

Hoklo Enclaves in Hakka Administrative Districts: Case Studies from Xinwu and Toufen, Taiwan

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Abstract: In Taiwan, interethnic relations between the Hoklo and Hakka peoples have traditionally been framed through “Hoklo as the majority and Hakka as the minority,” reflecting Hoklo dominance in political, cultural, and demographic terms. However, even within officially designated Hakka administrative districts (also known as Key Development Areas of Hakka Culture), Hoklo enclaves can still be found. This paper reverses the conventional perspective by examining these contexts as cases of “Hakka as the majority and Hoklo as the minority,” focusing on four Hoklo enclaves—Kekegan, Luzhunan, Touniu, and Daniuchou—situated in Hakka-majority districts (Xinwu and Toufen) where over 75% of the population is Hakka. This paper employs the concepts of constitutional multiculturalism, substantive ethnic equality, ethnic minority administrative districts, and ethnic enclaves, along with Berry’s acculturation model, to analyze the status of Hoklo enclaves within Hakka administrative districts. The findings indicate that: (1) Hoklo enclaves can be categorized into two typologies: “pure Hoklo enclaves” and “hybrid Hoklo enclaves,” each reflecting distinct patterns of Hoklo–Hakka ethnic relations; and (2) state institutional arrangements play a pivotal role in shaping the development and divergence of Hoklo enclave typologies.

Keywords: Hakka administrative districts, Hoklo enclaves, Hoklo–Hakka ethnic relations, Taiwan

The Hoklo (Southern Min or Hokkien), Hakka, Indigenous peoples, Mainlanders (migrants from mainland China after the Chinese Civil War), and new immigrants (primarily from Southeast Asia) are considered Taiwan’s “five great ethnic groups,” with the Hoklo forming the majority, and the Hakka and Indigenous peoples being minority groups (P. Wang, 2025).

After the Netherlands and Zheng Chenggong governed Taiwan, the Qing dynasty formally incorporated the island into its imperial structure in 1683, following Admiral Shi Lang’s decisive victory over the Zheng regime in the Battle of Penghu. Taiwan was officially annexed in April 1684 as part of Fujian Province. Over the next two centuries, waves of Hoklo migrants from southern Fujian and Hakka migrants from eastern Guangdong and western Fujian arrived, bringing with them distinct languages, customs, and ancestral memories.

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Administrative and social structures played a crucial role in differentiating these groups: provincial registry systems, civil examination quotas, land allocation policies, and ongoing clan tensions between Fujian and Guangdong reinforced the emerging Hoklo and Hakka identities. As Hoklo and Hakka migrants spread across Taiwan—settling in both plains and hill regions—they often formed ethnically homogeneous settlements.

Previous academic research on the ethnic relationship between the Hoklo and the Hakka peoples has focused on three main areas: (1) Linguistics and Linguistic Geography: this body of research explores the relationship between the Hoklo and Hakka languages. For instance, Cheng (2011) examines shared vocabulary between the two languages; Hsu (2015) analyzes the semantic development of expressions such as *khe hiã* in Hoklo and *khe ko* in Hakka; and Wei (2016) investigates differences in the use of river names by the Hoklo and Hakka people, offering insights into cultural geography and naming conventions. (2) Ethnic Inter-marriage: This studies in this area considers interethnic marriage as a lens through which to understand Hoklo–Hakka relations. C. Lin et al. (2017) studied the relationship between intermarriage and household socioeconomic status, while W. Wang (2005) explores how intermarriage influences women's ethnic identity. (3) Family History and Religious Beliefs: Studies here focus on cultural and ritualistic practices. Wei & Chang (2002) compare the naming conventions of family temples between the two groups, and P. Lin (2010) examines differences in religious attitudes, behaviors, and ancestor worship practices, highlighting the role of religion in shaping ethnic boundaries and cultural continuity.

Despite these critical contributions, relatively little attention has been paid to the interactions and contestations between Hoklo and Hakka communities over mother tongue rights and cultural representation, particularly as shaped by evolving national ethnic policies driven by Taiwan's political developments. This gap in the literature presents a promising direction for further research, especially in the areas of language policy, educational reform, and the politics of ethnic minority rights in Taiwan.

Indeed, ethnicity remains an indispensable lens through which to interpret contemporary Taiwanese society, as the formation and development of ethnic groups in Taiwan are deeply intertwined with state legislation, government policies, and the initiatives of relevant administrative agencies. Ethnic policy addresses the rationale behind state involvement in ethnic affairs (i.e., the legitimacy of such intervention) and the mechanisms through which this engagement is implemented.

Historically, Taiwan has approached ethnic minority research and policy planning from a broad, national perspective. As a result, the focus has primarily centered on ethnic minorities formally recognized within the national population—particularly Indigenous and Hakka peoples. The *Hakka Basic Act of 2010* acknowledged the historical origins of Hakka villages,²

² The traditional settlement areas of Taiwan's Hakka people, also known as Hakka villages, had already been established before the Nationalist Government took control of Taiwan.

the Hakka language, and Hakka cultural characteristics, and further established Key Development Areas of Hakka Culture (i.e., Hakka administrative districts) as core institutional frameworks for implementing Hakka-related policies.

Key Development Areas of Hakka Culture function as designated Hakka administrative regions. These areas not only serve as platforms for promoting Hakka culture and industry but also play a critical role in advancing the use of Hakka as a national language. To support these goals, the government launched the Taiwan Romantic Route 3 Project (2016–2021) and the Hakka 369 Project (2021–2025), which aim to strengthen Hakka industries and foster cultural spaces that preserve local ways of life in key Hakka cultural development areas, including Taoyuan City, Hsinchu County, and Miaoli County (Executive Yuan, 2023). In addition, the government enacted the *National Languages Development Act of 2019* and amended the *Hakka Basic Act of 2018* to establish a regional language framework that supports the development and use of national languages, including Hakka.³

When minority rights are addressed primarily from a national perspective, the rights of majority groups—such as the Hoklo—can be easily overlooked. Yet within designated Hakka administrative districts (also known as Key Development Areas of Hakka Culture), the Hoklo may constitute a local minority, effectively forming ethnic enclaves. Ethnic enclaves are defined as specific localities where ethnic minorities are concentrated and distinctive cultural amenities—such as religious institutions and commercial services—are maintained (Qadeer, 2003).

Despite their significance, such enclaves within ethnically designated administrative regions—particularly Hoklo communities in Hakka-majority areas—have received limited scholarly and policy attention. In particular, the question of whether, and how, the linguistic and cultural rights of Hoklo residents within these districts should be recognized and protected has been largely overlooked in both academic discourse and institutional frameworks.

This paper addresses this gap by exploring the interactions between Hoklo and Hakka communities through the lens of “Hakka as the majority and Hoklo as the minority.” It employs the concepts of constitutional multiculturalism, substantive ethnic equality, ethnic minority administrative districts, and ethnic enclaves, and adopts Berry's acculturation model to analyze the status of Hoklo enclaves within Hakka administrative districts. A qualitative descriptive approach with an ethnographic focus is employed, centering on four Hoklo enclaves in Xinwu District and Toufen City—areas situated within Hakka administrative districts where over 75% of the population is Hakka. This study seeks to answer the following research questions:

³ Kasai (2022) argues that contemporary multilingual education policy in Taiwan has emerged in response to the monolingual language regimes imposed by successive colonial powers, including both the Japanese administration and the Kuomintang (KMT) government.

- (1) How can Hoklo enclaves be categorized based on their historical development and the dynamics of Hoklo–Hakka relations? What are the interactions between the two typologies of Hoklo enclaves and their surrounding Hakka communities?
- (2) What influence do state institutional arrangements exert on the development and divergence of Hoklo enclave typologies?

Literature Review

The ruler's philosophical and legal foundations influence how the state formulates public policies and intervenes in specific issues, including the methods and extent of such intervention. Modern liberalism and multiculturalism—such as John Rawls's theory of justice as fairness and Will Kymlicka's theory of multicultural citizenship—can serve as the philosophical foundation of ethnic policy (Mitropoulo et al., 2014). Meanwhile, the theory of state obligation and the principle of substantive equality provide the legal foundations for such policies. The theory of state obligation requires the state to assume the responsibility to respect, protect, and fulfil human rights (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights [OHCHR], 2010: 5). Unlike formal equality, substantive equality emphasizes the outcomes of laws or policies; that is, if equal treatment leads to unequal outcomes, appropriate measures should be taken to remove the barriers that prevent disadvantaged groups from obtaining equal opportunities and outcomes (Mil, 2022: 2; Bartlett, 2023: 2-3).⁴

Constitutional Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism assumes diversity as a value and entails public recognition and respect for the various cultures and cultural identities within a society (Rochira et al., 2024). Multiculturalism has typically been regarded as a defense of cultural pluralism and diversity, aiming to protect the distinct characteristics and unique contributions of various cultural and minority groups (Johansson, 2022). Will Kymlicka's 2001 book, “Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Citizenship,” contains an excellent discussion on protecting minority rights. Kymlicka (2001: 22) divides minority rights into internal restrictions and external protections. He argues that liberalism should support external protections that promote fairness between groups and reject internal restrictions that limit the right of group members to question and revise traditional authorities and practices (2001: 22).

⁴Article 2, Paragraph 2 of the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination* requires States to take “special and concrete measures” to achieve substantive equality.

In contemporary society, achieving multiculturalism requires addressing two key issues: (1) how to respect the rights of minorities while ensuring political integration; and (2) how to guarantee the rights of minorities within national institutional frameworks.⁵

For the first issue, Chin (2021) argues that multiculturalism entails a form of national belonging in which cultural difference is a constitutive part of national unity, thereby opening the possibility of a diverse political community. Modood (2024) argues that a “multicultural national identity” can foster a sense of belonging among all citizens without requiring them to relinquish other identities that are important to them. Regarding political implementation, the European Union's motto “Unity in Diversity” is a successful example of integrating different cultures, ethnicities, and languages. To enable tailored integration without imposing uniformity, the EU utilizes various mechanisms to implement differentiation, such as transitional clauses, temporary derogations, and enhanced cooperation (Vodo, 2024). Consequently, the country's institutional design may reconcile the goals of national integration and safeguarding minority rights.

Regarding the second issue, “constitutional multiculturalism” could serve as a viable framework to safeguard minority rights. Canada and Taiwan are illustrative examples of countries successfully implementing constitutional multiculturalism.

In Canada, then-Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced in the House of Commons that the government would adopt “multiculturalism within a bilingual framework” as official government policy in October 1971 (Canadian Heritage, 2021: 10). In 1982, multiculturalism was formally recognized in Section 27 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, which forms part of the Canadian federal constitution. In 1988, Canada became the first state in the world to enshrine its multiculturalism policy in law, when Parliament passed the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*. The Act provides a legislative framework for promoting diversity, equality, and inclusion across the country, and affirms multiculturalism as a fundamental aspect of Canadian identity (Canadian Heritage, 2024).

In Taiwan, the government amended its Constitution to establish multiculturalism as a fundamental national policy. Article 10, Paragraph 11 of the *Additional Articles of the Constitution of the Republic of China (Taiwan)* states that the state shall affirm cultural pluralism. This provision has served as the legal foundation for a series of ethnicity-related laws, including the *Education Act for Indigenous Peoples of 1998*, the *Act of Broadcasting Language Equality Protection in Public Transport of 2001*, the *Hakka Basic Act of 2010*, the *National Languages Development Act of 2019*, the *Cultural Fundamental Act of 2019*, and the *New Immigrants Basic Act of 2024*.

⁵ Johansson (2022) outlines four main challenges of multiculturalism: the conceptualization of collective or group identities; the discourse on race and ethnicity; identity politics; and questions regarding the limits of national space and the implications of transnationalism.

Based on the experiences of Canada and Taiwan, multiculturalism—initially rooted in academic and philosophical discourse—has, through constitutional norms, become embedded in the spirit of the constitution. It has subsequently guided the development of relevant legislation, forming an institutional framework for safeguarding minority rights.

Substantive Ethnic Equality

All individuals are equal as human beings and possess inherent dignity (United Nations Population Fund, 2005). Equality is the core principle of individual rights, and the concepts of equality and non-discrimination are central to all international human rights law, such as Article 1 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and the *International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination* (ICERD) (OHCHR, n.d.).

Equality, as a legal principle, encompasses two main approaches: formal equality (*de jure* equality) and substantive equality (*de facto* equality). A formal equality approach seeks to achieve strict legal equality by always treating all individuals equally and in all circumstances (Loenen, 2024: 38). In contrast, a substantive equality approach focuses on achieving equal outcomes and may, in fact, require differential treatment to address existing inequalities (Loenen, 2024: 38). Substantive equality looks at how equality laws can transform society by reshaping existing structures to be more inclusive and accessible to marginalized groups (Taylor, 2024).

Promoting substantive equality for disadvantaged groups or ethnic minorities requires the state to adopt special measures through legislative or policy frameworks. In international law, Article 2, paragraph 2 of the ICERD provides that states parties shall, where required, take “special and concrete measures” in the social, economic, cultural, and other fields to ensure the adequate development and protection of certain racial groups or individuals within their jurisdiction. Special measures are an essential component of the broader set of tools required to address systemic racial discrimination, according to the “UN Report of the Special Rapporteur on Contemporary Forms of Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance” (United Nations, 2024).

Article 8 of ICERD establishes the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD), which is mandated to review the legal, judicial, and administrative measures States Parties take to fulfill their international obligations to eliminate racial discrimination. In 2009, CERD issued General Recommendation No. 32, affirming that special measures aim to promote effective equality. Exactly, special measures are defined as laws, policies, and practices adopted and implemented to meet the obligations of the Convention and may include temporary special measures where necessary to ensure the full and equal enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms by disadvantaged groups (CERD/C/GC/32).

To fulfill Article 27 of the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (ICCPR), the UN General Assembly adopted the *Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities* (UN Minorities Declaration) in 1992. The importance of special measures is acknowledged—though not explicitly named as such—in Article 8, paragraph 3 of the UN Minorities Declaration (United Nations, 2024).

Minority groups often have limited population size and insufficient parliamentary representation, making it difficult for them to reform laws that may be unequal or discriminatory. Therefore, it is essential to incorporate appropriate special measures within national institutional frameworks to promote the development of minority languages, cultures, and religions, thereby achieving substantive ethnic equality.

The Implementation of Constitutional Multiculturalism and Substantive Ethnic Equality in Taiwan

Taiwan practices constitutional multiculturalism through Article 10, Paragraph 11 of the Additional Articles of the Constitution. However, this article is classified as a provision on fundamental national policy, and controversy persists over whether such provisions can serve as a basis for human rights protection, given their distinct functions. In other words, while constitutional multiculturalism can underpin the collective rights of ethnic groups, its applicability to the rights of individual members remains debated. In 2021, the Taiwan Constitutional Court issued *Interpretation No. 803*, recognizing the cultural rights of individual Indigenous peoples by deducing Article 10, Paragraph 11 of the Additional Articles of the Constitution.

To protect the collective rights of the Hakka people, Taiwan enacted the *Hakka Basic Act of 2010*. Article 1 of the 2010 Act states that, in the spirit of multiculturalism as defined in the Constitution, the law aims to secure the collective rights and interests of the Hakka ethnic group. However, the 2010 version of the *Hakka Basic Act* did not significantly promote the revival of the mother tongue, as it lacked provisions to support personal rights for building a Hakka language-friendly environment.

To fulfill Hakka language rights necessarily involves individual rights—for example, the right to use one's mother tongue when communicating with government agencies, which constitutes a fundamental language right. As collective rights provisions may not directly guarantee individual rights, Taiwan amended the *Hakka Basic Act* to incorporate the mechanisms for protecting personal rights in 2018. Article 1 of the amended Act explicitly includes the principles of constitutional equality and multiculturalism.⁶

⁶ Article 1 of the *Hakka Basic Act of 2018* says that in the spirit of multiculturalism and equality as defined in the Constitution, this Act....

Based on the constitutional right to equality, Article 3, Paragraph 1 of the *Hakka Basic Act of 2018* stipulates that the Hakka language is one of the national languages and is equal in status to the languages of other ethnic groups. Paragraph 2 of the same article provides that individuals are guaranteed the right to receive education in the Hakka language, to use it when accessing public services, and to participate in disseminating public resources.

To realize the individual language rights, the Hakka Affairs Council issued the *Regulations for Implementing the Hakka Language as the Regional Language*, authorized under Article 4 of the *Hakka Basic Act of 2018*. These regulations stipulate that, within the Hakka administrative district (i.e., Key Development Areas of Hakka Culture), government agencies must guarantee a person's right to use the Hakka language in administrative, legislative, and judicial procedures.

Administrative Districts for Ethnic Minorities: Mechanisms for Substantive Ethnic Equality

Ethnic inequalities stemming from institutional classifications and the exclusion of certain ethnic groups may lead to ethnic conflicts (F. Wang, 2018). In contrast, diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) initiatives can foster mutual understanding among ethnic groups and contribute to social harmony. DEI efforts aim to counteract historical processes of exclusion and marginalization, thereby helping to level the playing field for all individuals (González, 2025). To support the integration of ethnic minorities into the mainstream, Taiwan has implemented various substantive equality measures, mainly including granting national language status to ethnic minority mother tongues and establishing the National Hakka Development Plan.⁷

The primary regions for implementing both the national language policy and the National Hakka Development Plan are the ethnic administrative districts inhabited by minority groups. For example, Article 4 of the *Hakka Basic Law of 2018* designates Hakka as a national language and implements it as the regional language in Key Development Areas of Hakka Culture. Another example is the *Indigenous Language Development Act* (2017), which designates Indigenous languages as national languages and uses them as regional languages in Indigenous administrative districts.

⁷ The National Hakka Development Plan was established by Article 4 of the *Hakka Basic Act of 2018*. The core objectives of the first National Hakka Development Plan (2021–2023) were to mainstream the Hakka people and promote equality. Accordingly, a range of policies and measures aimed at advancing ethnic equality were formulated (Hakka Affairs Council, 2021a: 22). To ensure the sustainable development of the Hakka community and foster an interethnic public sphere, all levels of government were encouraged to increase ethnic sensitivity in the formulation of laws, regulations, plans, policies, and measures (Hakka Affairs Council, 2021a: 22). The Second National Hakka Development Plan (2025–2028) states that, to uphold the constitutional right to equality and the human rights principles enshrined in international conventions, the Hakka Affairs Council will collaborate with various ministries and commissions to formulate a Policy Guideline for Ethnic Mainstreaming, underscoring its commitment to the recognition and promotion of diverse ethnic cultures (Hakka Affairs Council, 2025: 6).

Establishing ethnic administrative districts in multiethnic states typically results in ethnically diverse territorial units (Müller-Crepon, 2025). Political boundaries often play a fundamental role in shaping ethnic group identity and behavior (Bazzi and Gudgeon, 2021).

To advance the development of ethnic minorities through affirmative action measures—specifically, those grounded in the principle of substantive equality—Taiwan established ethnically designated areas, including Indigenous and Hakka administrative districts. According to Article 2, Paragraph 3 of the *Indigenous Peoples Basic Act*, Indigenous administrative districts are defined as areas traditionally inhabited by Indigenous peoples, characterized by Indigenous history and cultural features, and officially designated by the Executive Yuan upon application by the central Indigenous authority. Similarly, Article 4, Paragraph 1 of the *Hakka Basic Act* stipulates that townships, cities, or districts in which the Hakka population exceeds one-third of the total population shall be designated as Key Development Areas of Hakka Culture by the Hakka Affairs Council, to promote the preservation and development of the Hakka language, culture, and cultural industries. There are 55 Indigenous administrative districts and 70 Hakka administrative districts, each corresponding to their traditional settlement areas (see Table 1).

Table 1

Classification and Distribution of Ethnic Administrative Districts in Taiwan

Category	Subcategory	Description	Number of districts
Indigenous Administrative Districts	Highland Indigenous districts	Areas traditionally inhabited by highland Indigenous people	30
	Lowland Indigenous districts	Areas traditionally inhabited by lowland Indigenous peoples	25
Hakka Administrative Districts (Key Development Areas of Hakka Culture)	Hakka as the main regional language	Hakka population accounts for more than 50%	53
	Hakka as one of the regional languages	Hakka population accounts for 33.3%–50% (between one-third and one-half)	17

Source: compiled from the websites of the Council of Indigenous Peoples and the Hakka Affairs Council.

Table 1 presents the classification and distribution of ethnic administrative districts in Taiwan, based on traditional settlement areas and demographic thresholds. Within the national system, ethnic administrative districts function as protective mechanisms to safeguard the rights

of minority groups, particularly regarding political representation. For instance, Article 33, Paragraph 2, Subparagraph 2 of the *Local Government Act* guarantees county council seats for representatives from highland Indigenous districts, while Article 57, Paragraph 2 restricts eligibility for township heads in these areas to individuals of Indigenous descent. Similarly, many Hakka-related policies are implemented within designated Hakka administrative districts. For example, the Hakka Affairs Council has introduced measures such as the “Measures for Revitalizing Industries Affected by Severe Special Infectious Pneumonia and Facing Operational Difficulties” and the “Guidelines for the Subsidy and Operation of the Hakka Village Revitalization and Environmental Construction Project.”

Ethnic Law

In contemporary states, ethnic affairs are governed by legal and institutional frameworks that regulate interethnic relations and influence the behavior of individual members of ethnic groups.

The impact of state ethnic laws on ethnic affairs can be understood on two levels. First, such laws recognize the legal status of existing ethnic groups or institutionalize new ethnic categories. Racial or ethnic classifications are a social construct, and how race is defined changes in response to broader social and political struggles (Cardenas et. al., 2024). Pap (2015) argues that group recognition is inherently politicized, with the form and substance of acknowledging a group's legal and political aspirations shaped not only by the nature of its claims but also by their alignment—or tension—with the norms and expectations of the majority culture. This highlights how institutional recognition can empower minority groups and reinforce existing power hierarchies.

Second, ethnic laws establish mechanisms to safeguard minority rights based on substantive equality, thereby shaping conditions for political participation, cultural preservation, language revitalization, and interethnic relations. Articles 27 of the ICCPR and the UN Minorities Declaration are essential sources of ethnic law.

Since 2005, Taiwan has adopted the institutional framework of the ethnic basic law and has successively enacted the *Indigenous Peoples Basic Law*, the *Hakka Basic Law*, and the *New Immigrants Basic Law*. These laws both provide principled, programmatic, and policy frameworks for promoting ethnic affairs and clarify the state's official definitions of ethnic groups and their individual members.

Ethnic Enclave

The concept, methods of formation, and stages of development of ethnic enclaves are discussed as follows.

Ethnic enclaves are geographic areas where a particular ethnic group is spatially clustered and maintains social and economic distinctions from the majority population (Lim, 2017). Ethnic enclaves typically have a high ethnic density, while the surrounding regions exhibit lower ethnic concentrations (Qadeer et al., 2010). They are also often distinguished from neighboring ethnic groups by unique forms of ethnic identification, language use, religious beliefs, and cultural customs (P. Wang, 2022). The defining characteristics of an ethnic enclave include spatial clustering, the presence of facilities catering to ethnic-specific needs, the fulfillment of significant cultural and social functions, the provision of employment opportunities, its role as a transitional stage in the incorporation process into mainstream society, and its protective function for residents (Jin et. al., 2021).

In Taiwan, one of the most prominent examples of ethnic enclaves was the so-called “mainlander enclaves,” particularly the military dependents' villages where Mainlanders—immigrants from mainland China following the Chinese Civil War—settled. These enclaves were distinct from the surrounding ethnic groups in terms of language, culture, diet, and even political orientation (P. Wang, 2022). Due to interethnic marriages and government policies aimed at redeveloping the villages, these enclaves have gradually been assimilated into broader society.⁸ Today, they are primarily found in facilities such as “Veterans Homes” administered by the Veterans Affairs Council.

The formation of ethnic enclaves can be broadly categorized into two dimensions: (1) voluntary and involuntary migration, and (2) formation through state policy or natural migration.

Voluntary ethnic enclaves are established by members of an ethnic group who choose to settle together based on shared cultural, linguistic, or social ties. An example is Chinatown, which is in many large cities in the United States, where Chinese immigrants have congregated to preserve cultural practices and provide mutual support. Involuntary ethnic enclaves arise due to external pressures such as political factors, economic disparity, or social discrimination. For instance, the Karen refugee camp in Mae La, Thailand, was established as a response to forced displacement, where the Karen people sought refuge and formed a community under challenging circumstances.

State policy makes an ethnic enclave, which refers to the government's intentional creation or facilitation of the development of ethnic enclaves through laws or guidelines. The *Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965* (McCarran-Walter Act) in the United States led to an influx of immigrants, forming ethnic enclaves in specific areas. Similarly, in Taiwan, the government established military-dependent villages for mainlanders, creating “mainlander enclaves” distinct in language, culture, and political orientation. Natural migrations to form the ethnic enclave mean people emigrate from their home areas through the migration patterns of minority group members. This often occurs through chain migration, where initial migrants

⁸ To accelerate the renovation of old military dependents' villages and assist local governments in acquiring land for public facilities, the government enacted the *Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents* in 1996.

settle in a new location and subsequently attract family and community members, establishing an enclave. Such formations are typically voluntary and are characterized by a high degree of ethnic concentration.

Contemporary ethnic enclaves often refer to ethnic groups of people who voluntarily settle in a particular area to protect and promote economic, social, political, and cultural development. These groups are characterized by voluntary coexistence and are self-defined by ethnicity, religion, or other distinguishing features (Asselin et al., 2006: 143-144).

Qadeer (2003) divides the formation of ethnic enclaves into three stages: the formation of the nucleus, the tipping over into an ethno-community, and the consolidation and persistence of the community. The formation of ethnic enclaves through the natural movement of ethnic group members can be explained using relevant immigration theories, such as the push-pull theory, and further supported by the concept of chain migration, which emphasizes the clustering effect. When members of an ethnic group face poor working conditions in their hometowns, they tend to migrate to cities in search of better economic opportunities—an illustration of the push-pull theory. As migrants achieve improved living standards in the town, news of their success spreads back to their hometowns, encouraging others from the same ethnic group to follow. This process exemplifies chain migration and may eventually lead to the emergence of an ethnic economy (P. Wang, 2024a). Ethnic enclaves can shelter minority members from discrimination, provide access to ethnic goods, and offer positive social and cultural connections, which is why ethnic minorities often choose to settle in these enclaves when they leave their hometowns and migrate to cities (Demireva & Zwysen, 2021). With increasing numbers of ethnic group members migrating from their native places to specific urban areas, they gradually form concentrated settlements that can ultimately develop into ethnic enclaves.

Through a literature review, this paper examines the concepts of constitutional multiculturalism, substantive ethnic equality, minority ethnic administrative districts, ethnic law, and ethnic enclaves, and concludes that state institutional arrangements significantly impact ethnic relations. Building on this, the paper further develops the theoretical framework as follows.

Theoretical Framework

Regarding interactions among different ethnic groups, academic research has developed several theories, such as ethnic contact theory, ethnic competition theory, and acculturation theory (Allport, 1979; Berry, 1997; Tolsma et al., 2008). The concepts of assimilation and acculturation are often used to explain interactions between two ethnic groups, particularly between an ethnic minority and the majority. In anthropological research, these terms are sometimes used interchangeably. However, when the concept of assimilation is employed, it typically refers to the relationship between minority groups and their integration into the larger

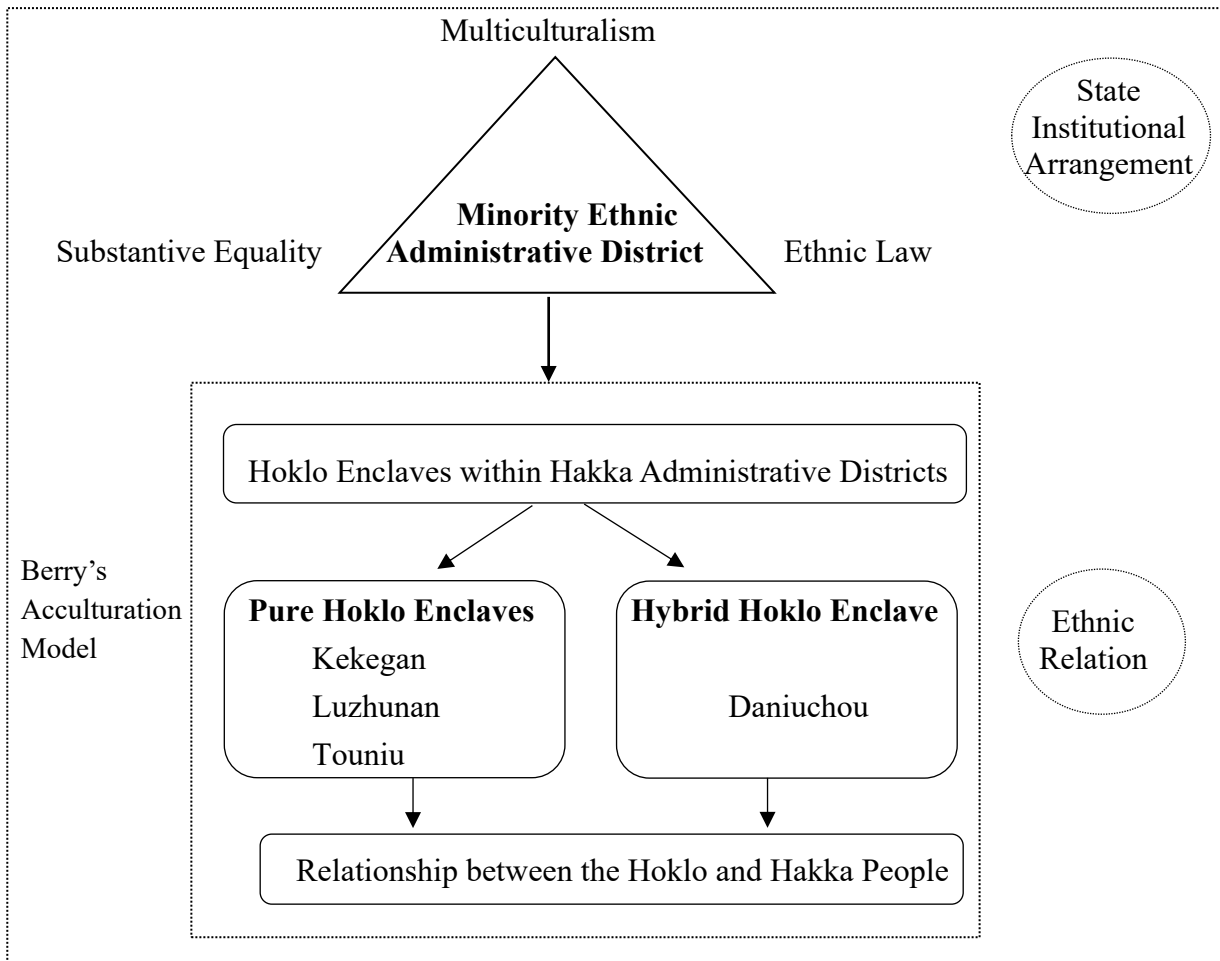
society; in contrast, acculturation refers to the cultural characteristics of minority groups and the changes that occur because of their interaction with the surrounding culture (Ruey, 1989: 122). Acculturation and assimilation may be distinct and independent processes. Acculturation is bidirectional, involving mutual cultural exchange between groups, whereas assimilation is unidirectional, typically involving the minority group's absorption into the dominant culture; an ethnic enclave, for instance, may seek assimilation into the surrounding host society, illustrating the one-way nature of assimilation toward the larger group (Teske & Nelson, 1974).

This paper employs acculturation theory to examine the Hoklo enclave and its surrounding Hakka population within the Hakka administrative district, in the broader context of ethnic enclaves and majority–minority relations. John Berry, a prominent scholar in acculturation theory, identified three core issues in acculturation research: how people acculturate, how well they adapt, and the relationship between how they acculturate and adapt (Berry, 2010).

According to Berry's acculturation theory, when members of ethnocultural groups manage their cultural identity and engage with the larger society, they adopt one of four strategies: (1) integration, (2) assimilation, (3) separation, and (4) marginalization (Berry, 2010; Berry et al., 2011). Similarly, the larger society may adopt one of four corresponding strategies toward these groups: (1) multiculturalism, (2) the melting-pot, (3) segregation, and (4) exclusion (Berry, 2010; Berry et al., 2011).

Figure 1

Theoretical Framework



Drawing on constitutional multiculturalism, substantive ethnic equality, ethnic minority administrative districts, and ethnic enclaves, this paper applies Berry's acculturation model to examine the interaction strategies between the Hoklo enclave and the surrounding Hakka community, framed within the concept of an "ethnic enclave within the ethnic administrative district" (see Figure 1). The paper further explores the dynamics between the Hoklo and Hakka ethnic groups within the Hakka administrative district.

Methodology

The methodology of this paper is discussed in terms of the research method and the criteria for case selection.

Method

The method employed was a qualitative descriptive approach with an ethnographic

focus, aimed at exploring culture and social phenomena within it. The qualitative descriptive approach is considered important and appropriate for research questions that aim to uncover the who, what, and where of events or experiences, as well as to gain insights from informants about a poorly understood phenomenon (Kim, 2017). Ethnography involves observing individuals in their natural environment to understand their experiences, perspectives, and everyday practices, providing in-depth insights into a specific context, group, or culture (Office for Health Improvement and Disparities, 2020). When studying specific issues within ethnic communities, researchers can combine qualitative and ethnographic approaches while still employing traditional sociological survey methods, particularly in language and cultural preservation research (Park, 2025). This paper examines the Hoklo enclave within the Hakka administrative district from the perspectives of ethnic origin, language use, and religious culture. A qualitative descriptive approach with an ethnographic focus is employed to explore these aspects.

Four Cases

Focusing on areas where Hakka is the majority and Hoklo the minority, this paper selects Key Development Areas of Hakka Culture (i.e., Hakka administrative districts) where the Hakka population exceeds 50% and Hakka serves as the main regional language. It examines four cases from Xinwu District in Taoyuan City and Toufen City in Miaoli County, for the following reasons: (1) Both Xinwu and Toufen are designated as areas where Hakka is the main regional language, with over 75% of residents identifying as Hakka;⁹ and (2) Xinwu follows a system of appointed district directorship, in which the Taoyuan City Government appoints the district head, whereas Toufen operates under local self-government with its own elected officials.

The four Hoklo enclave cases selected for this study are: (1) Yongxing Village and Xiayu Village in Xinwu District (formerly known as Daniuchou /大牛稠); (2) Kejian Village and Shenzhen Village in Xinwu District (formerly known as Kekegan /蚵殼港庄); (3) Luzhu Village in Toufen City (formerly known as Luzhunan /蘆竹南); and (4) Touniu Village in Toufen City.

Ethical Considerations

This study forms part of a larger research project approved by the Ethics Committee of National Taiwan University on December 11, 2024 (Approval No. 202411ES019). All

⁹ According to the 2021 Survey on National Hakka Population and Language Basic Data conducted by the Hakka Affairs Council (2022), the proportion of Hakka residents is 87.31% in Xinwu District and 76.54% in Toufen City, respectively.

procedures were carried out in accordance with established ethical standards.

Ethnic Enclaves in Taiwan

In Taiwan, ethnic settlements can be categorized into two types: (1) ethnic minorities at the national level, some of whom reside outside their traditional settlement areas—for example, Indigenous and Hakka enclaves in urban cities; and (2) members of the national majority who constitute a local minority within specific administrative regions—for example, Hoklo enclaves within Hakka administrative districts.

Enclaves of Ethnic Minorities

In Taiwan, Indigenous and Hakka peoples are ethnic minorities, both of whom have formed ethnic enclaves because of migration.

A well-known example of an ethnic enclave is the “urban Indigenous tribes” (i.e., Indigenous enclaves), which have drawn public attention due to protests forced government relocations, such as those involving the Sanying Tribe or Xizhou Tribe in New Taipei City.

During the 1960s and 1970s, many Indigenous peoples left their ancestral lands and migrated to cities due to economic development. Through the clustering effect of chain migration, they gradually formed urban Indigenous settlements, which eventually evolved into Indigenous enclaves within metropolitan areas.

Although these Indigenous enclaves (also referred to as urban Indigenous tribes) have received attention from government agencies, many are situated in locations that lack basic infrastructure or are in flood-prone areas. In addition to violating land use and construction regulations, these settlements also face serious issues related to public safety, drinking water access, and environmental sanitation (Council of Indigenous Peoples, 2021: 7). How the government addresses Indigenous peoples' traditional culture, customs, education, and language—and implements appropriate policy responses—remains a significant challenge in ethnic policymaking (Council of Indigenous Peoples, 2021: 7).

The Hakka settlements in Taiwan trace their origins to the late Qing Dynasty and the Japanese colonial era, periods marked by significant migration driven by economic opportunities in industries such as camphor and sugar production.

However, the decline of the camphor industry—due to factors such as the rise of synthetic alternatives and geopolitical shifts—prompted these enclaves to adapt. They diversified into other sectors, including agriculture and manufacturing, to sustain their livelihoods.

Despite these changes, local Hakka residents could retain the Hakka language. Today, Hakka enclaves can still be found in areas such as Wuliao in Sanxia District, New Taipei City, and Dananao in Suao Township, Yilan County (P. Wang, 2022).

Hoklo Enclaves within Hakka Administrative Districts

Historically, research on ethnic relations between the Hoklo and Hakka people in Taiwan has predominantly focused on the dynamics between the Hoklo majority and the Hakka minority, as outlined in the introduction of this paper. A central concern in this body of scholarship is the assimilation of Hakka individuals into Hoklo communities, resulting in the loss of distinct Hakka identity and the gradual erosion of the Hakka language—a phenomenon often described as the emergence of the “Hoklorized Hakka.” The term Hoklorized Hakka can be traced back to the 1960s, when H. Lin (1963) observed that many prominent clans in Yuanlin Town (now Yuanlin City) were originally Cantonese Hakka immigrants. However, over time, these groups were progressively assimilated by the surrounding Hoklo population, leading to the displacement of the Hakka language and cultural identity, which were increasingly supplanted by Hoklo linguistic and cultural practices (H. Lin, 1963). The emergence of Hoklorized Hakka is a natural result of ethnic interactions and is unrelated to national ethnic policies.

In 2010, Taiwan's government enacted the *Hakka Basic Act*, formally recognizing traditional Hakka settlements as Hakka administrative districts by designating them as Key Development Areas of Hakka Culture under Article 4 of the legislation. Historically inhabited by Hakka populations and rich in Hakka linguistic and cultural heritage, these districts are now officially protected and promoted under national law. Hakka administrative districts are defined at the township level (including towns, cities, and districts),¹⁰ and these districts aim to support the preservation and revitalization of the Hakka language and identity, partly through enacting the *Regulations for the Hakka Language as the Regional Language*. In practice, some villages within Hakka administrative districts may be predominantly inhabited by Hoklo people, forming “Hoklo enclaves” within officially recognized Hakka areas.

For a long time, Taiwan's ethnic policy has primarily focused on minority ethnic groups, particularly the Indigenous and Hakka traditional settlements. Institutional arrangements often emphasize concurrence between these two groups in the design of national systems and legal frameworks—for example, Article 4, Paragraph 2 of the *Hakka Basic Act* stipulates shared language rights in overlapping Indigenous and Hakka regions. While addressing ethnic minorities protection, this focus implicitly assumes that the Hoklo—the majority ethnic group—does not require similar protections. As a result, the rights and identities of Hoklo individuals living in minority-designated areas, such as Hoklo enclaves within Hakka administrative districts, are often overlooked. This raises a critical question: how can members of these Hoklo enclaves maintain their ethnic self-identity and assert their cultural and linguistic rights within the Hakka administrative districts? This represents a notable policy gap in

¹⁰ According to Article 3, Paragraph 4 of the Local Government Act, towns, cities, and districts are subdivided into villages, which are further divided into neighborhoods.

Taiwan's current ethnic framework.¹¹

Classifying Hoklo Enclaves: Pure and Hybrid Types

From the perspectives of ethnic origin, family language use, language practices in interactions with the broader Hakka society, and sacrificial or religious beliefs, the four cases examined can be categorized into two types: “pure Hoklo enclaves” and “hybrid Hoklo enclaves.”

Pure Hoklo Enclaves: Kekegan, Luzhunan, and Touniu

This section argues that Kekegan (comprising Kejian Village and Shenzhen Village), Luzhunan (Luzhu Village), and Touniu represent “pure Hoklo enclaves”, as demonstrated in the following discussion.

Kekegan

Kejian and Shenzhen village residents trace their ancestry to Tungan County in Quanzhou Prefecture, Fujian Province, China. Their ethnic origin is Hoklo. Today, the residents of both villages self-identify as Hoklo and use the Hoklo language as their primary family language. According to Ang (2022: 37-38), although Kekegan is in Xinwu District, where the Hakka language is dominant, the Hoklo dialect spoken there—known as the “New Tongan Dialect”—has gradually evolved from the “Old Tongan Dialect” of Hsinchu Hoklo.

The local religious centers—Fuxing Temple in Kejian and Xuantian Temple in Shenzhen—are dedicated to worshiping Wang-Ye (Royal Lords) and the Emperor of the Mysterious Heaven, respectively. Both practices are classified as part of the Hoklo religious tradition.¹²

¹¹ According to Article 4, Paragraph 1 of the *Hakka Basic Act*, townships and cities (under a county) or districts (under a special municipality) where the Hakka population exceeds one-third of the total population are designated as Key Development Areas of Hakka Culture, with Hakka recognized as one of the regional languages. Paragraph 2 further stipulates that Hakka must be implemented as the primary regional language in such areas where the Hakka population exceeds one-half. Given that Hoklo people may constitute a local minority in areas where Hakka is the primary administrative language, can they invoke their linguistic rights to access public services in the Hoklo language under Article 11 of the *National Language Development Act*? This raises a potential conflict in concurrently applying the *Hakka Basic Act* and the *National Language Development Act*. Moreover, if government agencies in Hakka administrative districts cannot accommodate the linguistic needs of Hoklo speakers, does this amount to language discrimination under Article 4 of the *National Language Development Act*? Article 11 of the same Act also guarantees citizens the right to freely choose which national language to use in public affairs. In the case of children from intermarriages between Hakka and Hoklo parents—who may possess dual ethnic and linguistic backgrounds—can they freely choose to use Hoklo in official or public domains within Hakka administrative districts, per their individual language preference?

¹² The history of Fuxing Temple dates back to 1874, when a Wang-Ye ship arrived in Kejian from Quanzhou Prefecture (Jiang, 2022: 55). Although no one was aboard the vessel, it carried golden statues of seven Wang-Ye and seven Madams. The residents interpreted this as a divine sign, offered sacrifices, and built a temple to enshrine

Although Kejian and Shenzhen are located within a Hakka administrative district with a high proportion of Hakka residents, the local communities have retained key elements of Hoklo culture (P. Wang, 2024b). Hoklo or Mandarin is the primary community language, and most Hoklo residents have not acquired the Hakka language.

Hakka populations surround the Hoklo communities in Kejian and Shenzhen, yet they have successfully maintained their mother tongue and religious beliefs. These communities can be characterized as “pure Hoklo enclaves,” and their members appear to adopt the “separation” strategy within Berry's acculturation theory model.

Luzhunan

Located on the right bank of the estuary of the Zhonggang River Basin, Luzhunan is a Hoklo settlement (Hakka Affairs Council, 2021b). The development of Luzhu Village began during the Qing Dynasty, when settlers from Zhangzhou Prefecture in Fujian Province, China, arrived to cultivate the land. They established northern Taiwan's largest traditional sanheyuan (three-section compound house) settlement. Today, Luzhu Village in Toufen City has preserved 53 Hoklo-style sanheyuan structures,¹³ making it one of the city's two major Hoklo settlements, along with Touniu Village (Smile Taiwan, 2020). The religious center of Luzhu Village is Tongtian Temple, a rare temple in Toufen City dedicated to the Emperor of the Mysterious Heaven.

In 2006, local elders founded the Miaoli County Traditional Settlement Culture Association, which has since raised cultural awareness among the residents of Luzhunan. Beginning in 2014, the association also launched the annual Luzhunan Art Festival, which has grown in popularity and scale (Hakka Affairs Council, 2021b). Notably, Taiwan's renowned Ming-Hwa-Yuan Arts and Cultural Group, a Hoklo opera troupe, was invited to perform.

The residents of Luzhunan speak Hoklo as their family and community language, engaging in various activities to establish their collective memory and preserve their culture.¹⁴ As a result, Luzhunan can be seen as a “pure Hoklo enclave,” with its members adopting the

the deities. According to local legend, the deities enshrined in Xuantian Temple originated from Quanzhou Prefecture and accompanied the ancestors of the Li family to Taiwan in 1703 to protect the settlers (Jiang, 2022: 43). They initially resided in Shiguanyin (present-day Guanyin District), but in 1729, they were relocated to their current site by a divine command (Jiang, 2022: 43).

¹³ It's widely believed that the main differences between Hoklo and Hakka architecture lie in Hakka buildings featuring a “huatai”—a semicircular raised earth platform behind the house symbolizing stability and the continuation of future generations—and the worship of a land-dragon deity under the ancestral tablet in the main hall (C. Chang, 1999).

¹⁴ Hsu Shu-fan, the current chief of staff of the Miaoli County Traditional Settlement Cultural Association, works with her father, Hsu Jin-hui—who married a Hakka woman and is one of the founders of the association—to protect Luzhunan and restore it to its traditional style (Hakka Affairs Council, 2021b). Although Hsu Shu-fan's mother is Hakka, she identifies more with her father's Hoklo heritage and primarily speaks Hoklo or Mandarin daily.

'separation' strategy within Berry's acculturation theory model.

Touniu

Touniu is one of the two Hoklo-speaking villages in Toufen City, and most locals speak Hoklo daily (Water Resources Agency, 2024).¹⁵ Touniu Village is a traditional rural area where most residents are primarily engaged in farming. As a result, they have been able to preserve traditional Hoklo culture.

As a Hoklo enclave within a predominantly Hakka region, Touniu has preserved its language and culture primarily through religious practices and clan-based organizations. The local religious center is Yuxian Temple, which is dedicated to Wang-Ye deities from the Su, Zhu, Li, and Chi families. Behind the temple stands an ancestral shrine, home to the Miaoli County Ko and Tsai Clan Association.

The prominent residents of Touniu, who reside near Yuxian Temple and the ancestral shrine, have traditionally spoken only Hoklo and have not talked Hakka.¹⁶ Touniu can thus be classified as a “pure Hoklo enclave,” with most members adopting the separation strategy, as defined in Berry's acculturation theory model.

Hybrid Hoklo Enclave: Daniuchou

The pronunciation of this place name differs between the Hoklo and Hakka dialects. In Hoklo, it is pronounced Daniuchou, while in Hakka, it is Daniulan (Ang, 2022: 38).

The Ye clan represents the principal lineage in Daniuchou; approximately 85% of Yongxing Village's population bears the Ye surname (Lu & Tsai, 2020). In the 1980s, prominent figures such as Ye Lunjing, Ye Shi, and Ye Mingshuang served respectively as head of Xinwu Township, general secretary of the Farmers' Association, and general secretary of the Zhongli District Fisheries Association; it was often said that “Xinwu Township was Yewu Township” (Ye, 2019: 4). To this day, around 8,000 to 10,000 Ye clan members convene annually at the Ye Chun-Ri ancestral shrine (also known as Ye Wumeigong) during the Qingming/Tomb-Sweeping Festival (Lu & Tsai, 2020).

It has been over 280 years since Yeh Chun-ri migrated to Taiwan in 1735. Although the Ye clan resides in a predominantly Hakka region, many members continue to speak the Hoklo language. Notably, it is the only remaining community from Guangdong that still preserves the

¹⁵ Ang (2011) refers to Touniu Village as “a small island of Hoklo language within the Hakka-speaking region.”

¹⁶ The members of the Ko and Tsai ancestral shrines are dispersed throughout Miaoli County, with the majority residing in Tuniu village. The Tsai clan also represents a significant proportion of Tuniu's population. The current general secretary, Tsai Zheng-Zhe, was raised in Gongguan, Miaoli, and speaks Hakka. However, ancestral shrine events are conducted in Holko or Mandarin. As in other Hoklo enclaves, residents living closer to neighboring Hakka villages gradually became bilingual in both Hoklo and Hakka due to the influence of surrounding Hakka communities.

original features of this variety (Ang, 2003); specifically, they speak the Zhangzhou variety of Hoklo (Ang, 2022: 38). Surrounded by Hakka-speaking villages, the Ye clan forms a rare Hoklo enclave within a Hakka administrative district (Chen & Chiang, 2007).

However, the Hoklo enclave of Daniuchou diverges from the previous three cases. Within the Ye clan, there is strong home-based loyalty to the Hoklo identity and language—they regularly speak Hoklo at home. Conversely, in their broader Hakka-speaking environment, they switch to Hakka when communicating with outsiders and have adopted certain aspects of Hakka culture. This paper aptly describes Daniuchou as a “hybrid Hoklo enclave.”

We can observe the “hybrid Hoklo enclave” phenomenon in daily language use and during ancestral shrine rituals.

Most members of the Ye clan are bilingual in both Hoklo and Hakka. Ye Gaohua (2018) observed that while Hoklo is the family's primary home language, clan members are also fluent in Hakka. Two main factors explain this bilingualism: (1) Language status: from early immigration through the Japanese occupation, Hakka held higher prestige, serving as the *de facto* lingua franca for inter-ethnic and public communication in Daniuchou; in contrast, Hoklo was confined to familial and clan-based settings (Chen, 2004: 13). (2) Language loyalty and family policy: in a predominantly Hakka region, the Ye intermarried frequently with Hakka families, with most maternal lines being Hakka—thereby gradually “diluting” Hoklo ancestry. To counter this, Ye family rules required Hakka daughters-in-law to learn and speak Hoklo, resulting in minimal shift away from Hoklo among Ye descendants, and encouraging Hakka wives to adopt Hoklo at home (Ang, 2003; Chen, 2004: 348-349).

The clan's ancestral shrine has gradually absorbed Hakka cultural elements over time. The Ye Chunri Ancestral Hall, originally consisting of only three rooms and three acres of public land, was rebuilt in 1937 as Zibiao Hall (named after Ye Chunri's courtesy name, Zibiao) (Ye, 2019: 13). A later renovation in 1977 added a stone tablet inscribed with the clan's history on the ancestral hall's wall (Ye, 2019: 14). The hall underwent another reconstruction in 2012, during which the historical tablet was updated and reinstalled (Ye, 2019: 14).

A comparison of three key records—the 1977 historical tablet, the 2012 reconstruction inscription, and the couplet in the main hall—reveals the following trends: (1) The 1977 tablet briefly outlines the clan's origin without distinguishing between Hoklo and Hakka ethnic identities. (2) The 2012 inscription introduces explicit Hakka elements, including an ancestral motto: “Loyalty and filial piety passed down from generation to generation, and farming in the sun and studying in the rain,” a phrase widely recognized as expressing Hakka values.¹⁷ It also identifies the clan's ancestral homeland as “Henglongliaoziqian Village, Xintian Town, Lufeng (He) County, Huizhou Prefecture, Guangdong Province,” a location associated with Hakka heritage. (3) The central hall couplet originally stated that the Ye clan had migrated to Lufeng

¹⁷ “Farming in the sun and studying in the rain” reflects the values embedded in traditional Hakka agricultural life and is widely regarded as a key symbol of Hakka cultural ethos (Council for Hakka Affairs, 2022: 5).

from “Quanzhou, Fujian Province,” but after 2012, this was revised to “Huizhou, Guangdong Province” (Zhuang, 2014; Ye, 2019: 15).

The phenomenon of “hybrid Hoklo enclave” extends to the operation of the clan ancestral shrine: committee meetings are conducted in Hoklo. At the same time, public rituals—such as inviting the gods and worshipping ancestors—are carried out in Hakka.

Although many Ye clan members still identify as Hoklo descendants, recent architectural and textual transformations in their ancestral shrine underscore a notable shift: the clan is increasingly incorporating Hakka identity while maintaining its Hoklo roots, signaling an emerging “Hoklo–Hakka hybrid” or “Hakkarized” identity. Daniuchou exemplifies the “hybrid Hoklo enclave” phenomenon, with most members pursuing an “integration” acculturation strategy, consistent with John W. Berry's model.

Embrace Hakka or Maintain Hoklo

The two types of Hoklo enclaves—pure and hybrid—reflect how members of these communities negotiate their ethnic identity and interact with other groups within Hakka administrative areas, where most of the population is Hakka. This dichotomy raises essential questions: Why do some Hoklo enclaves adopt Hakka language and cultural practices, while others actively preserve their Hoklo identity? What social, cultural, or institutional factors shape these differing responses to interethnic contact?

What Drives Hakka Language Use in Daniuchou

Why does Daniuchou embrace Hakka culture and use the Hakka language? In addition to sociocultural factors—such as surrounding Hakka communities and intermarriage between Hoklo and Hakka people—state institutional arrangements also play a significant role. These institutional arrangements can be observed in three dimensions:

First, according to Article 4 of the *Hakka Basic Act*, Xinwu District is designated as an area where Hakka is the main regional language. This designation significantly improves the environment for Hakka language use by promoting the installation of Hakka-language road signs and encouraging government agencies and medical institutions to offer services in Hakka.

Second, the government has invested resources to promote Hakka culture. In 2010, the Taoyuan County Government (now reorganized as the Taoyuan City Government) established the Department of Hakka Affairs to actively promote the preservation and transmission of Hakka language and culture. In 2012 and 2013, the department organized the Festival of China Hakka Origin and Tomb-Sweeping in front of the ancestral tower during the Qingming Festival, when the Ye clan conducts ancestral worship (Ye, 2019: 70). These efforts have helped cultivate an intense Hakka cultural atmosphere around the Ye Chunri Ancestral Temple.

Third, the government has involved local Hakka community leaders in policymaking.

For example, Ye Guojie, chairman of the Ye Chunri Ancestral Hall (also serving as the Zhongli District Fishermen's Association), has often been invited by the Department of Hakka Affairs to participate in the planning and implementation of Hakka-related policies.¹⁸

Influenced by factors such as the external environment, national institutional arrangements, and cultural openness, the Hoklo people in Daniuchou appear to be undergoing a process of Hakkarization. It is conceivable that, in the future, a “Hakkarized Hoklo” identity may emerge.

Why Language and Culture Persist in Hoklo Enclaves

While the phenomenon of “Hoklorized Hakka” often emerges in Hakka enclaves within predominantly Hoklo regions, the three Hoklo enclaves discussed above have successfully preserved their language and culture without undergoing “Hakkarization.”

Several factors may account for this continued preservation of Hoklo language and culture: strong geographical ties to other Hoklo-speaking communities; legal protections for mother tongue inheritance and linguistic rights; consistent visibility in mass media; and the physical location of elementary schools.

First, although the Hoklo enclave lies within the Hakka administrative district, its proximity to adjacent Hoklo-majority areas helps preserve the Hoklo language and culture. For example, Luzhunan is adjacent to Zhunan Township in Miaoli, which maintains a significant Hoklo population.¹⁹ This geographic link could support continued daily use of Hoklo in the Luzhunan.

Second, to designate Hoklo as a national language and empower members of Hoklo enclaves with legal rights to preserve and protect their mother tongue. Article 3 of the *National Languages Development Act* grants national-language status to all mother tongues of Taiwan's native ethnic groups—including Hakka, Hoklo, Indigenous, Mandarin, Matsu, and Taiwan Sign Language—ensuring legal equality in public services, broadcasting, and education. As Mandarin functions as the *de facto* official language, and Hakka and Indigenous languages obtain their national-language status through the *Hakka Basic Act* and *Indigenous Languages Development Act*, respectively, the *National Languages Development Act* principally provides new statutory benefits for Hoklo, Matsu, and Taiwan Sign Language—bringing them under the same legal protections and public-service access previously unavailable. Based on the *National Languages Development Act*, the Ministry of Culture allocated funding to transform Public Television Service's Channel 3 into a dedicated Hoklo channel and implemented accompanying

¹⁸ The Zhongli District Fishermen's Association operates Yongan Fishing Port. During the planning and operation of the Yongan Hakka Conch Culture Experience Park, which is located within the port, the Department of Hakka Affairs incorporated the views of Ye Guojie, chairman of the Zhongli District Fishermen's Association.

¹⁹ The Hakka population in Zhunan Township accounts for approximately 29.24% according to the Hakka Affairs Council (2022: 44).

measures to promote the use of the Hoklo language.²⁰

Third, in everyday media consumption, commercial television channels such as CTS, TTV, and FTV primarily broadcast their news in Mandarin, with occasional segments in Hoklo. Hakka and Indigenous languages are rarely featured, except on specialized public or cable platforms. Most viewers are accustomed to commercial television, where many programs—particularly dramas and variety shows—are conducted in Hoklo. This widespread exposure increases the language's visibility and reinforces a sense of pride among Hoklo-speaking audiences.

Fourth, the presence or absence of an elementary school within a Hoklo enclave significantly influences language use and acquisition: (1) When a local school is available, children typically attend nearby and are surrounded by Hoklo-speaking peers, facilitating their fluent acquisition of the Hoklo language. (2) Without a local school, children must commute to neighboring Hakka-dominant villages, where most of their classmates speak Hakka. This exposure often leads them to become bilingual in both Hoklo and Hakka. For example, children from Kejian Village attend Kejian Elementary School, which supports the use and transmission of Hoklo. In contrast, children from Touniu Village attend Toufen Elementary School in a Hakka-majority area and are therefore more likely to acquire basic proficiency in Hakka.

Identifying the three previously mentioned Hoklo enclaves is based on two key criteria: the predominance of Hoklo language use among residents and the adherence to local religious traditions rooted in Hoklo culture. However, it is essential to acknowledge that some residents within these enclaves are bilingual, speaking both Hoklo and Hakka. While some residents have acquired Hakka through schooling or work-related interactions, they typically speak it with a distinct Hoklo accent, making it easy to distinguish them from native Hakka speakers.

All four case studies in this paper focus on comparable human geographic areas—Xinwu District and Toufen City—each with a Hakka-majority population exceeding two-thirds. Why do two distinct types of Hoklo enclaves emerge in these regions?

This paper argues that Hakka policy is pivotal in shaping how Hoklo communities perceive and engage with Hakka culture. Key mechanisms include the establishment of a dedicated Hakka affairs agency, the intensity and reach of policy implementation, and the active involvement of local opinion leaders in policy planning and execution.

Specifically, Xinwu District is governed by the Taoyuan City Government, which maintains a dedicated Hakka Affairs Bureau with its own staff and budget. This bureau is responsible for formulating and promoting Hakka-related policies, resulting in high effectiveness. In contrast, Toufen City falls under the jurisdiction of the Miaoli County Government, which lacks a comparable agency. As a result, responsibilities related to Hakka

²⁰ For example, the *Directions for the Ministry of Culture's Subsidy to Municipal and County (City) Governments to Promote the National Language Development Plan*—despite its inclusive title—focuses primarily on advancing the mainstream use of Hoklo. This is evident in Article 1 and Article 4, which specifically define the subsidy's scope and emphasize Hoklo-language initiatives.

affairs are dispersed across multiple departments and receive relatively low administrative priority, leading to a more fragmented and less practical approach to Hakka policy.

Another critical factor is whether the Hakka Affairs Bureau actively incorporates local elites from Hoklo enclaves into the policymaking process—for example, by including leaders from the Ye Chunri Ancestral Hall in Hakka-related policy discussions.

Conclusion

Historically, the interethnic relationship between the Hoklo and Hakka peoples in Taiwan has often been framed by the phrase “Hoklo as the majority and Hakka as the minority.” This dynamic has contributed to various issues, including interethnic marriage, the assimilation of Hakka individuals into Hoklo culture (a process known as Hokloization), and the gradual erosion of the Hakka language. Nevertheless, Hoklo enclaves still exist at the village level in regions with a high concentration of Hakka residents, where Hakka serves as the dominant regional language. The interactions between Hoklo enclaves and their surrounding Hakka-majority communities represent a significant gap in existing ethnic studies.

This paper addresses this gap by examining interethnic relations through a “Hakka-majority and Hoklo-minority” framework within local administrative districts. The study focuses on four Hoklo enclaves in Xinwu District and Toufen City, both in Hakka-majority areas where over 75% of the population is Hakka.

Drawing on constitutional multiculturalism, substantive ethnic equality, ethnic minority administrative districts, and ethnic enclaves, this paper employs Berry’s acculturation model to analyze the status of Hoklo enclaves within Hakka administrative districts. A qualitative, descriptive approach with an ethnographic focus is adopted, centering on four Hoklo settlements established during the Qing Dynasty: Kekegan, Luzhunan, Touniu, and Daniuchou. The analysis examines factors such as ethnic origin, language use, religious culture, Hakka policies, national language policies, and interethnic relations.

The key findings are organized around two interrelated dimensions: (1) the relationships between the two types of Hoklo enclaves and their surrounding Hakka communities, and (2) the impact of state institutional arrangements on the development of ethnic enclaves.

First, Kekegan, Luzhunan, and Touniu are identified as “pure Hoklo enclaves,” having largely preserved traditional Hoklo culture and identity, with minimal cultural assimilation into the surrounding Hakka society. In contrast, Daniuchou is characterized as a “hybrid Hoklo enclave,” where residents maintain linguistic and cultural ties to Hoklo traditions in private and familial contexts, while actively engaging with the Hakka-majority community by speaking the Hakka language and the adoption of Hakka cultural practices.

The relationship between these two enclave types is best understood as a spectrum of acculturation within broader patterns of interethnic interaction, rather than as fixed or mutually

exclusive categories. Hybrid enclaves like Daniuchou may emerge from pure enclaves over time, particularly in contexts where state policies, educational systems, and interethnic social networks promote integration. Conversely, pure enclaves may persist—or even strengthen their cultural distinctiveness—through strong communal cohesion, localized religious practices, or the absence of institutional mechanisms that facilitate assimilation.

Second, state institutional arrangements are pivotal in shaping the development and divergence of Hoklo enclave typologies. The emergence of pure versus hybrid forms is influenced by several key factors: the establishment of dedicated Hakka affairs agencies, the scope and intensity of Hakka policy implementation, and the inclusion of opinion leaders from Hoklo enclaves in the planning and execution of Hakka-related policies.

In this sense, state institutions not only reflect existing ethnic dynamics but also actively shape the evolution of ethnic identities and intergroup relations. The design and implementation of ethnic policies thus have a formative impact on whether Hoklo enclaves maintain cultural distinctiveness or gradually integrate into the broader Hakka-majority context.

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