Ha, 2010). DVD use as a measurement was originally decided upon because its responses were a way to test home viewing behaviors, however future research might be better served by testing Internet viewing behaviors. Streaming or downloading films are likely more popular ways of viewing films, especially amongst young people, than renting a DVD is.
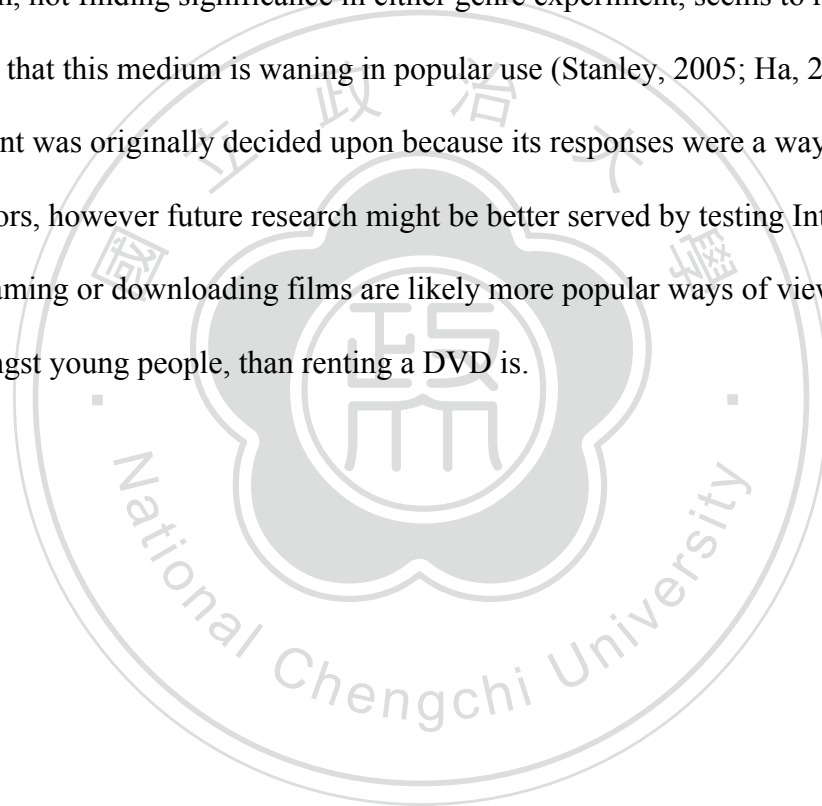
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