

Are We Family?

Inspecting the Influence of  
Taiwanese People's Country,  
Nation, Culture, and Civil  
Identification on the Perception  
of Relationship with “China”

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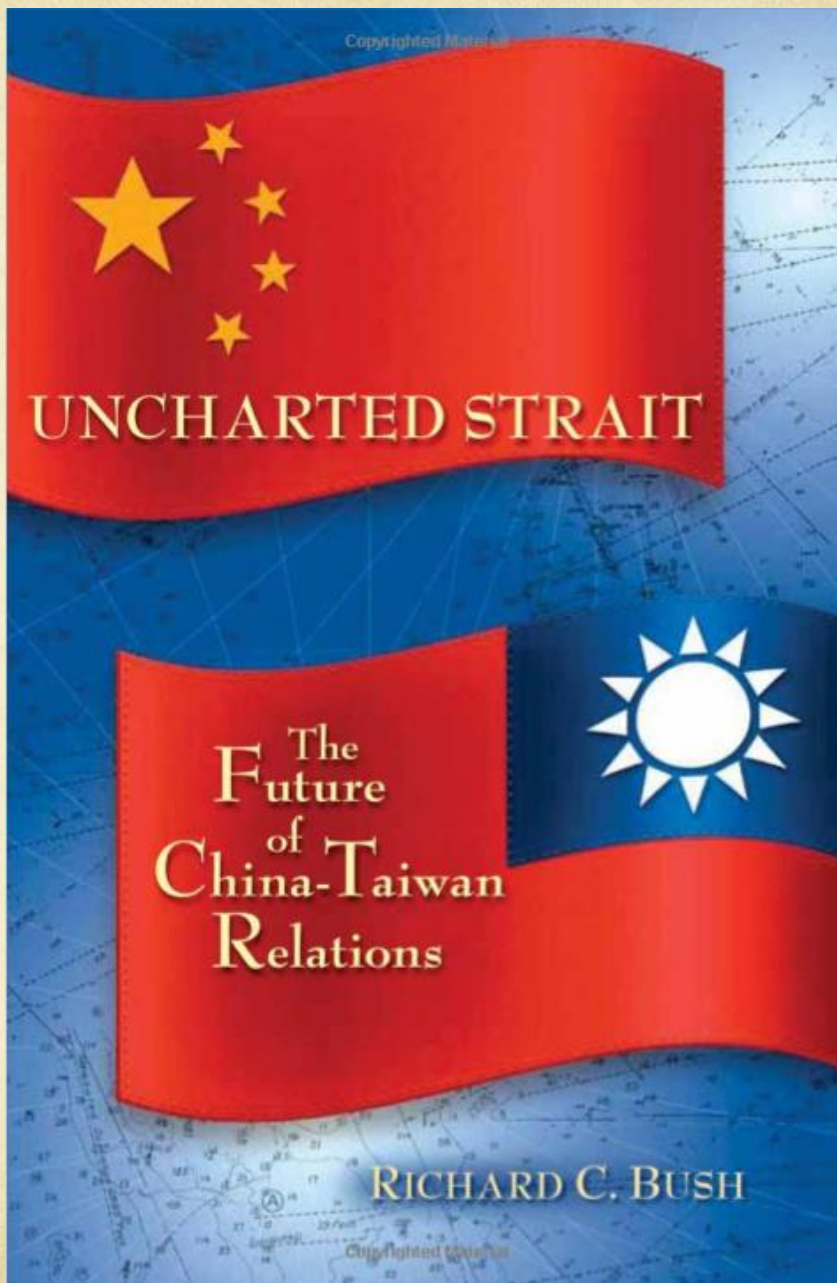
Institute of Political Science

National Sun Yat-Sen University (Taiwan)

WPSA Annual Meeting, Seattle, April 17-19, 2014



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# UNCHARTED STRAIT

The  
Future  
of  
China-Taiwan  
Relations

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# Research Questions

- What are the determinant factors that influence Taiwanese people's identification with the state, the nation, and the relationship with PRC, among all that scholars and observers expect to be important?
- How people in Taiwan think about themselves in terms of nation and country?
  - How do they think about the relationship between them and the mainland?
- How do Taiwanese think about future? Do Taiwanese people as a whole remain the legitimate foundation of ROC on Taiwan?
  - How much generation difference has occurred regarding their country, national, cultural, and civil identities?
  - Who, and why do they resist the idea of unification with the mainland China?
  - Will they become willing so if PRC becomes democratic?
  - Do partisanship of KMT or DPP matters?

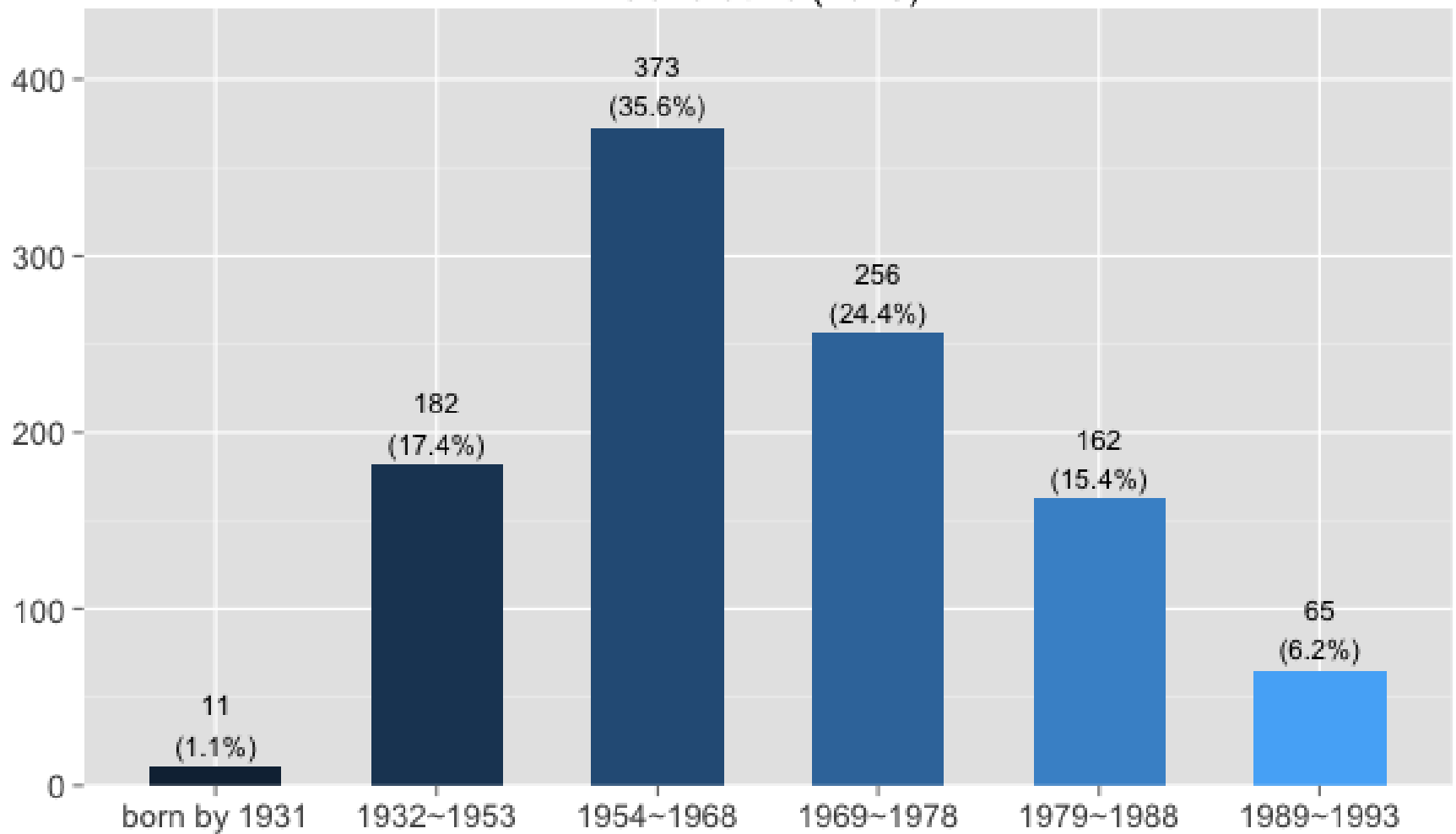
# Concepts and Definition

- Country Identification (*guojia rentong*)
- “Independence” and “separationism”
- National Identification (*minzu rentong*)
- “Unification”
- Democracy

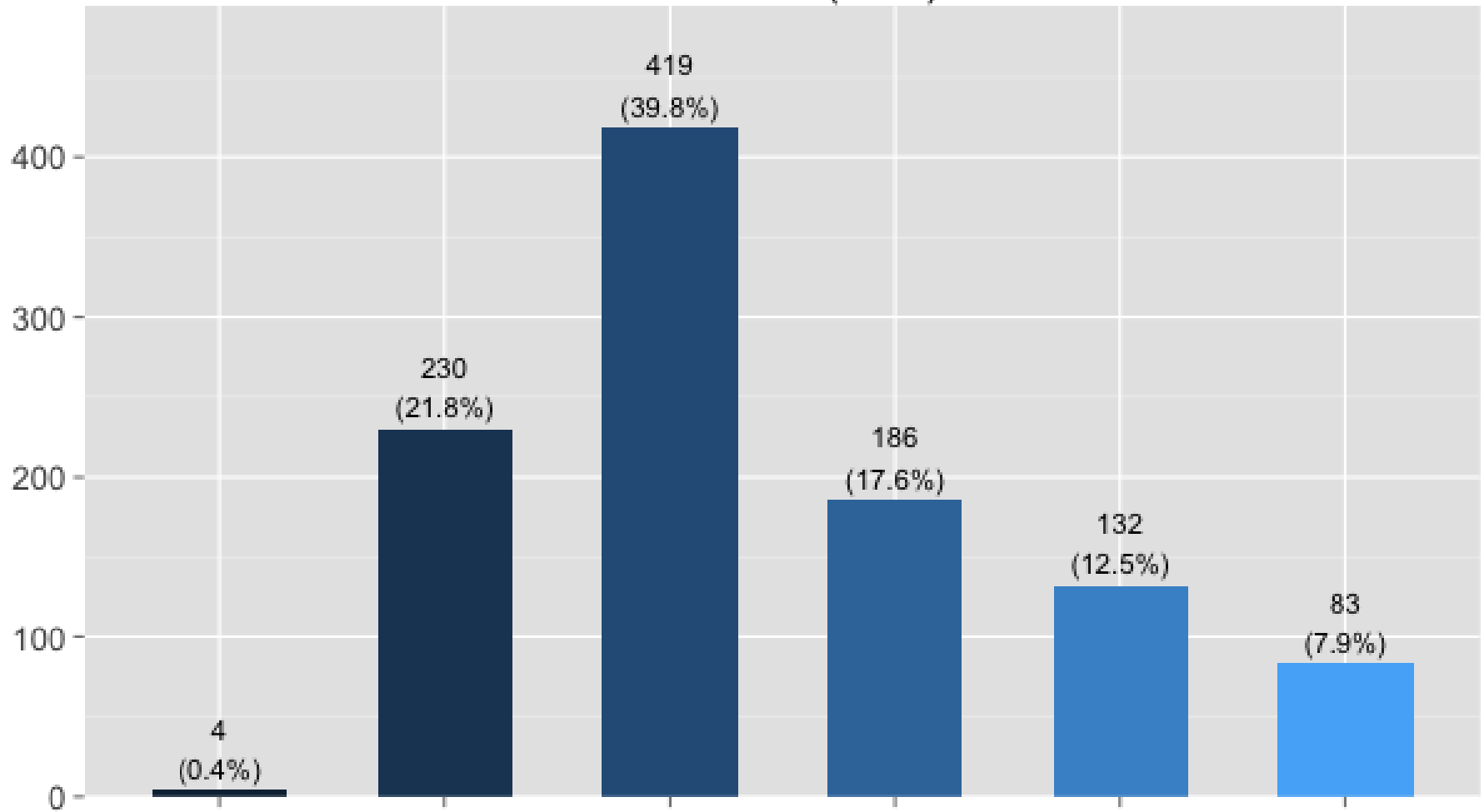
# Data

- 2013 Survey (January 23 to February 4, 2013), N=1,078
- 2014 Survey (January 10 to 24, 2014), N=1,072

## Generatins (2013)

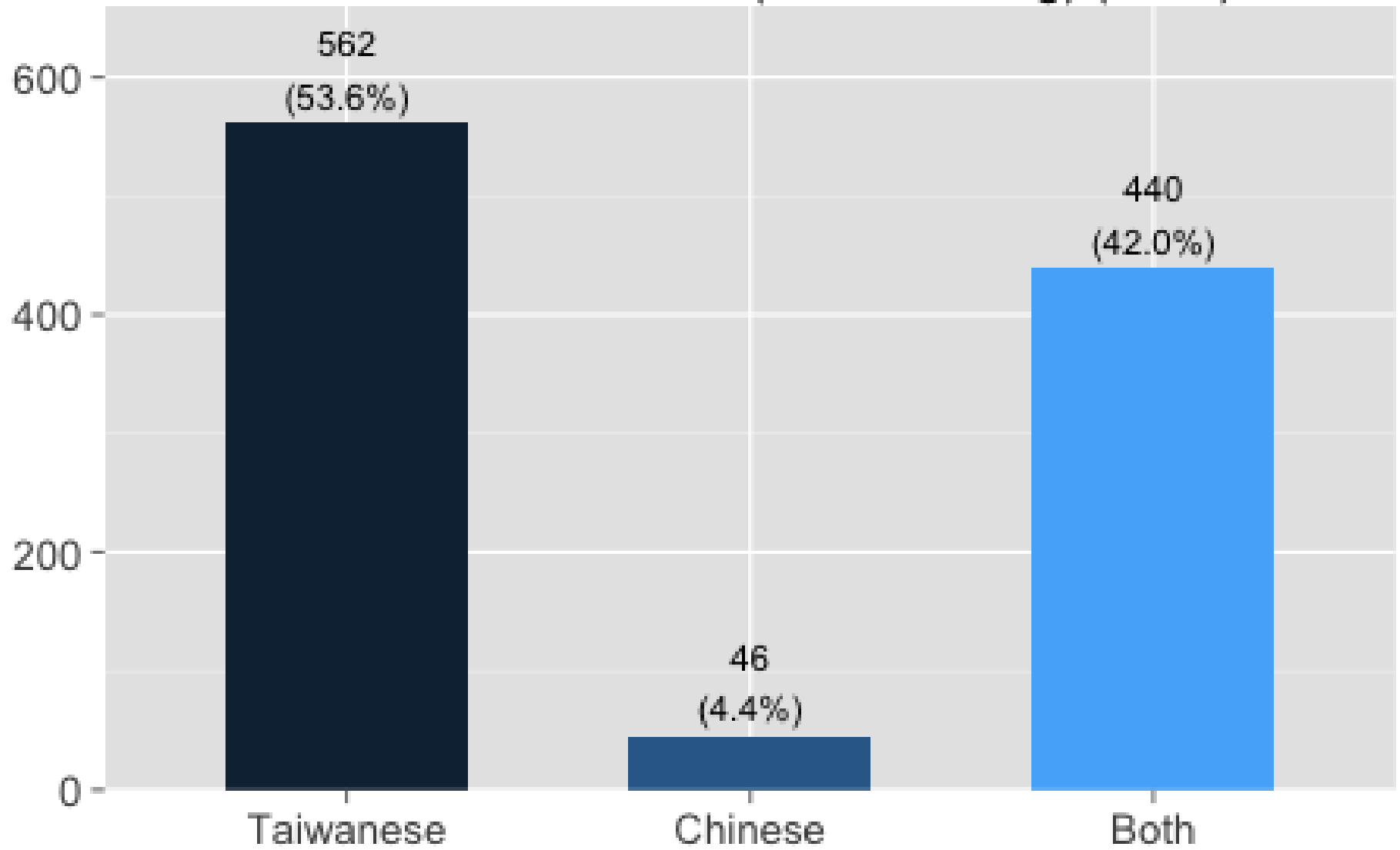


## Generatins (2014)

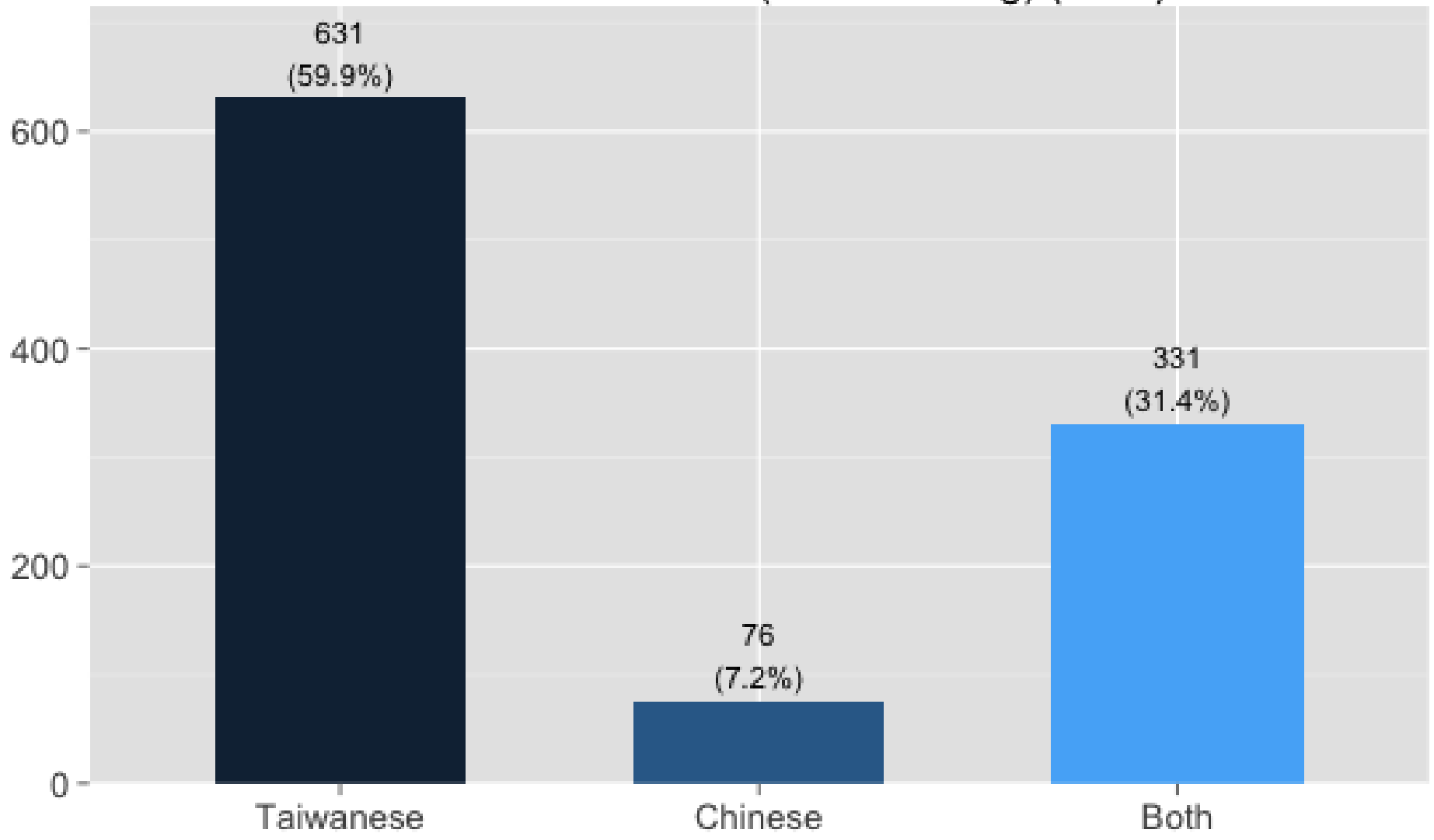




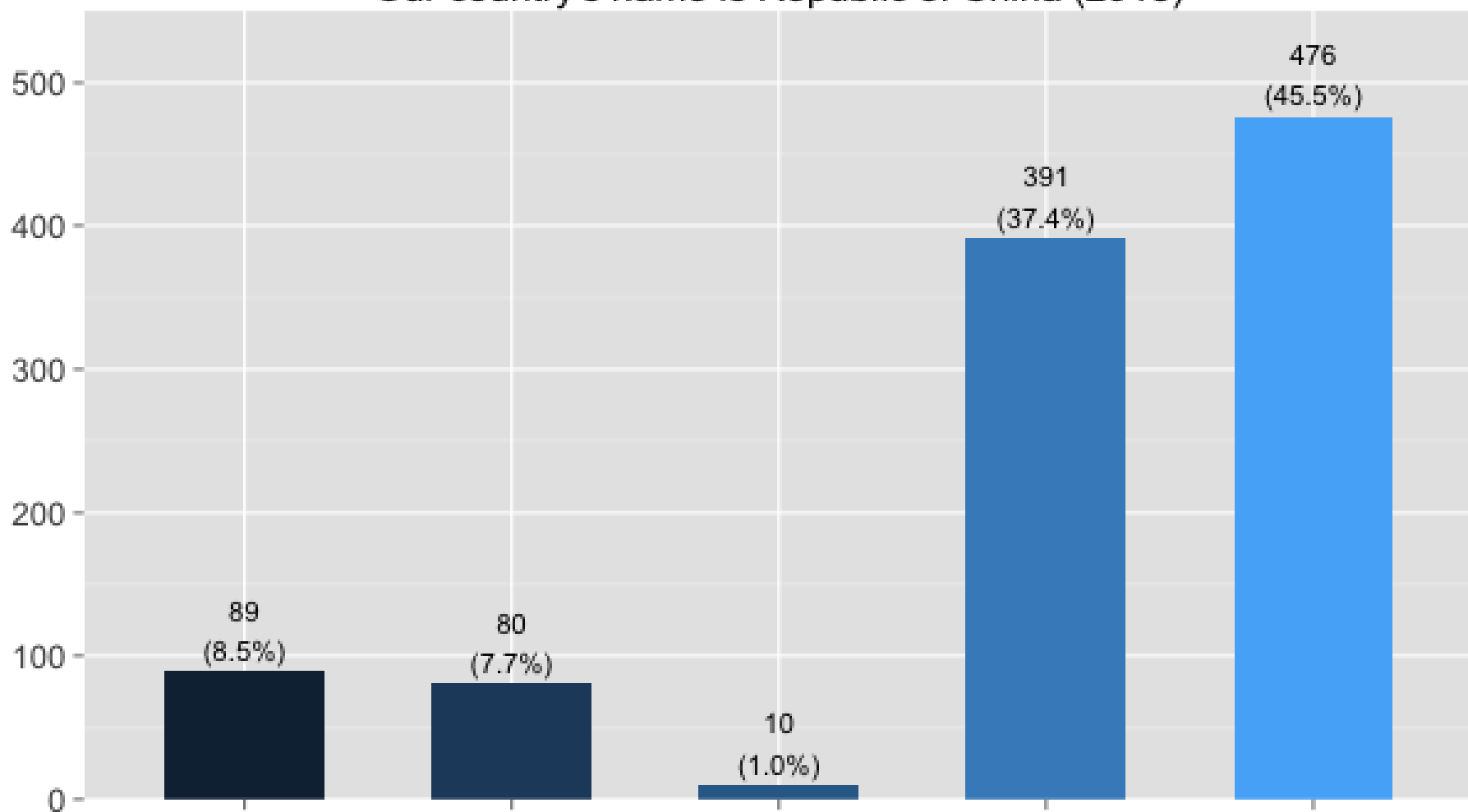
## National Identification (minzurentong) (2013)



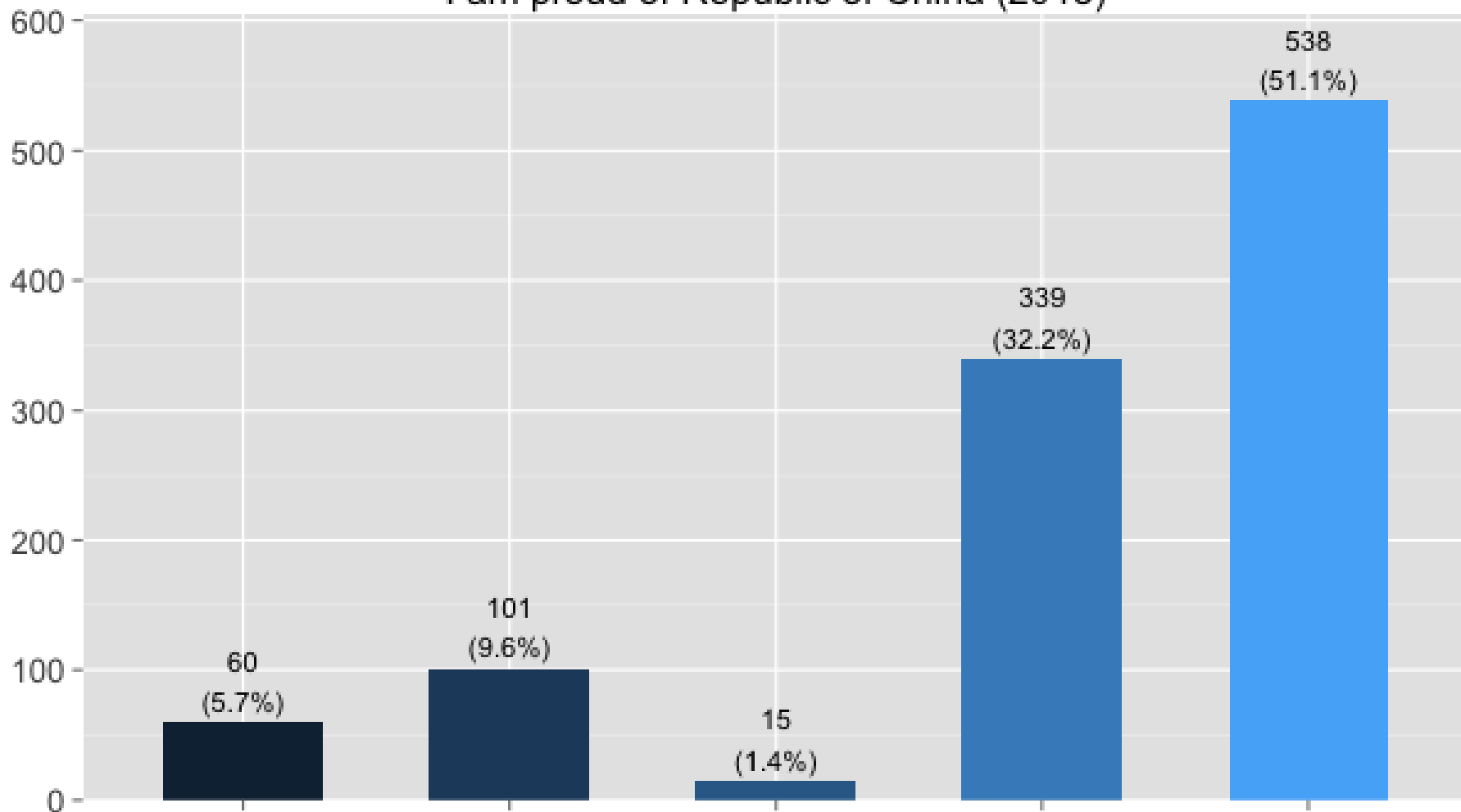
National Identification (minzurentong) (2014)



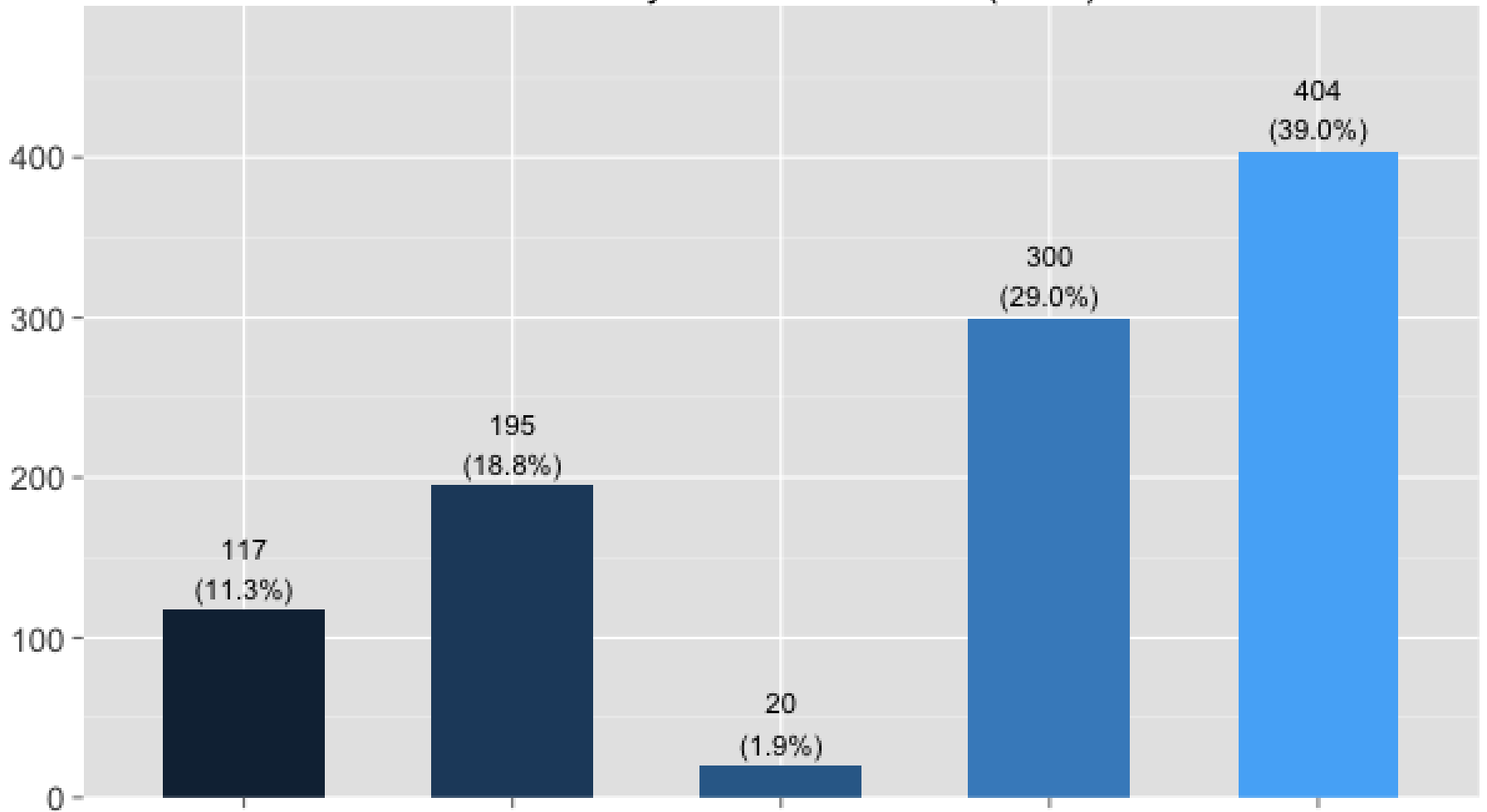
## Our country's name is Republic of China (2013)



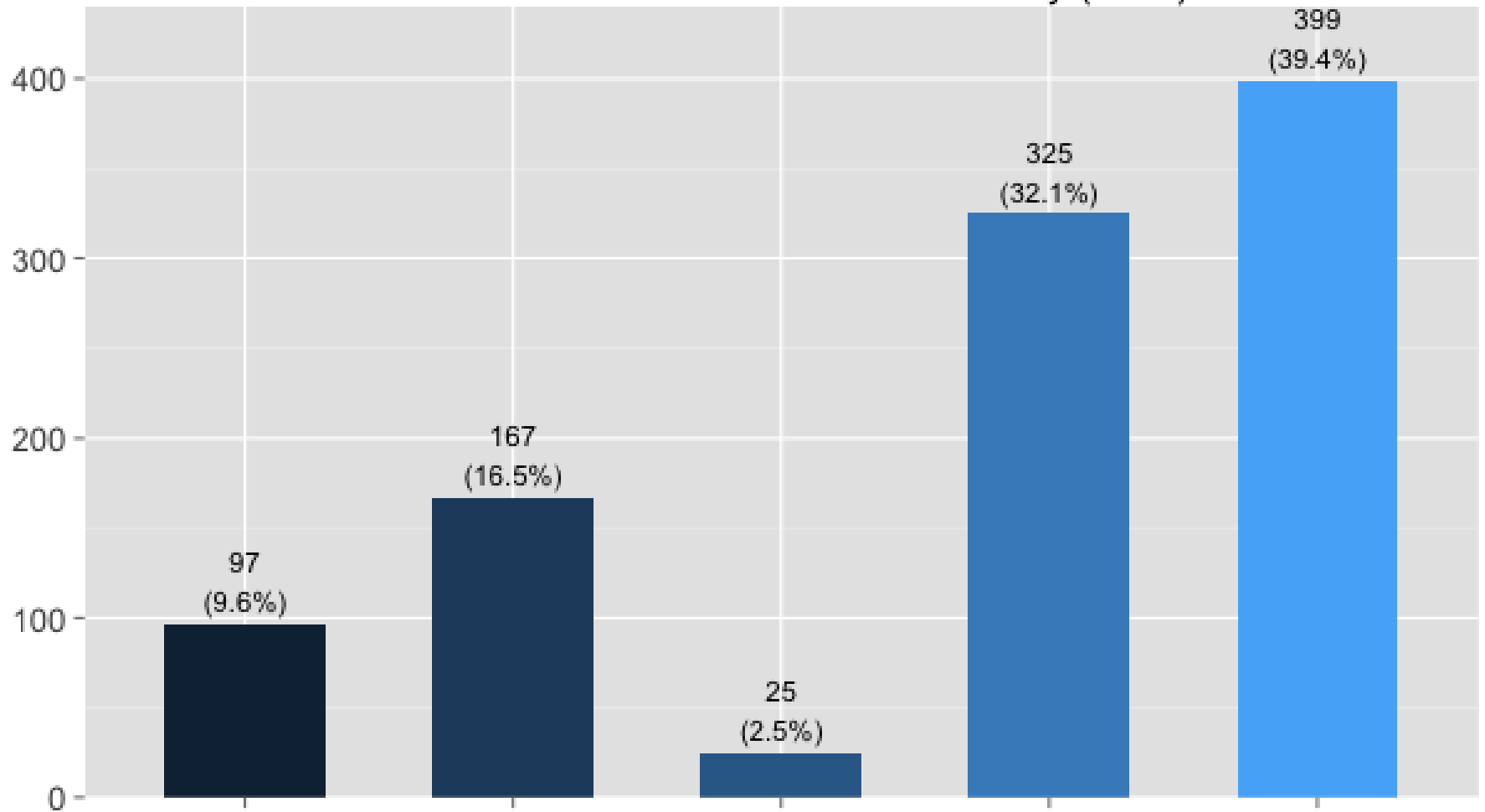
## I am proud of Republic of China (2013)



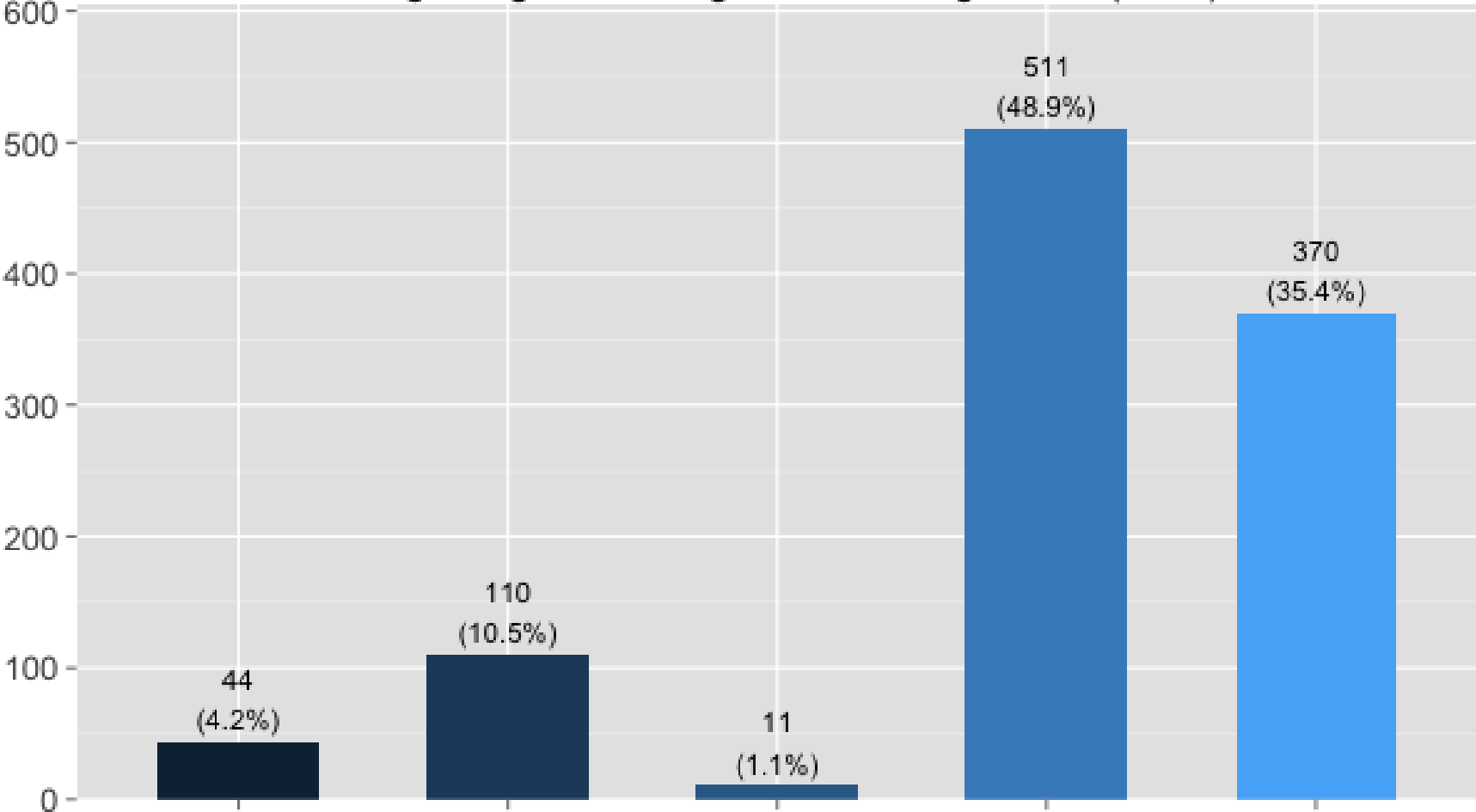
### Our country's name is Taiwan (2013)



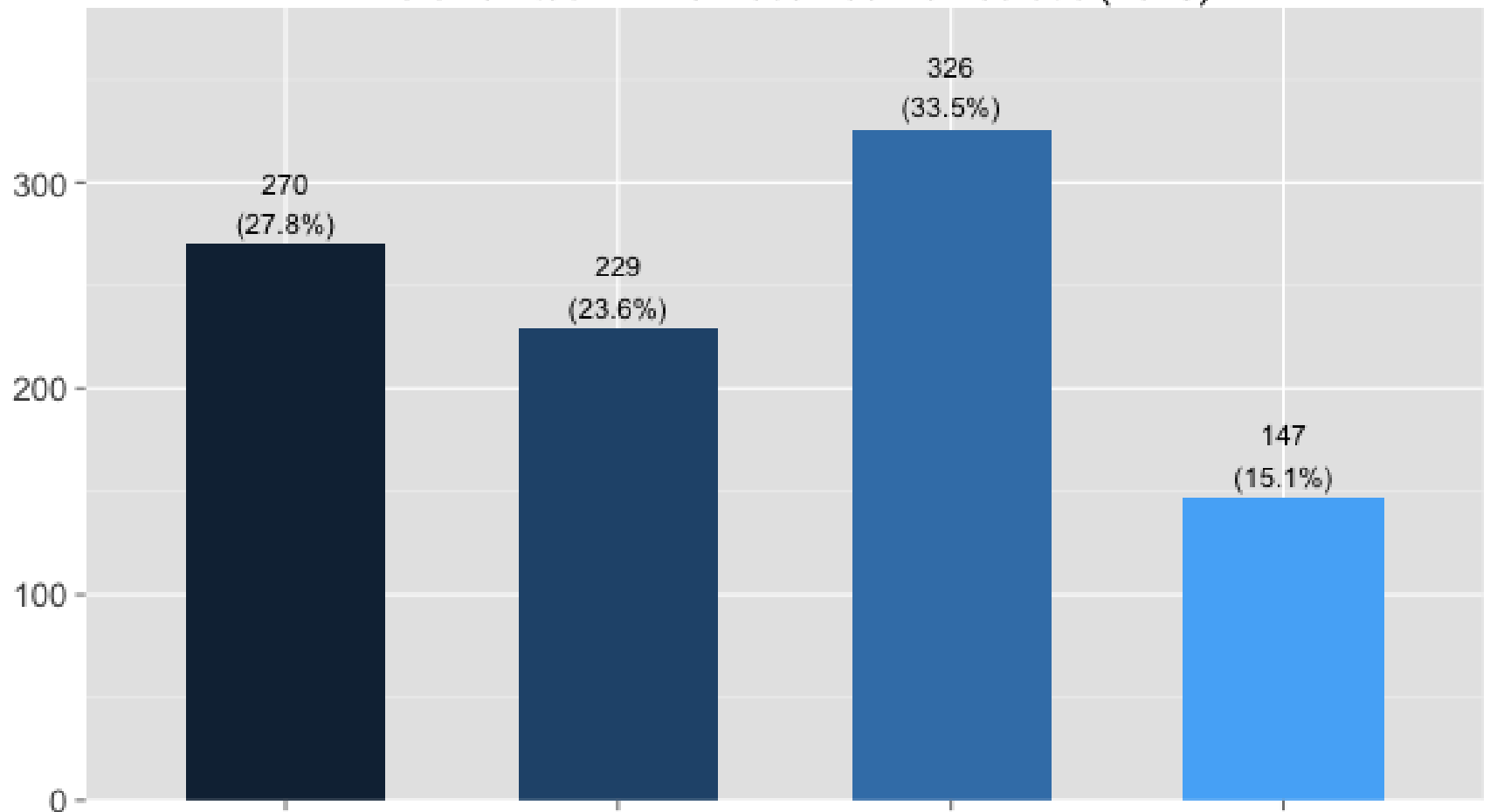
## Taiwanese should establish own country (2013)



Hong-Kong and Shang-Hai are foriegn cities (2013)

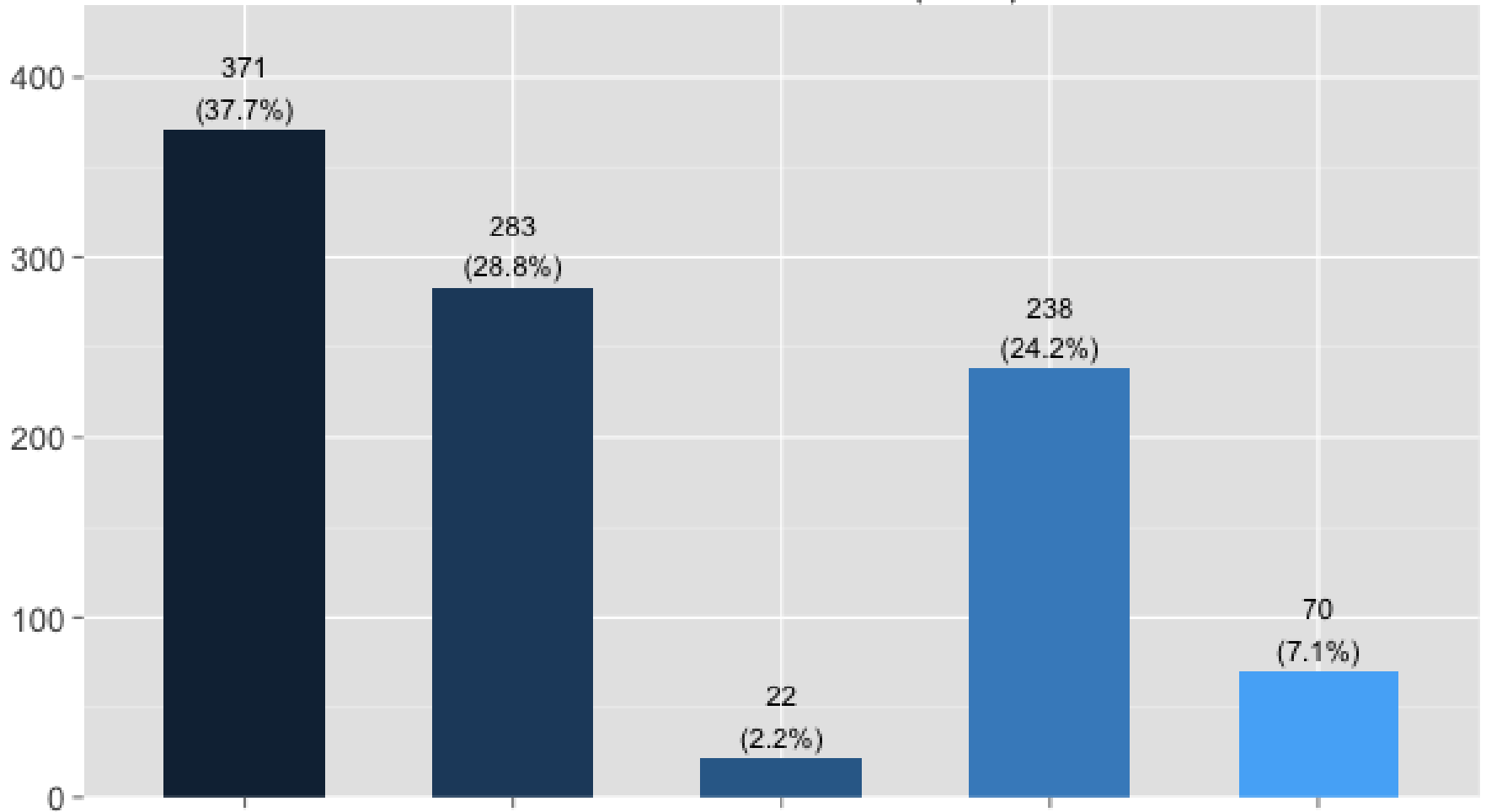


### Prefer United if PRC Becomes Democratic (2013)

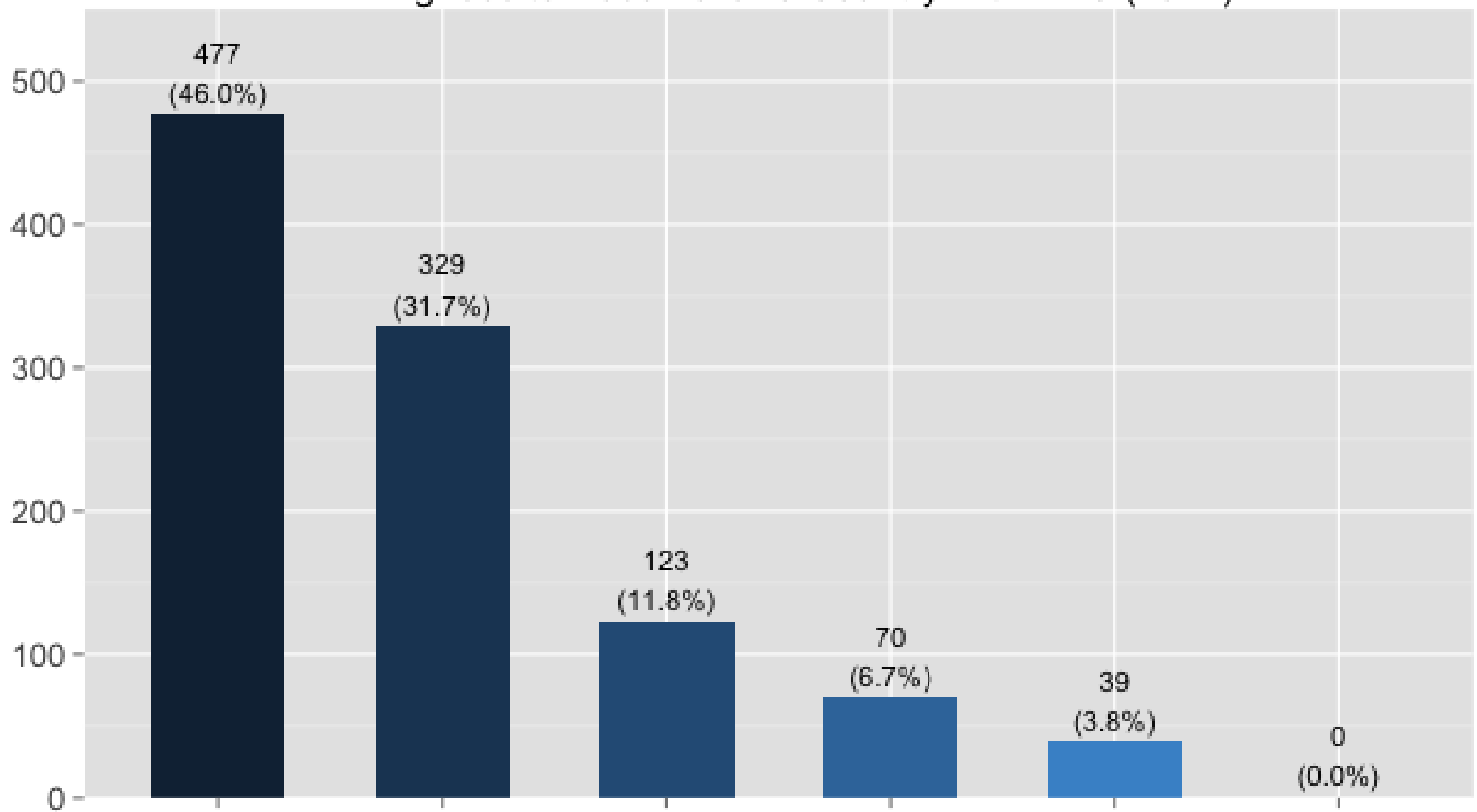




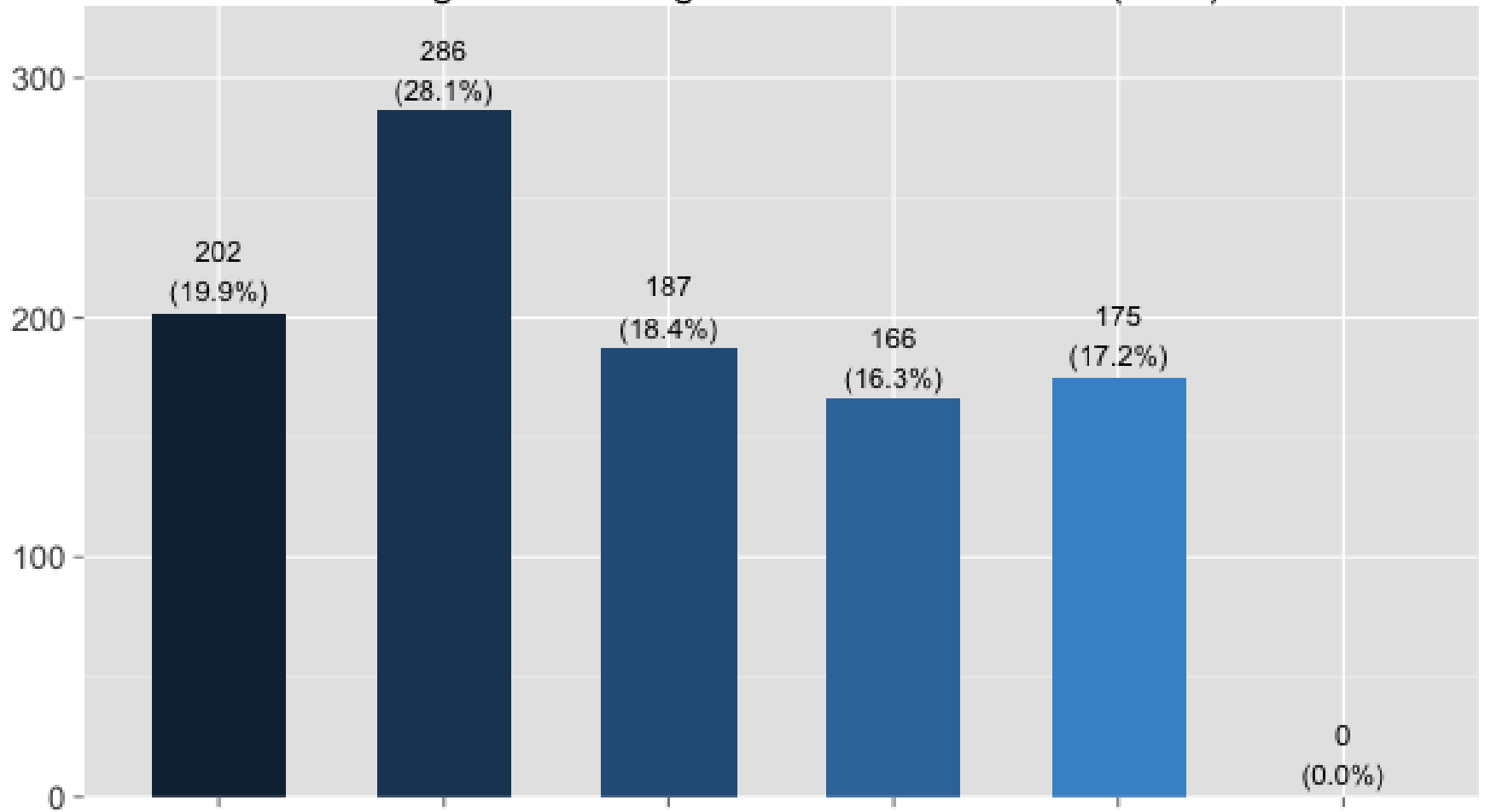
## Inevitable Unification (2013)



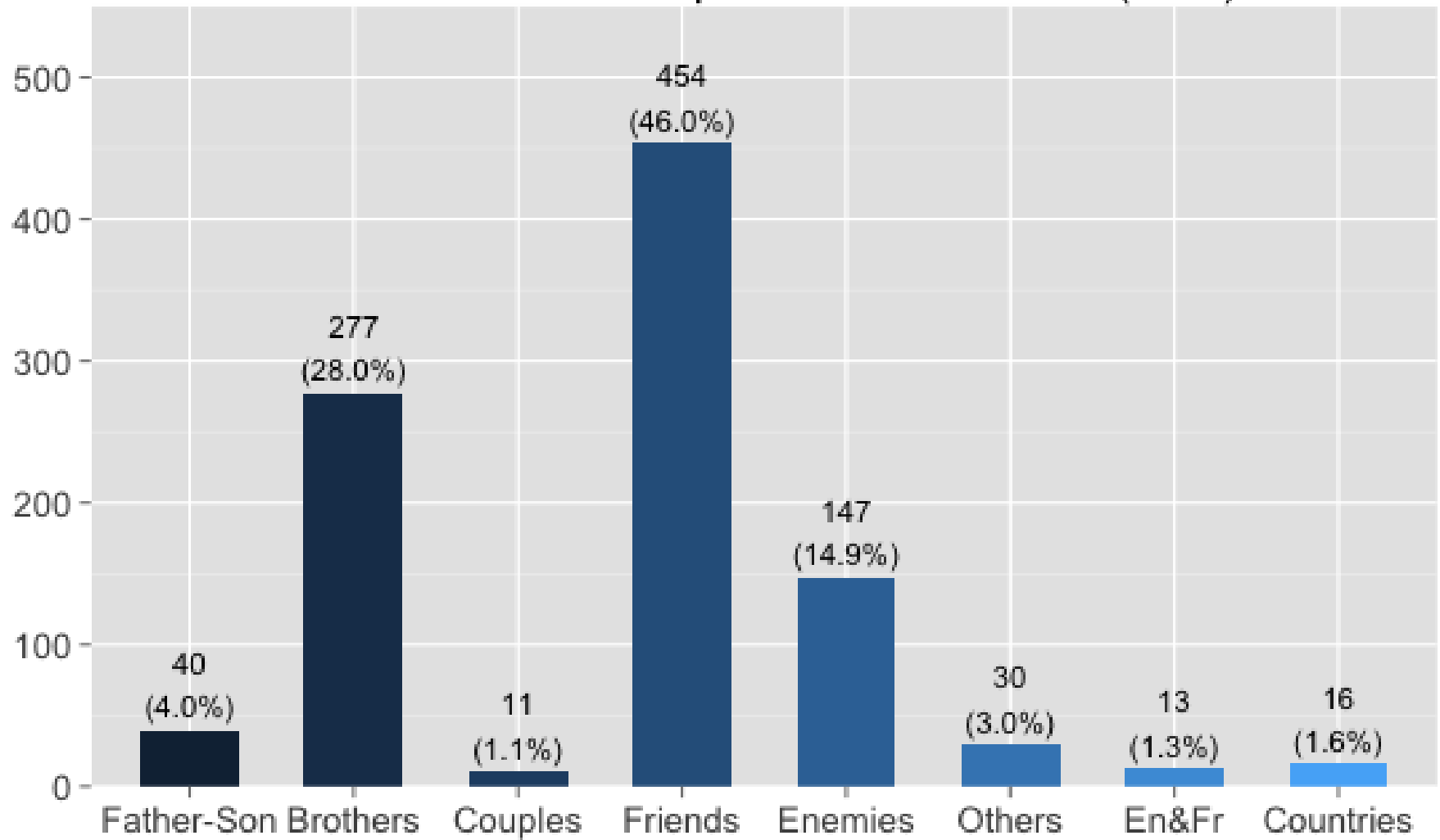
### Willingness to Become One Country with PRC (2014)



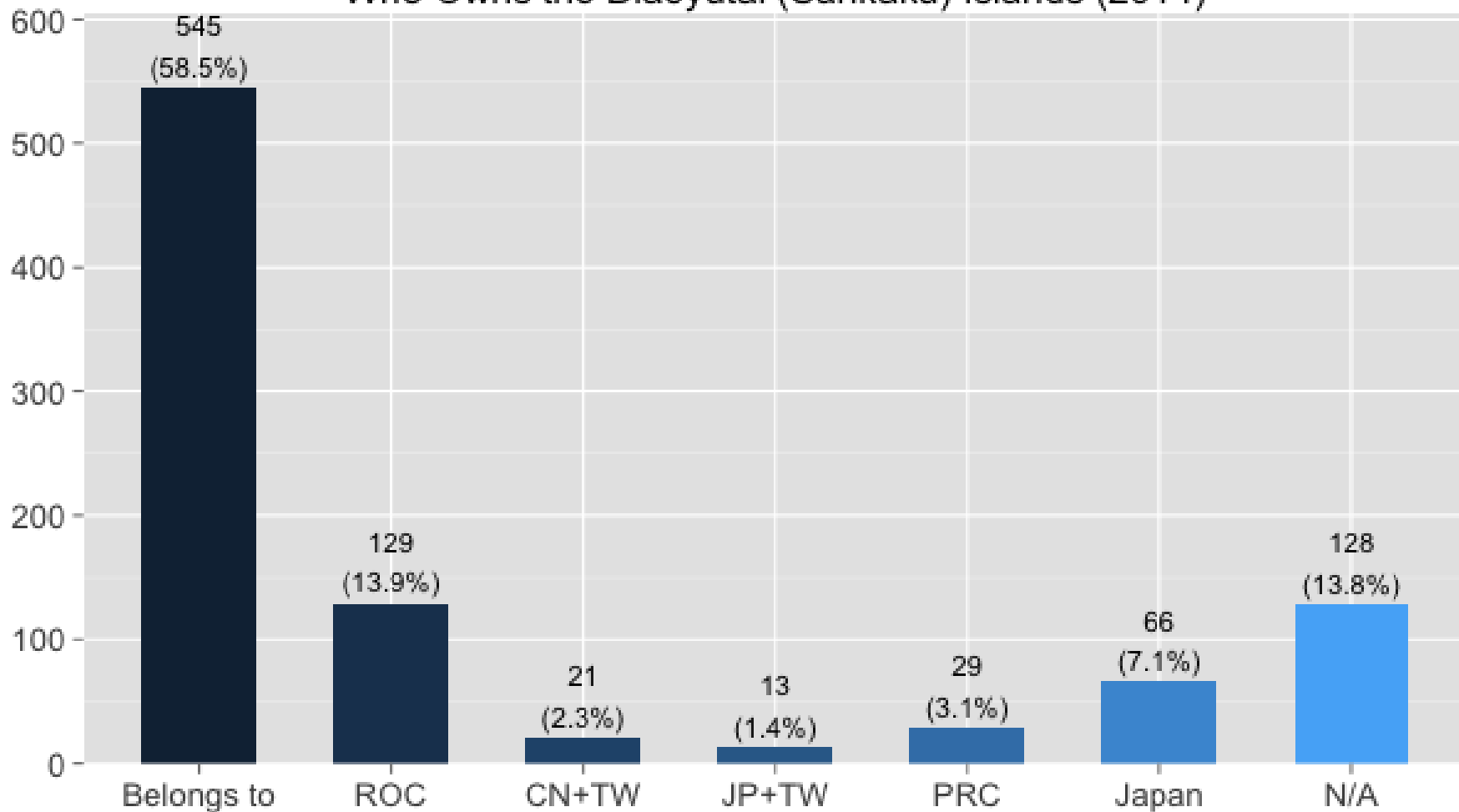
Willingness to change name ROC to Taiwan (2014)



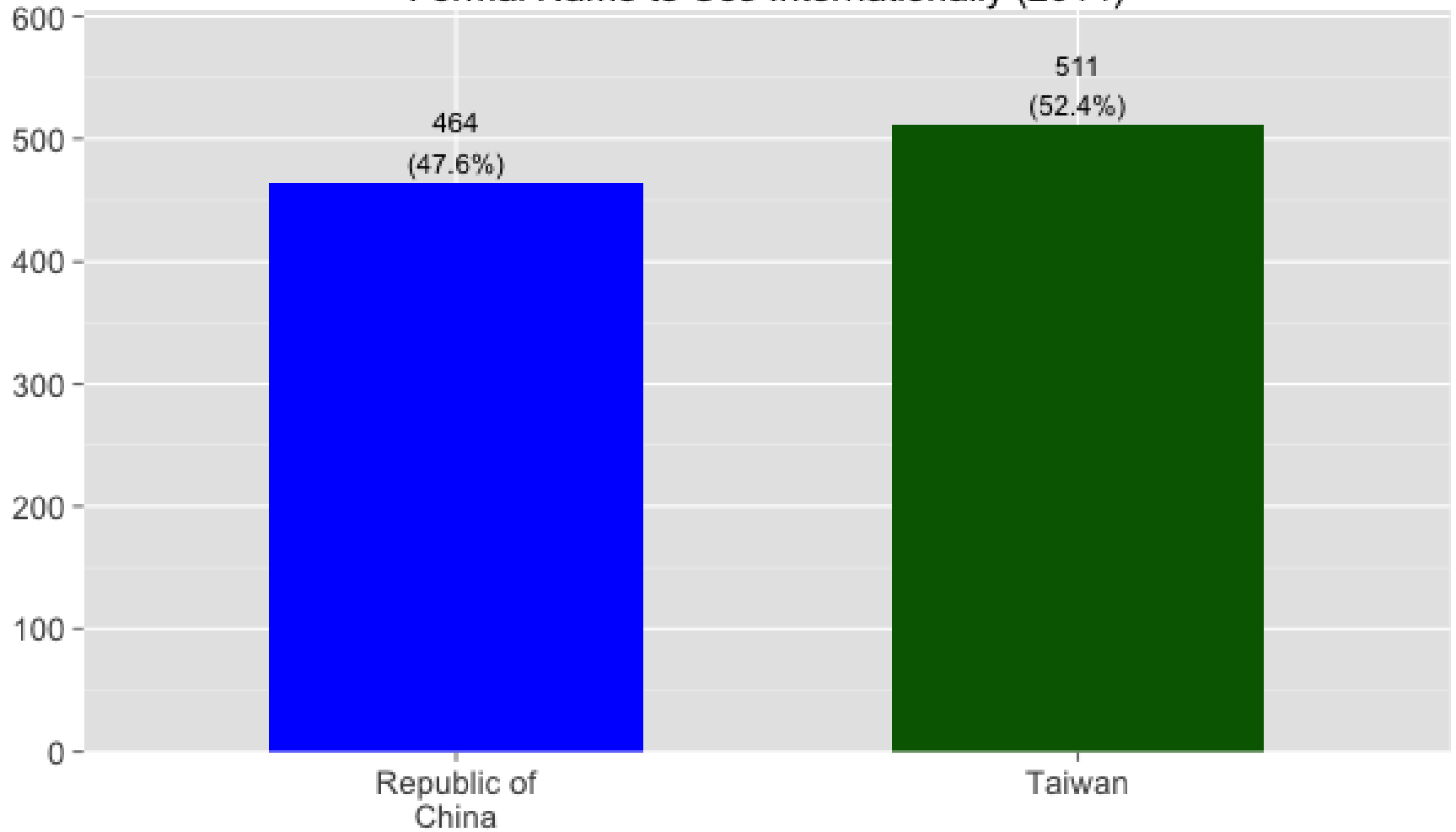
## Perceived Relationship with Mainland China (2014)



## Who Owns the Diaoyutai (Sankaku) Islands (2014)



### Formal Name to Use Internationally (2014)



# Models

- One's preference about Unification and Independence is a function of
  - Country Identification +
  - Pan-National Identification +
  - National Identification +
  - Cultural Identification +
  - Civil Identification +
  - Party Identification +
  - Generation + China Experiences + Gender

# Measurement of Country Identification

- 2013:
  - Some people say that our country's name is Taiwan. Do you agree?
  - Some people say that our country's name is Republic of China (*Zhonghuaminguo*). Do you agree?
  - Some people say that we should be proud of being a citizen of Republic of China. Do you agree?
  - Some people say that Taiwanese should establish own country. Do you agree?
  - Some people say that Hong-Kong and Shang-Hai are foreign cities. Do you agree?
  
- 2014:
  - Do you hope that one day ROC changes its name to Taiwan or Republic of Taiwan?
  - Do you hope that Taiwan and the mainland China become one country?



# Measurement of Pan-National Identification

- 2013:
  - Some people say that Taiwanese and Chinese in mainland China belong to the same nation (*minzu*). Do you agree?
  - Some people say that Hong Kongers and Chinese in mainland China belong to the same nation (*minzu*). Do you agree?
  - Some people say that people in mainland China are our compatriots/fellows. Do you agree?
- 2014: (N/A)

# Measurement of National Identification

- 2013:
  - Some call themselves Taiwanese, some Chinese and some both. What about you?
- 2014:
  - Some people say they are Taiwanese, some say Chinese, and some say both. What about you?

# Measurement of Culture Identification

- 2013:
  - Some people say that our culture is authentic/orthodox Chinese culture. Do you agree?
- 2014: (N/A)

# Measurement of Civil Identification

- 2013:
  - Some people said that our democracy is better than the mainland China's political system. Do you agree?
  
- 2014:
  - Do you believe that our democracy and freedom can change the mainland China?

# Measurement of Unification Preference

- 2013:
  - If both China's and Taiwan's political system are democratic, do you like to see the unification of Taiwan and China?
  - Some people say that the two sides of the Strait ultimately will be come one country. Do you agree?
- 2014:
  - Do you hope that Taiwan and the mainland China become one country?

# Measurement of Generations

- 1<sup>st</sup> generation (born by 1931)
- 2<sup>nd</sup> generation (born 1932 ~ 1953)
- 3<sup>rd</sup> generation (born 1954 ~ 1968)
- 4<sup>th</sup> generation (born 1969 ~ 1978)
- 5<sup>th</sup> generation (born 1979 ~ 1988)
- 6<sup>th</sup> generation (born 1989 ~ 1993)

# Myths (1/2)

- Country identification with ROC positively influences one's attitudes toward future unification with the mainland China.
- Chinese national identity positively influence attitudes toward unification
- Culture identification positively influences one's preference for unification.

# Myths (2/2)

- Culture identification positively influences the formation of dual national identity
- KMT supporters imagine about a greater China
- DPP supporters seek creating a new country
- Prejudice about the superiority of democracy enhances one's national identification with Taiwanese.



# Hypotheses Indirectly Supported

- Strong country identification with Taiwan (Republic) negatively influences one's attitudes toward unification with China.
- Prejudice about the superiority of democracy makes Taiwanese people to distinguish themselves from the mainland China.
- Confidence in democracy increase one's willingness to negotiate with China.
- Senior generations are more attached to the great China concept.
- Younger generations are likely to be Taiwan nationalists.
  - Not supported in the unification models in Table 6, but it is indirectly supported in Table 2 where the 5<sup>th</sup> generation prefer creating own country)

# Hypotheses Supported

- Pan-national identification positively influence attitudes toward unification
- Taiwan national identity negatively influence attitudes toward unification
- Culture identification positively influences one's acceptance of Hong Kong.
- Younger generations are alienated from the great China concept. (indirectly supported in Table 5 where the 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, and 6<sup>th</sup> generations see the mainland China as enemy).

# Summary of the Patterns

- national identification and country identification are the core driving force of opinions about unification with the mainland China. Generation gaps regarding attitudes toward the mainland China exists.
- Attitudes toward Taiwan's democracy also matters in one's attitudes toward unification—prejudice leads to independence (but not to nationalism) while confidence leads to cooperation.
- However, one should be aware that (1) identifying with ROC and Chinese are not linked to attitudes toward unification; (2) dual national identification is not influenced by (Chinese) cultural identification (but by country identification and pan-national identification). (3) KMT supporters are not necessary pro-unification and DPP supporters cannot be labeled as new country creators (or “separatists”).

# Conclusion

- Taiwanese people's public opinion about mainland China policies is driven by national and country identification.
- Rejection to unification has been a political consensus.
- But two sensitive issues require inspection in future opinion studies:
  - What to do with ROC?
  - going independent from ROC or abandoning ROC?

# Discussion

- Legitimacy of ROC in Taiwan
  - ROC the last greatest common denominator?
- Democratic Prejudice vs. Democratic confidence
- The Low Approval Rate of President Ma Ying-Jeou
- Future Studies:
  - Perception about the roles of the U.S. and PRC

# Limits of This Study & Future

- Inconsistency of the variable sets between the 2013 and 2014 datasets
- The high missing rate of party identification variable.
- SEM



# Students Protest against ECFA



NYT 2014.3.30



# Thank You

- For details about the analysis and a copy of this presentation, please feel free to contact Cheng-shan (Frank) Liu. [frankcsliu@berkeley.com](mailto:frankcsliu@berkeley.com)

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