



Becoming One China or
Creating a New Country?

Taiwan Voters'
Political Identification Profile

Frank Cheng-shan Liu

May 10, 2019 @ KU Leuven

Course Lecture for “China and Global Politics”







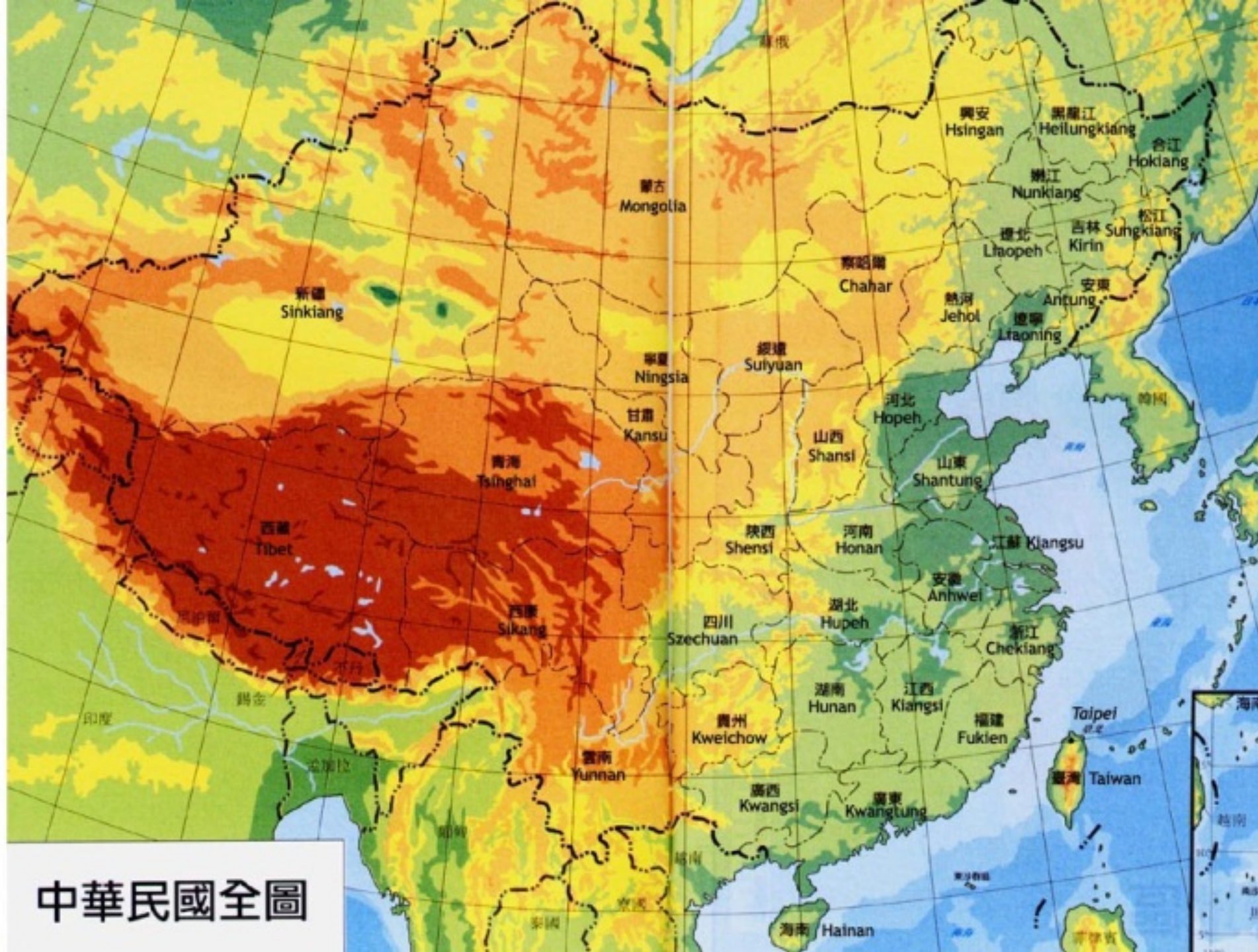
Today's talk
can be
politically
sensitive.

"Please feel free to leave or
put on your earphone."



Outline

- **Brief History about Taiwan Identity Politics**
- Updated the Profile of Taiwanese Identity Politics
- Myths and Prospective
- Discussion



中華民國全圖



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UNCHARTED STRAIT

The Future of China-Taiwan Relations



RICHARD C. BUSH

Copyrighted Material

The one-China policy

The great obfuscation of one-China

The polite fiction that there is only one China has kept the peace in East Asia—but now it is coming under pressure from all directions



TWO CHINAS !?

- “Who” Owns the Flag? Whose Flag?

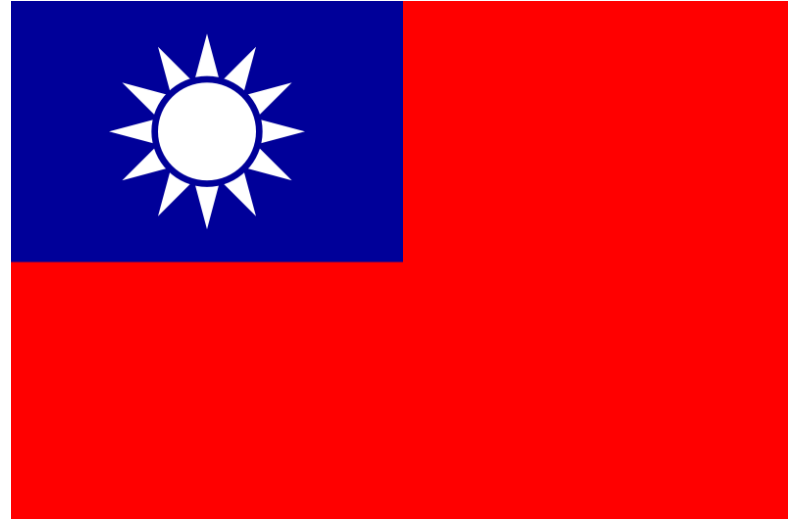




KMT and ROC



- Kuomintang / Chinese Nationalist Party
- Founded in 1884 by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen

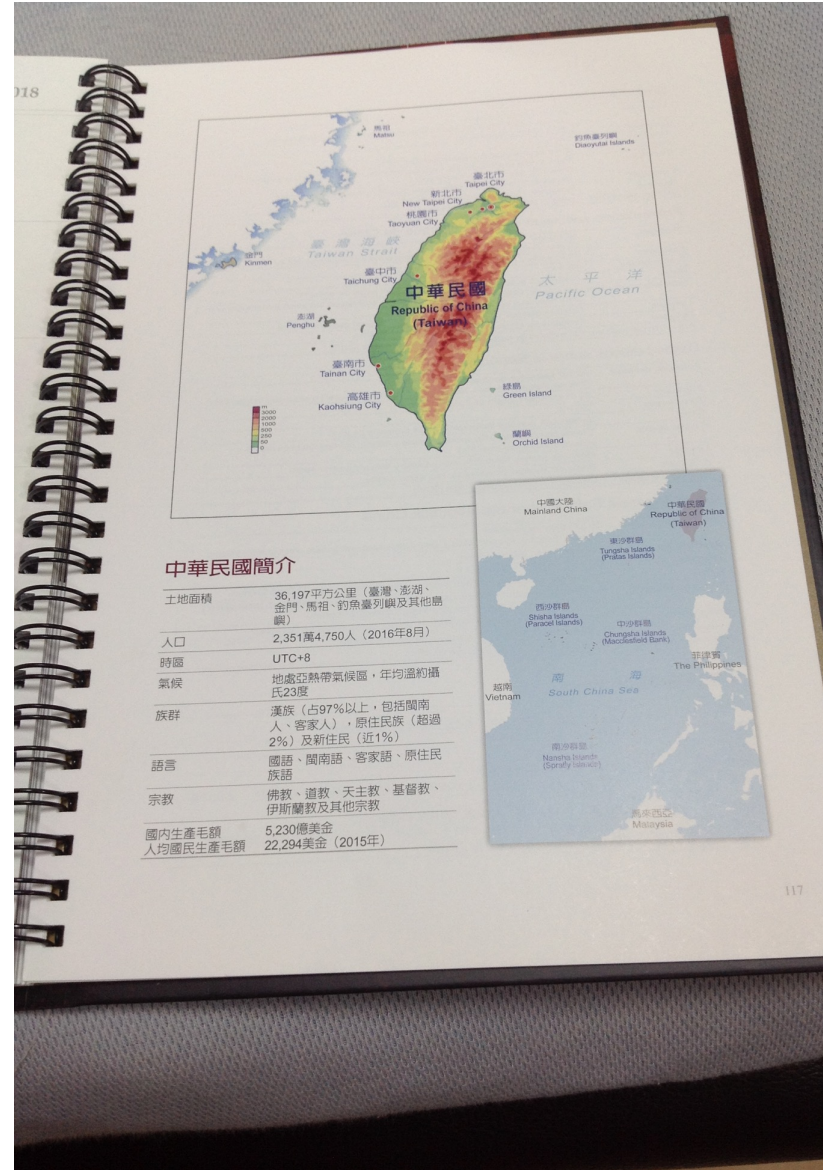














Free China Magazine



- Free China” Magazine (1949.11~ 1960)
- From supporting Chiang to opposing Chiang
- 1954 – Lei-Zhen 雷震
- 1960 – the failure of “China Democratic Party”
- Cultivated democratic movement in the 1970s.



1979. 12. 9 A rally for the World Human Right Day.

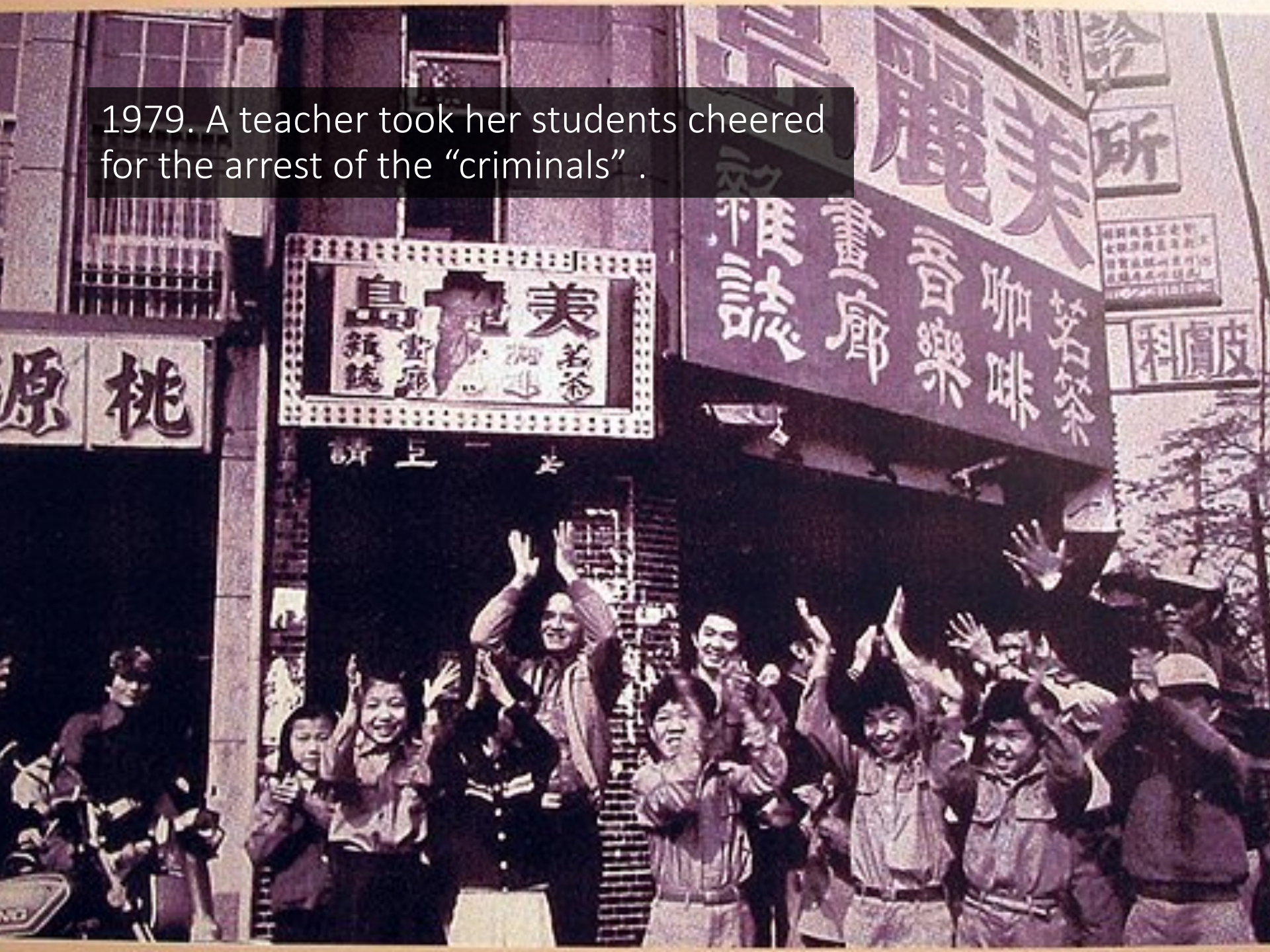


高雄事件中，警察受命強行取締引起衝突



1979.12.13 Kaohsiung

1979. A teacher took her students cheered for the arrest of the “criminals” .





租

絕品地段
三角窗透天
四層附電梯

波隆那

156

濟民中醫診所

惠仁醫院

人壽 90890

日寶保險

堅持
只為高飛!

世界
從此不凡





1986.10.7 C.C.K revealed to Mrs. Katherine Graham (Washington Post) that ROC is going to uplift the martial law.



The March Movement and Its Statue of Spirit



李登輝與蔣經國



左：1990年李登輝與民進黨主席黃信介在探討民主憲政改革的“國是會議”握手

Taiwan's Political Parties

- **2008.8.12 Taiwan Communist Party** registered as the 141st political party
- There are now **214** valid registered parties by 2019.5.
<https://party.moi.gov.tw/pgms/politics/party!list.action>
- Two political camps: Pan-Blue and Pan-Green



民主進步黨第一代黨徽
(1986年—2008年)



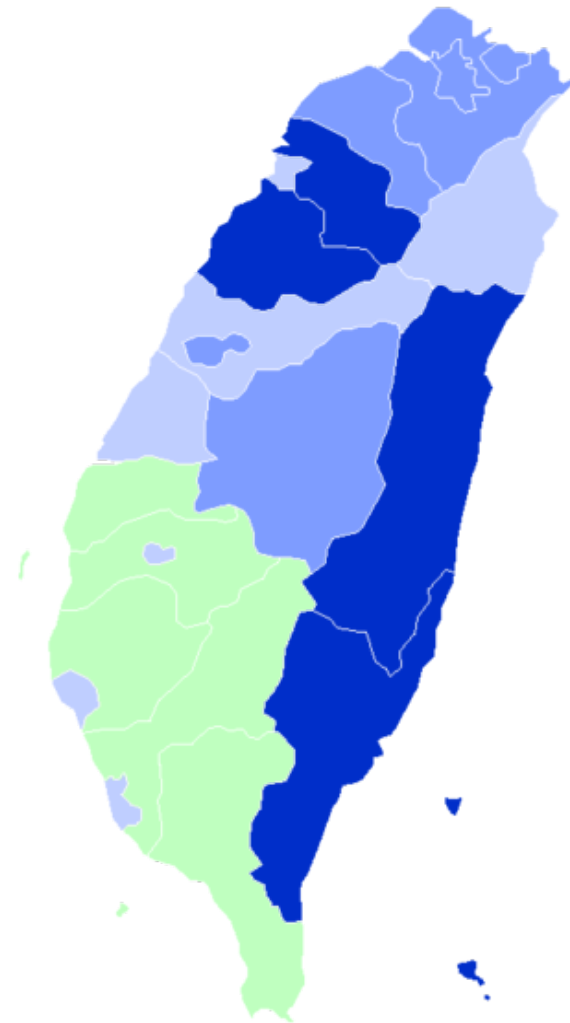
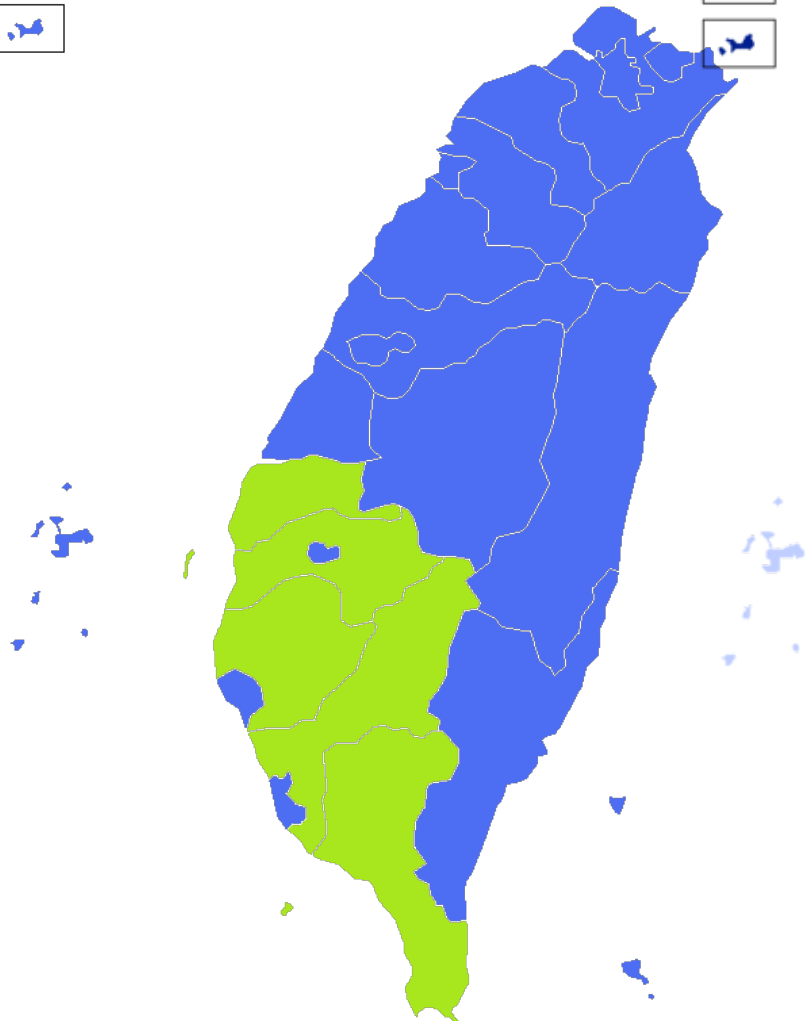
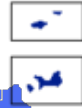
民主進步黨第二代黨徽
(2008年—迄今)



建國黨



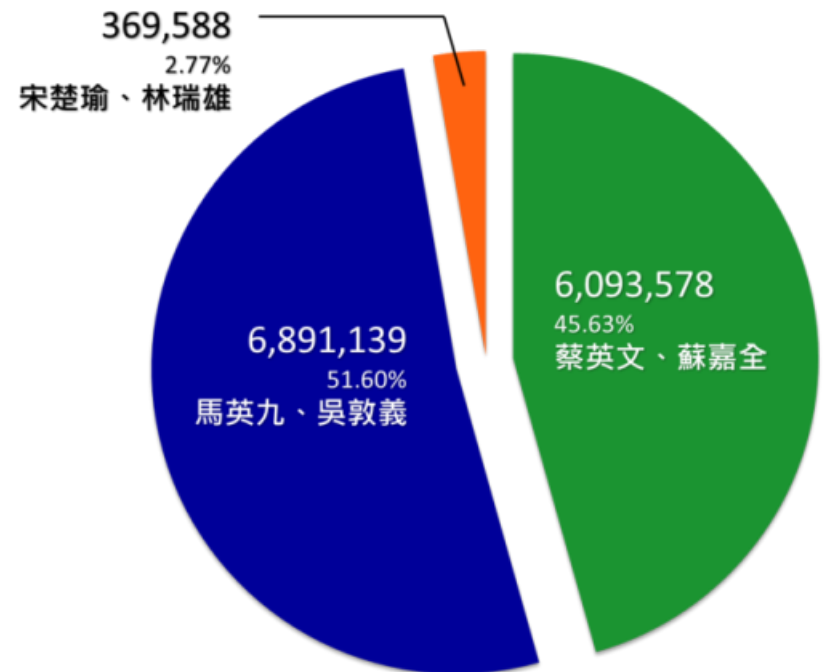
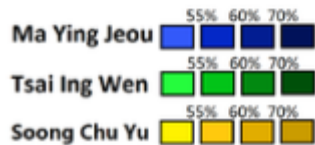
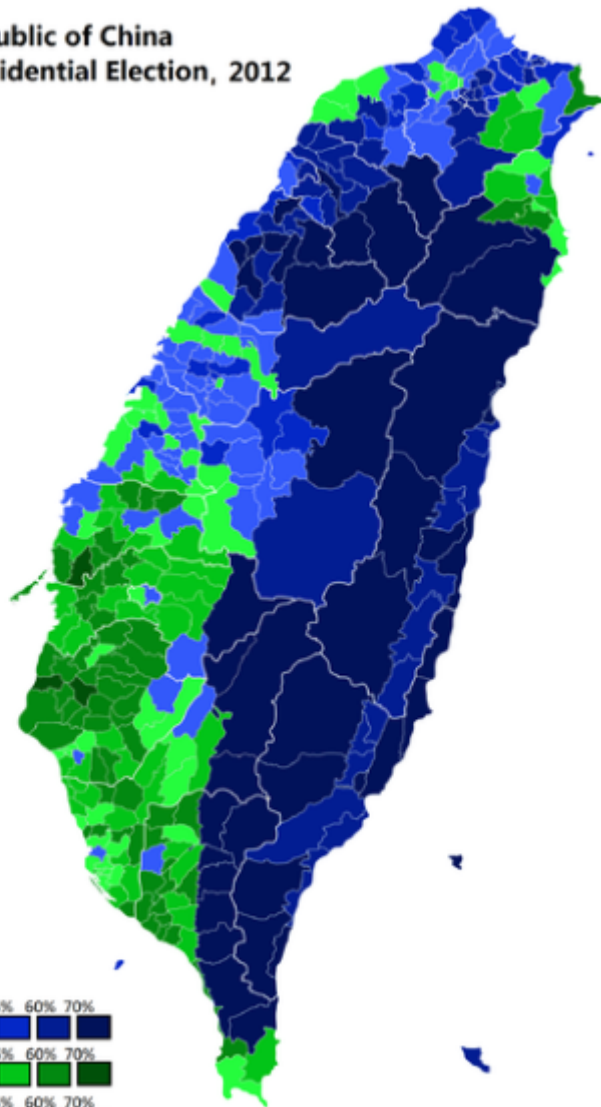
2008 Presidential Election



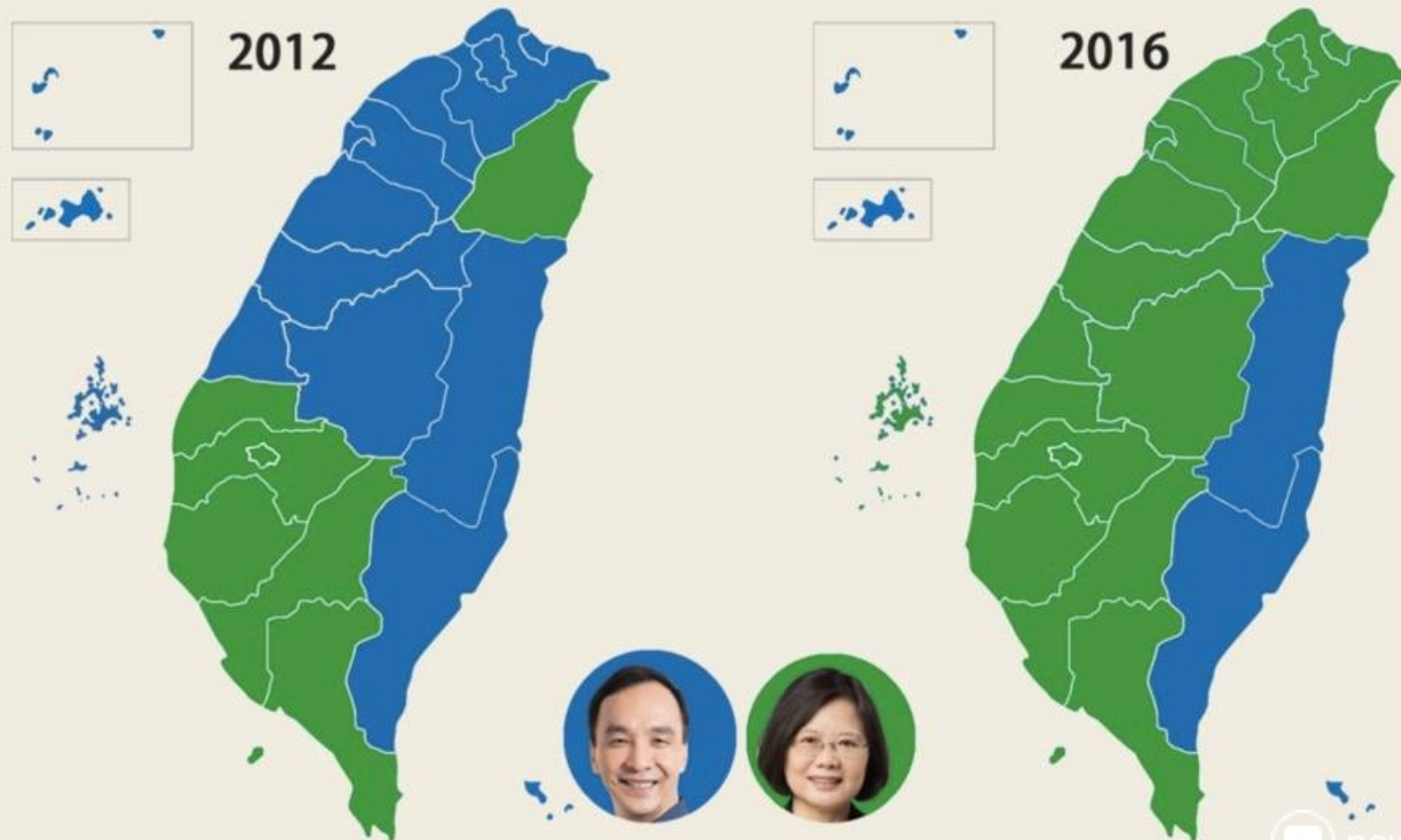
2012 Presidential Election



Republic of China
Presidential Election, 2012



2016總統大選政黨版圖變化

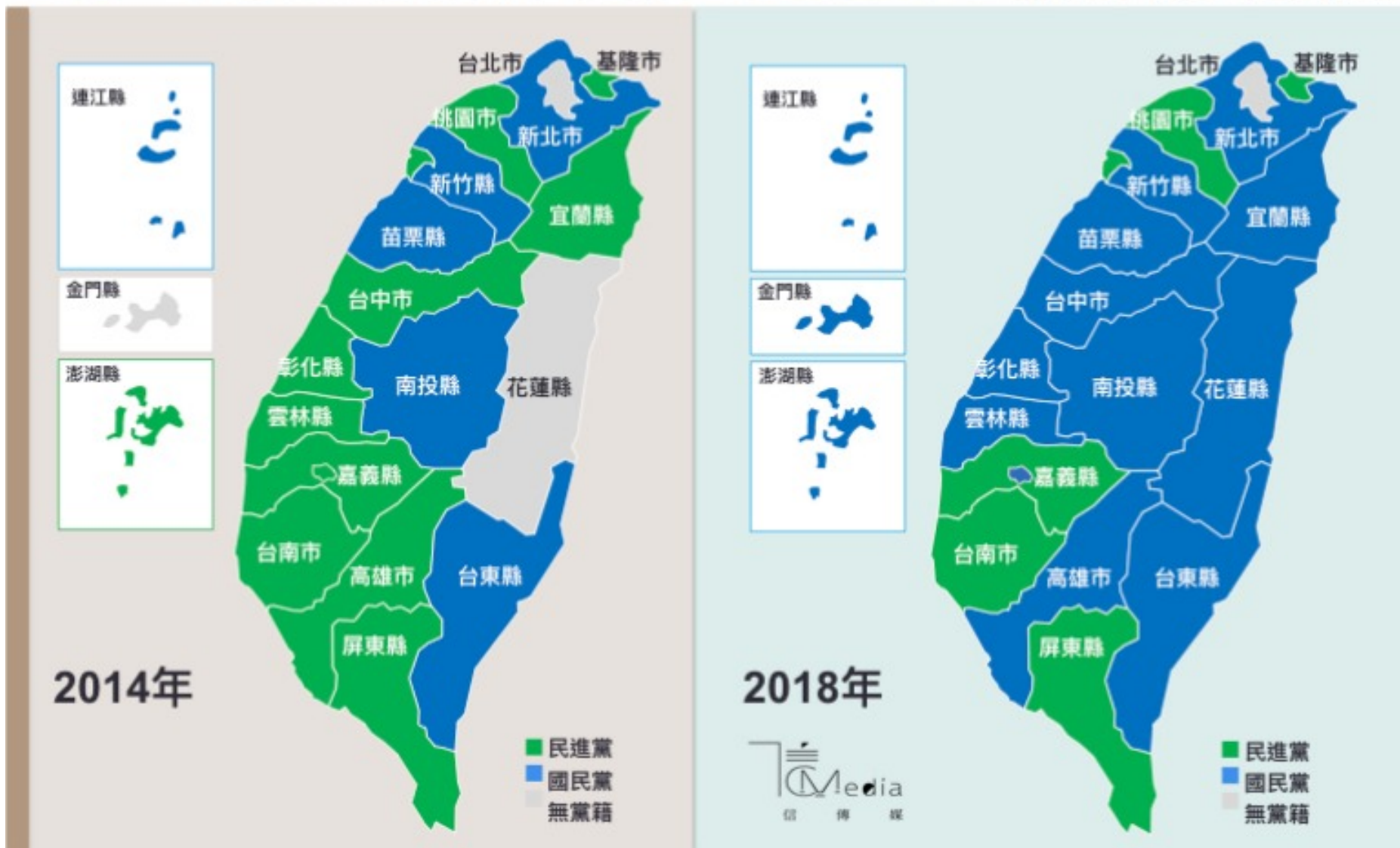


2000-2016總統大選政黨得票數

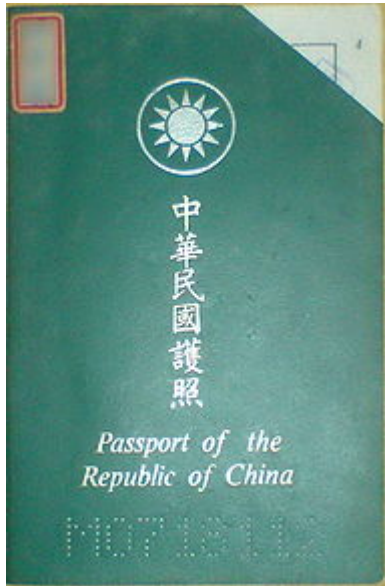


九合一選舉前後政治版圖變化- 綠地變藍天

資料來源 | 中選會、製圖 | 郭怡君



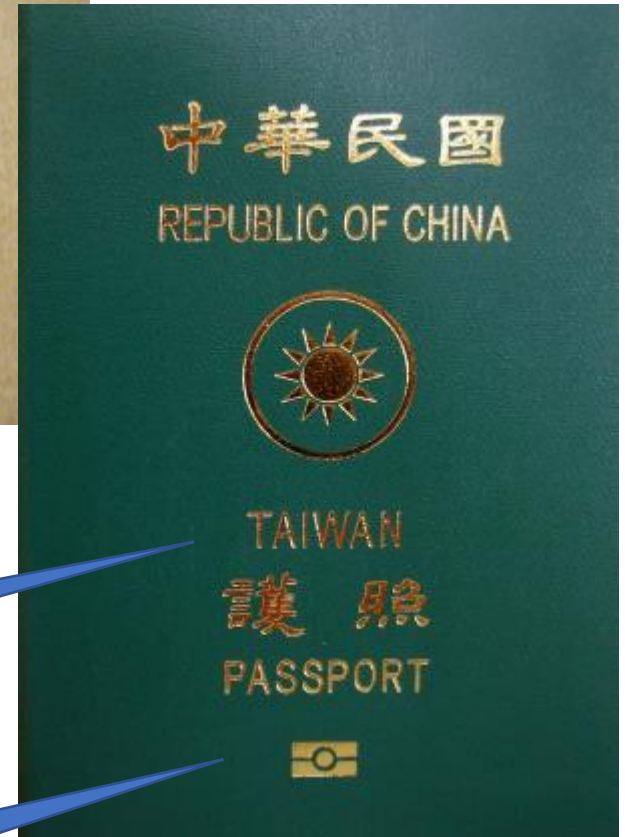
<https://www.cmmedia.com.tw/home/articles/13011>



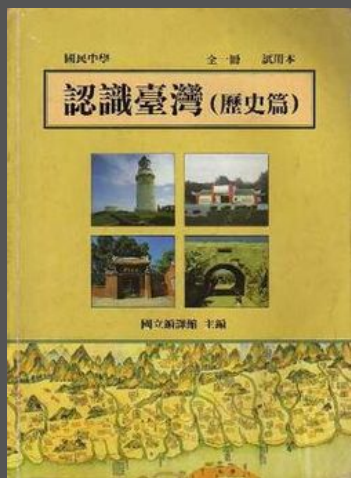
before 1983



1983 ~ 2003



Taiwan's textbook reform started in 1994, practiced in 1997, and established in 2006



兩岸歷史教科書的不同表述

人物/事件	中國大陸表述	台灣表述
鄭成功	民族英雄	建立台灣第一個漢人政權
太平天國運動	農民起義	動亂
抗日戰爭	中共是中流砥柱	共產黨趁機坐大
國共內戰起因	蔣介石不顧人民和平願望發動內戰	國共爭奪日軍受降地區
內戰中共勝利/國民黨失敗原因	毛澤東思想是重要原因	國民政府腐敗 中共獲蘇聯扶植
文化大革命	中共在探索中走了彎路	中國歷史上的 一場大災難
六四事件	沒有提及	中共派軍隊 鎮壓抗議群眾
美麗島事件/ 野百合學運	沒有提及	推動修憲 民主政治更加落實

翰林出版、康軒文教事業國中一、二年級，
資料來源：南一書局高中一、二年級歷史教科書，
人民教育出版社初中二年級，高中一、二年級歷史教科書

Outline

- Brief History about Taiwan Identity Politics
- Updated the Profile of Taiwanese Identity Politics
- Myths and Prospective
- Discussion

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 Taiwanese think about future? Do Taiwanese people as a whole remain the legitimate foundation of ROC on Taiwan?



Concepts and Definition

- State Identification (*guojia rentong*)
- National Identification (*minzu rentong*)
- Ethnic identification (*zuchun renton*)
- “Independence”
- “separationism”
- “unification” and “reunification”

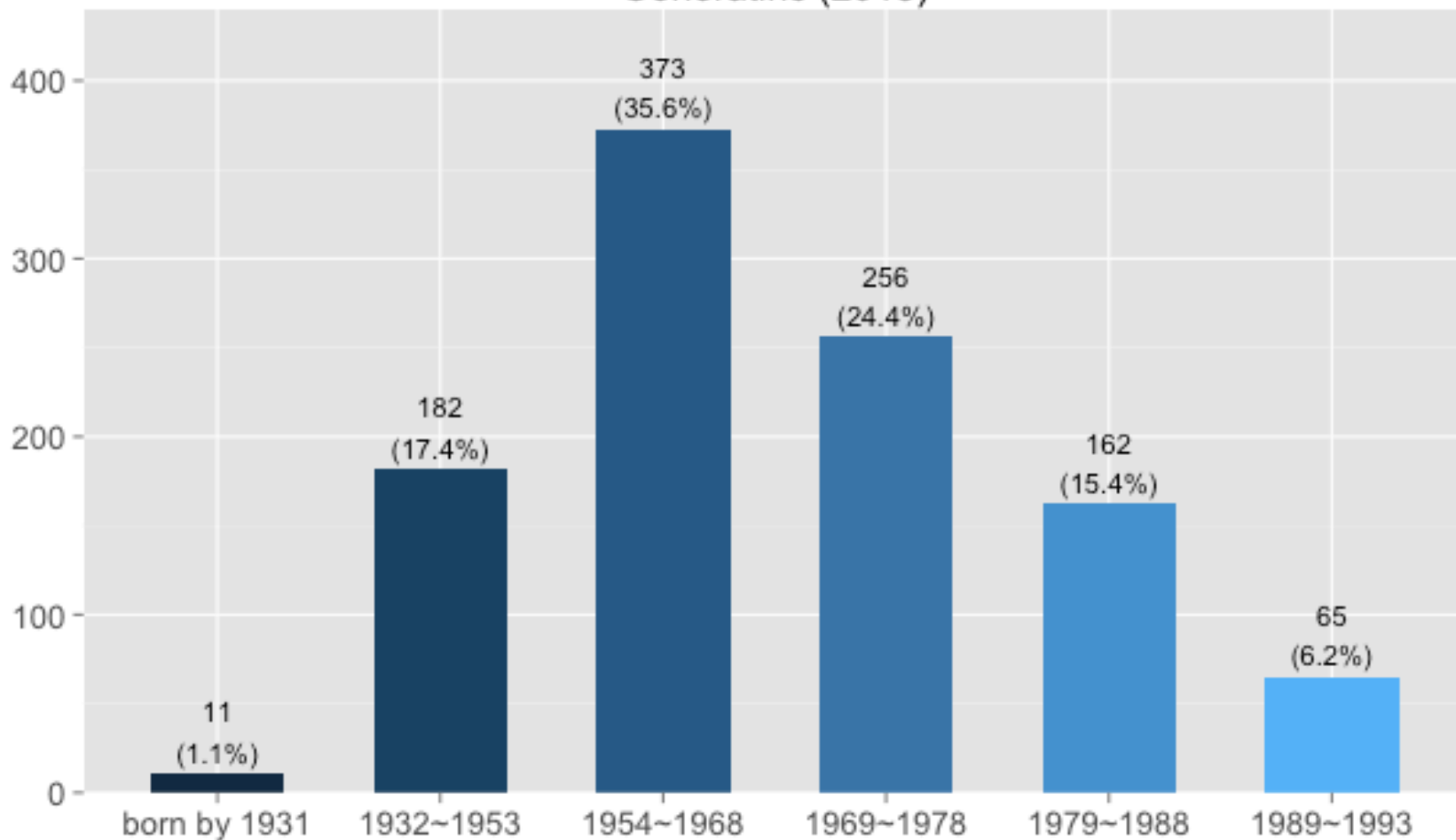
Data

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

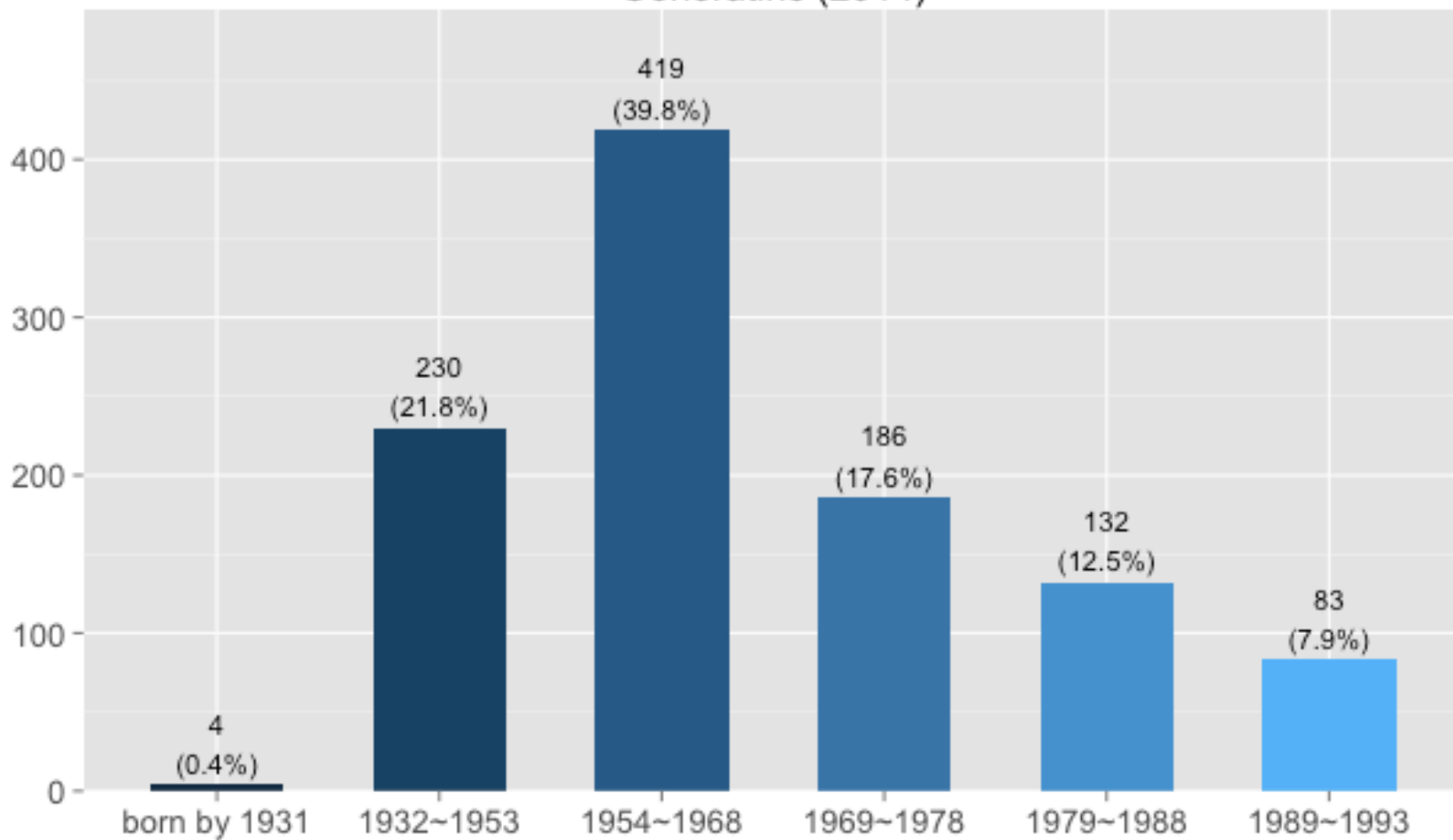
Measurement of Generations

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

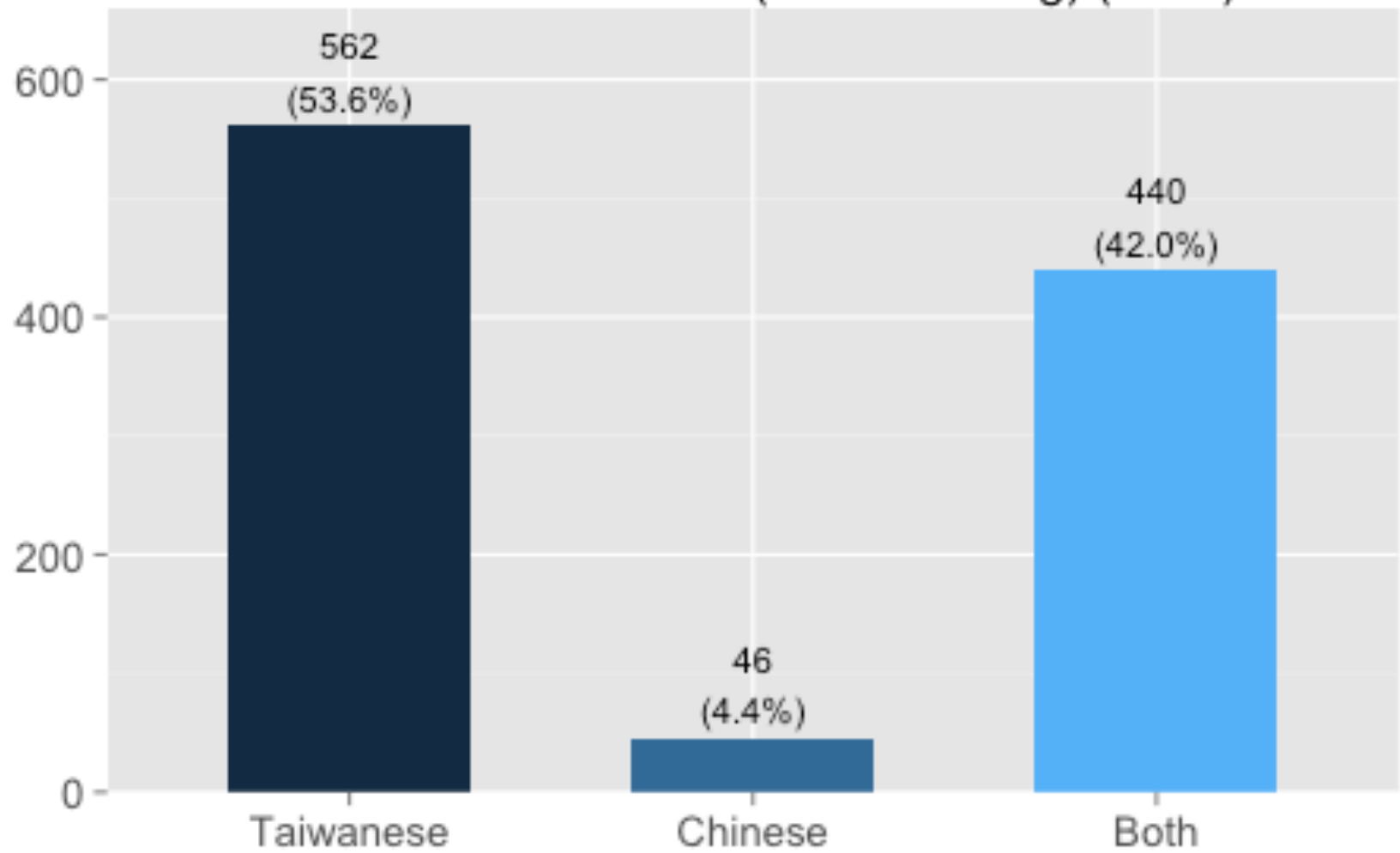
Generatins (2013)



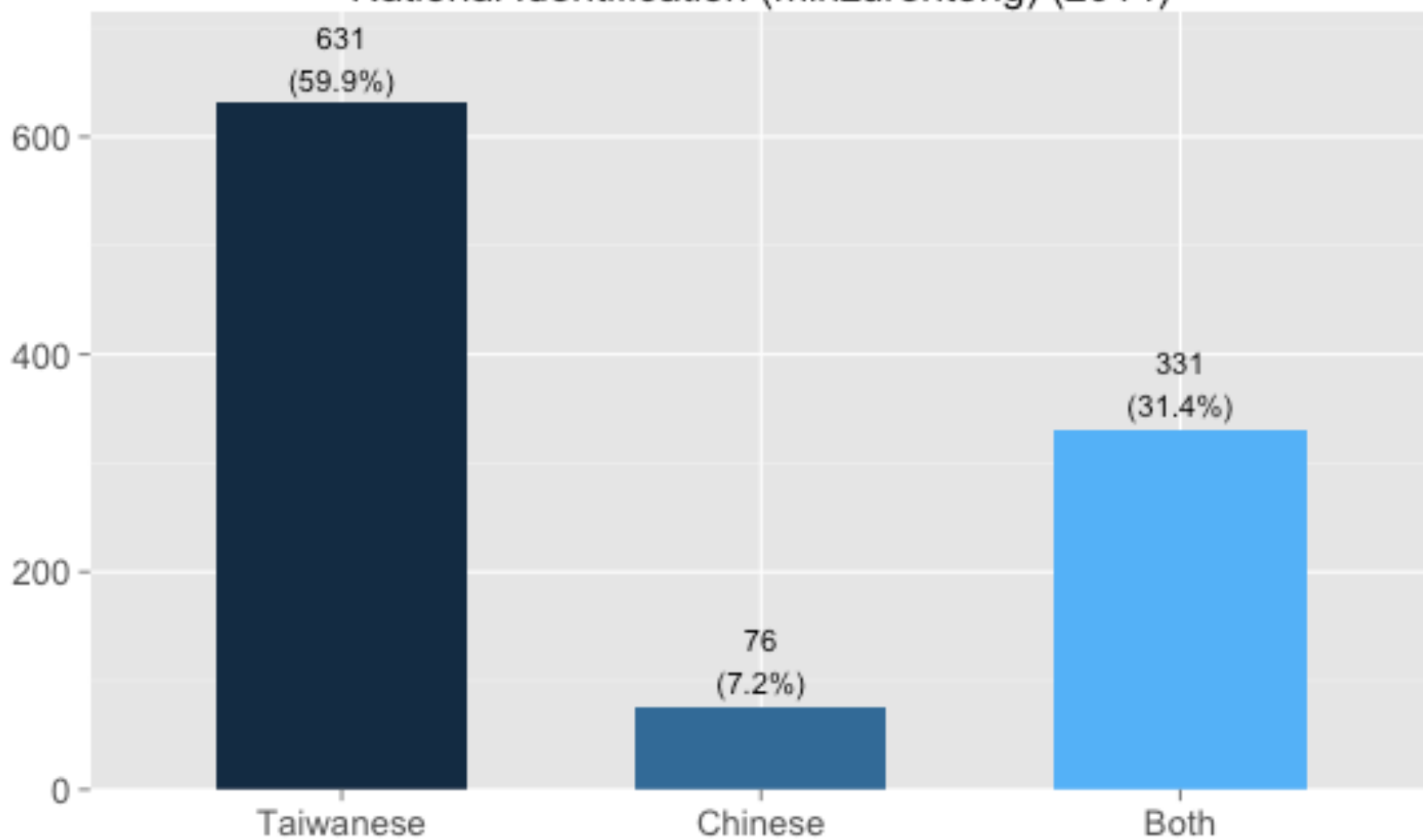
Generatins (2014)



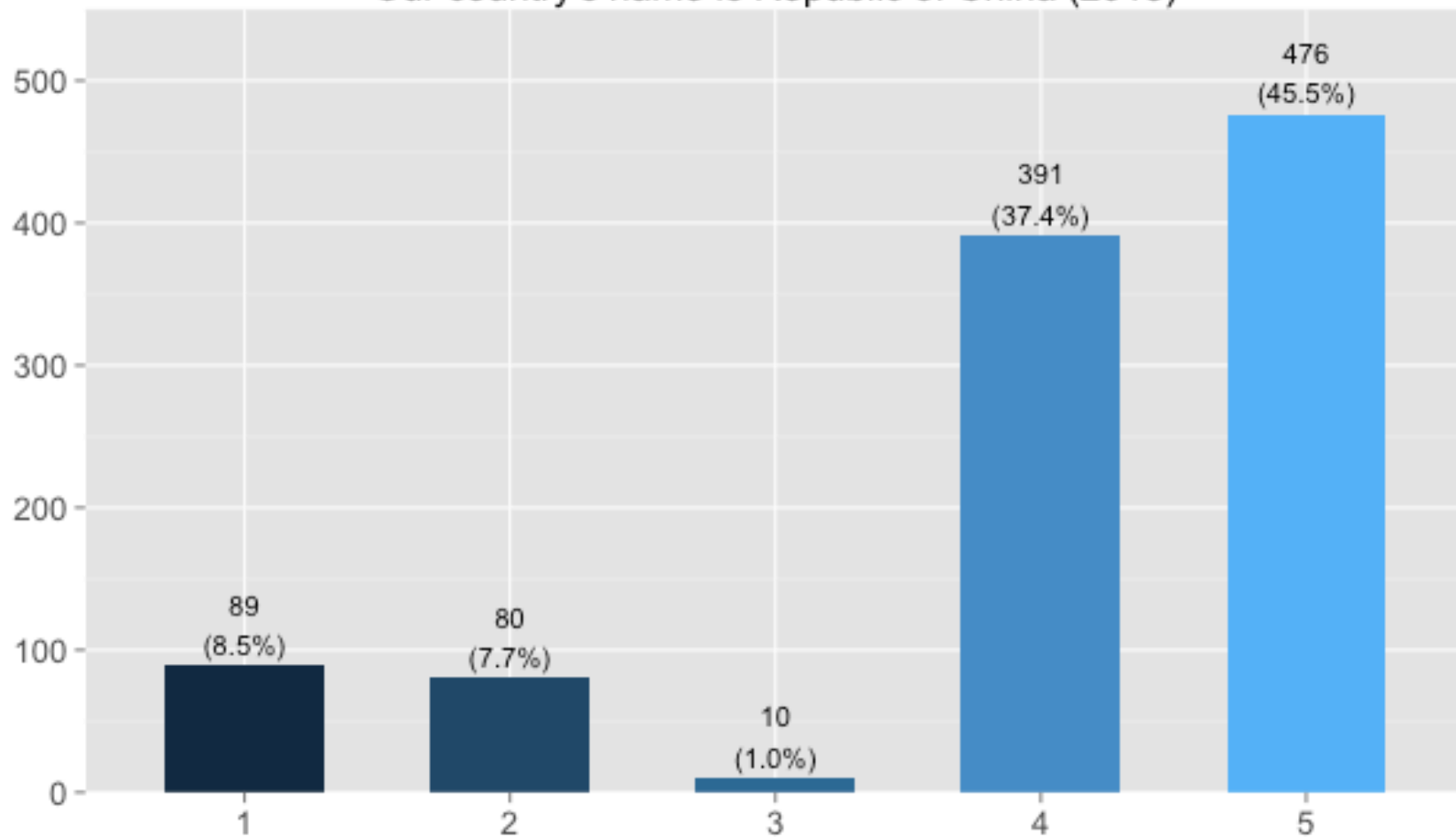
National Identification (minzurentong) (2013)



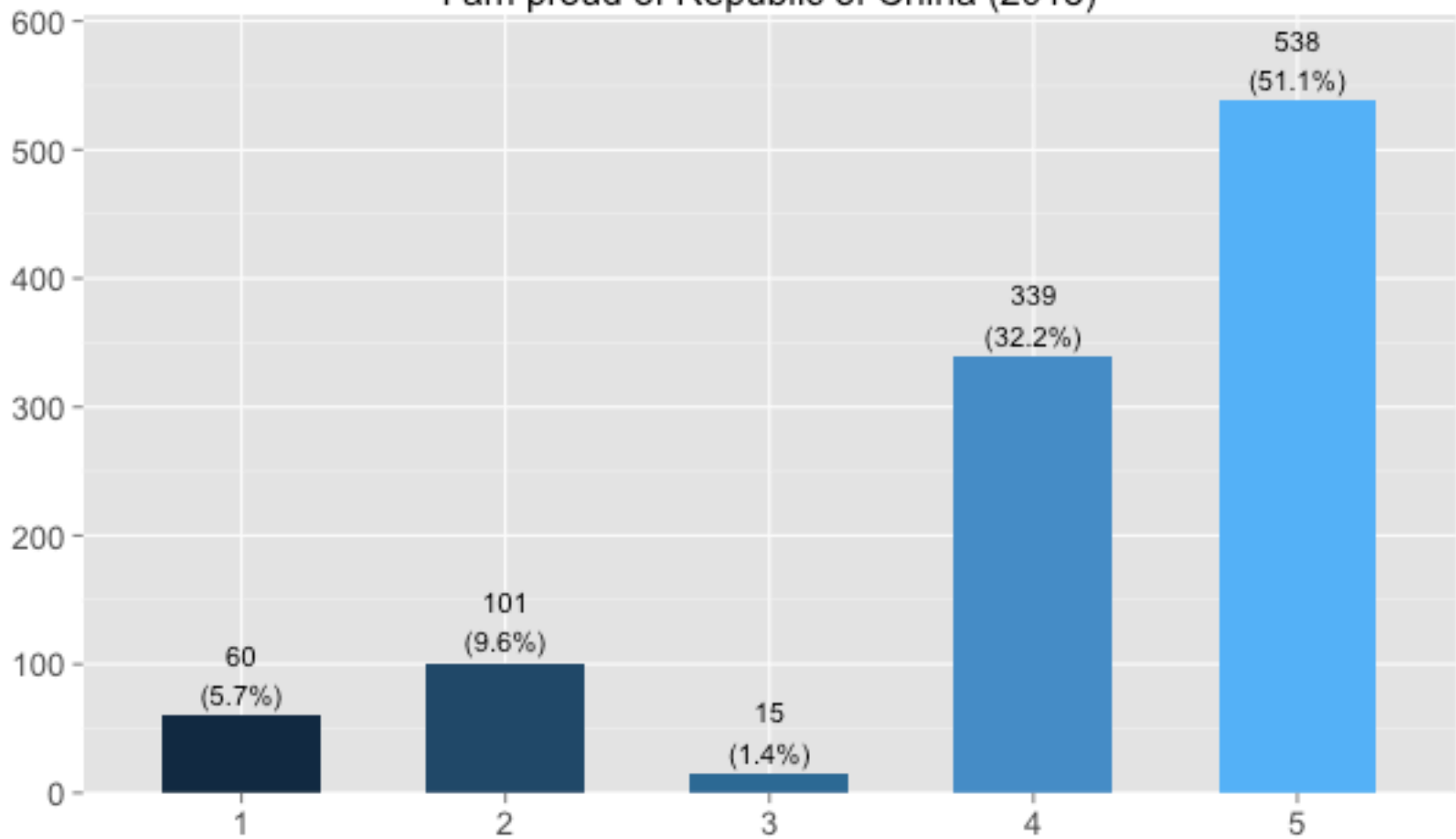
National Identification (minzurentong) (2014)



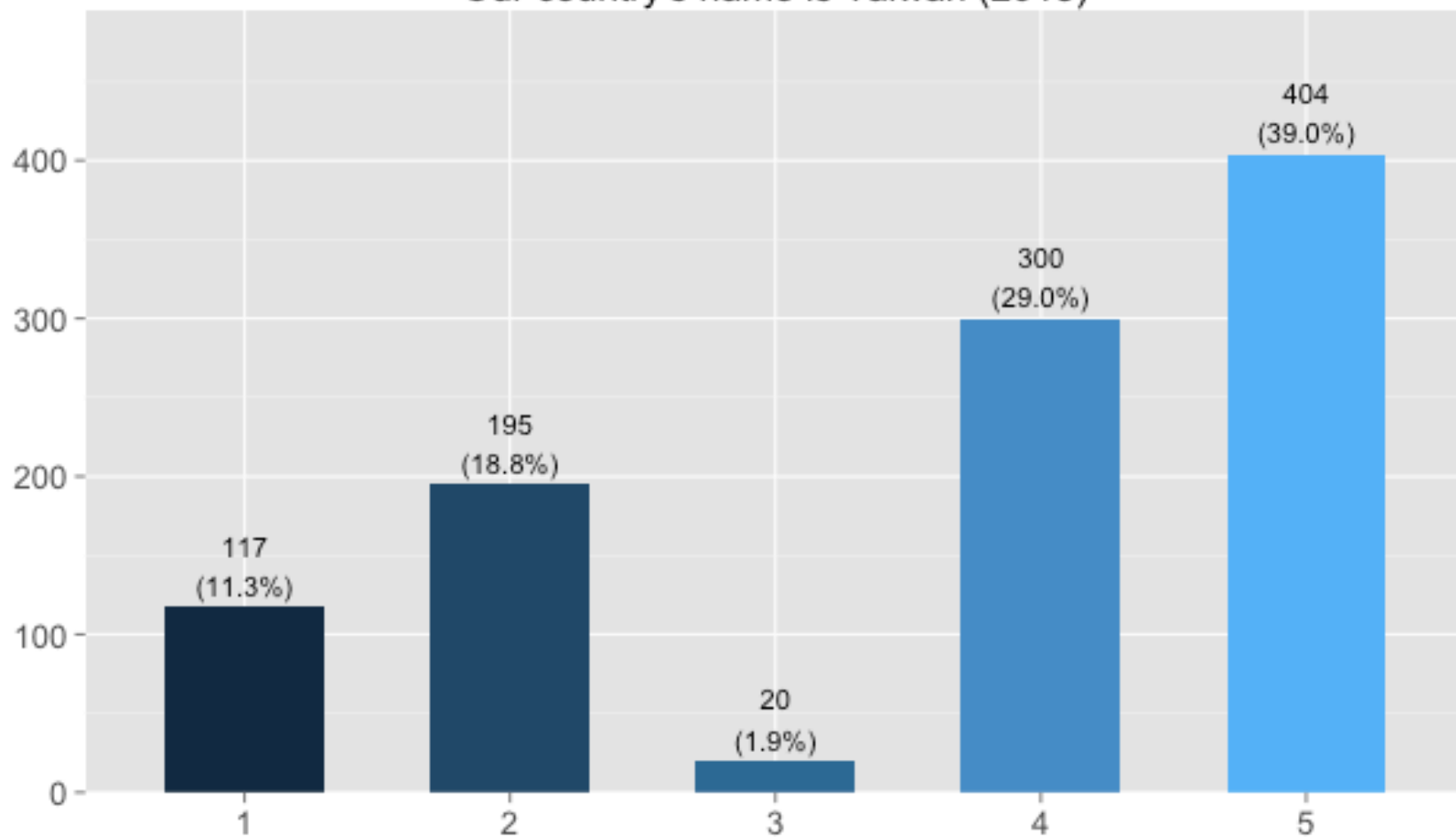
Our country's name is Republic of China (2013)



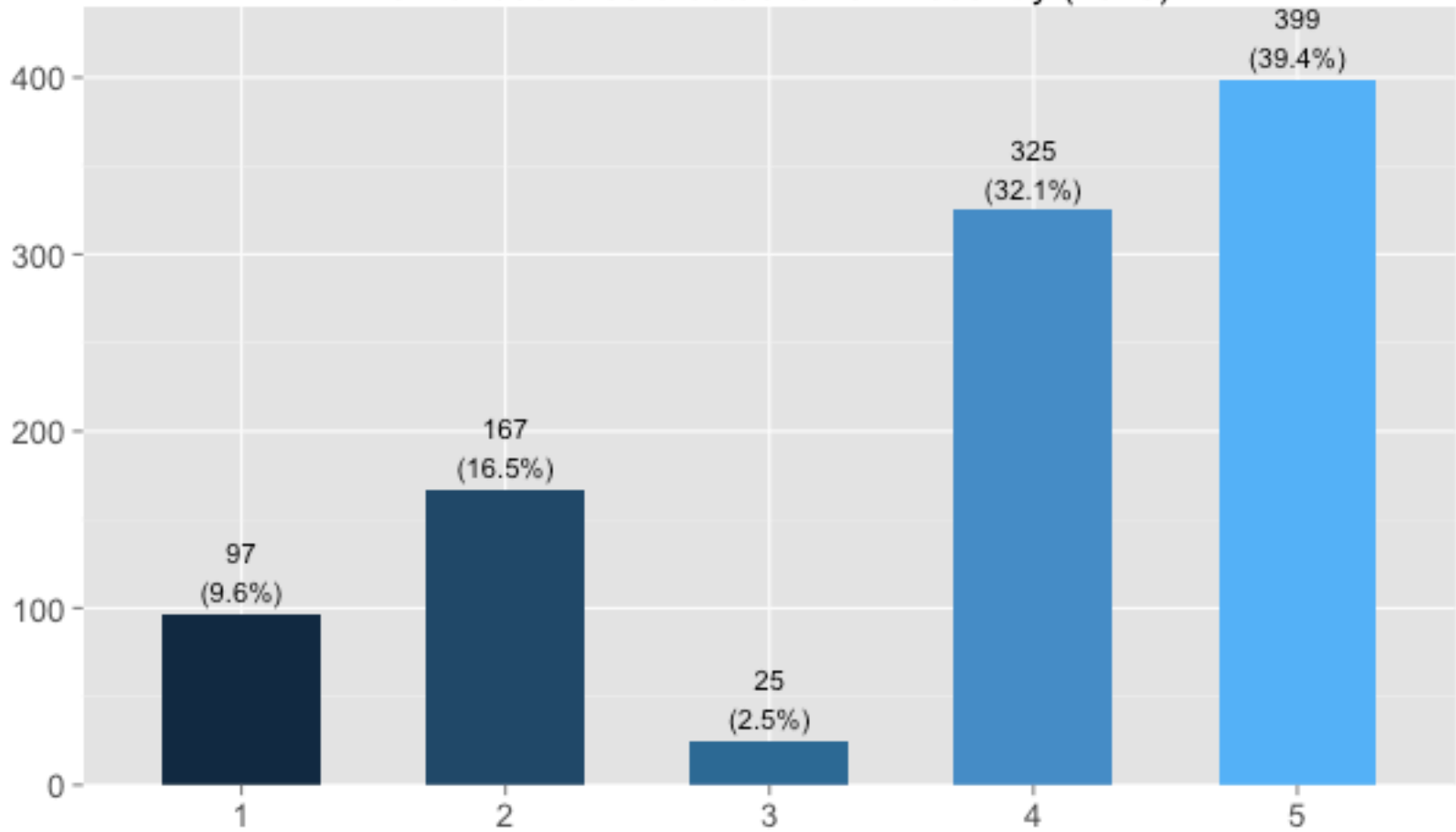
I am proud of Republic of China (2013)



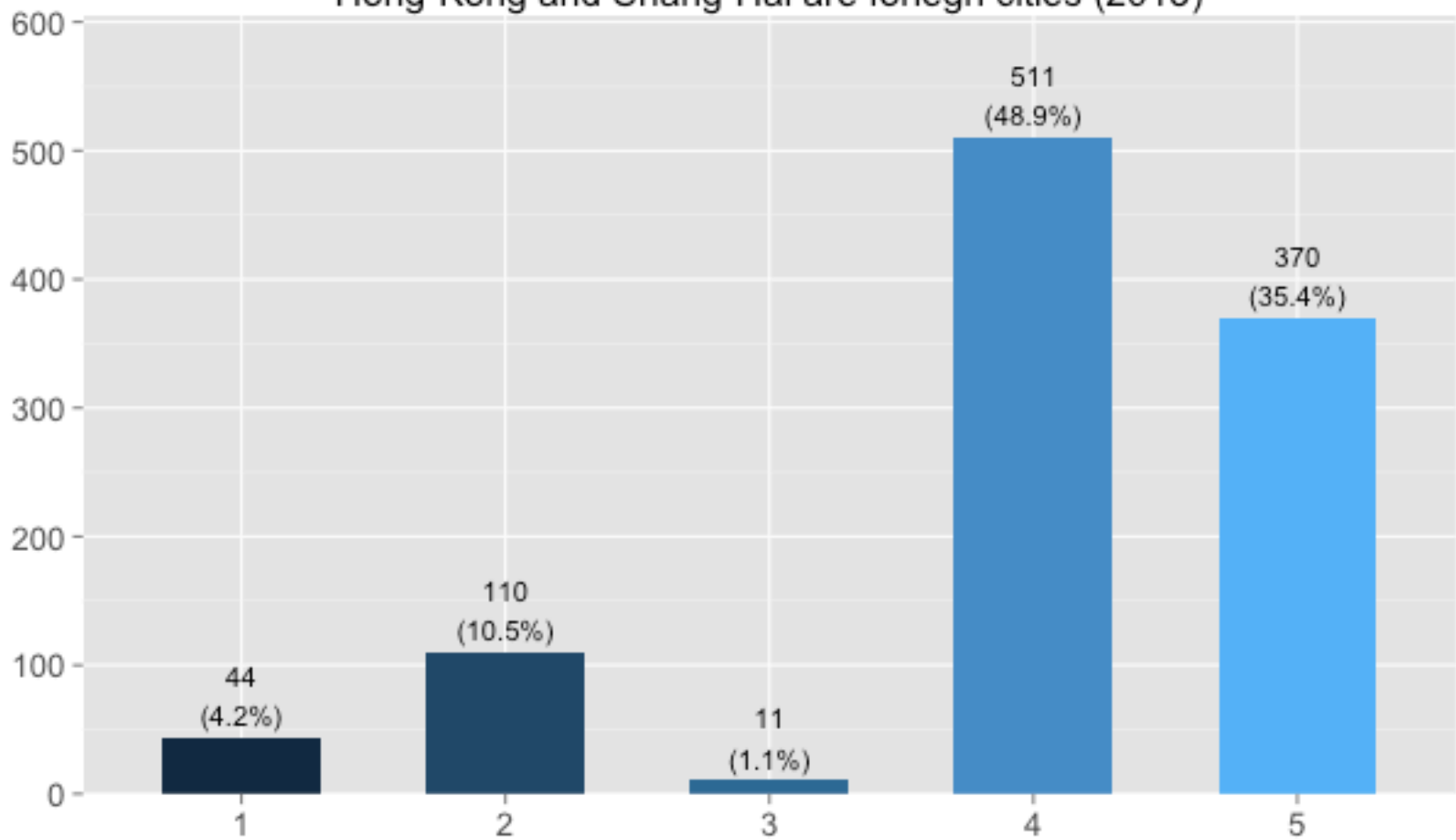
Our country's name is Taiwan (2013)



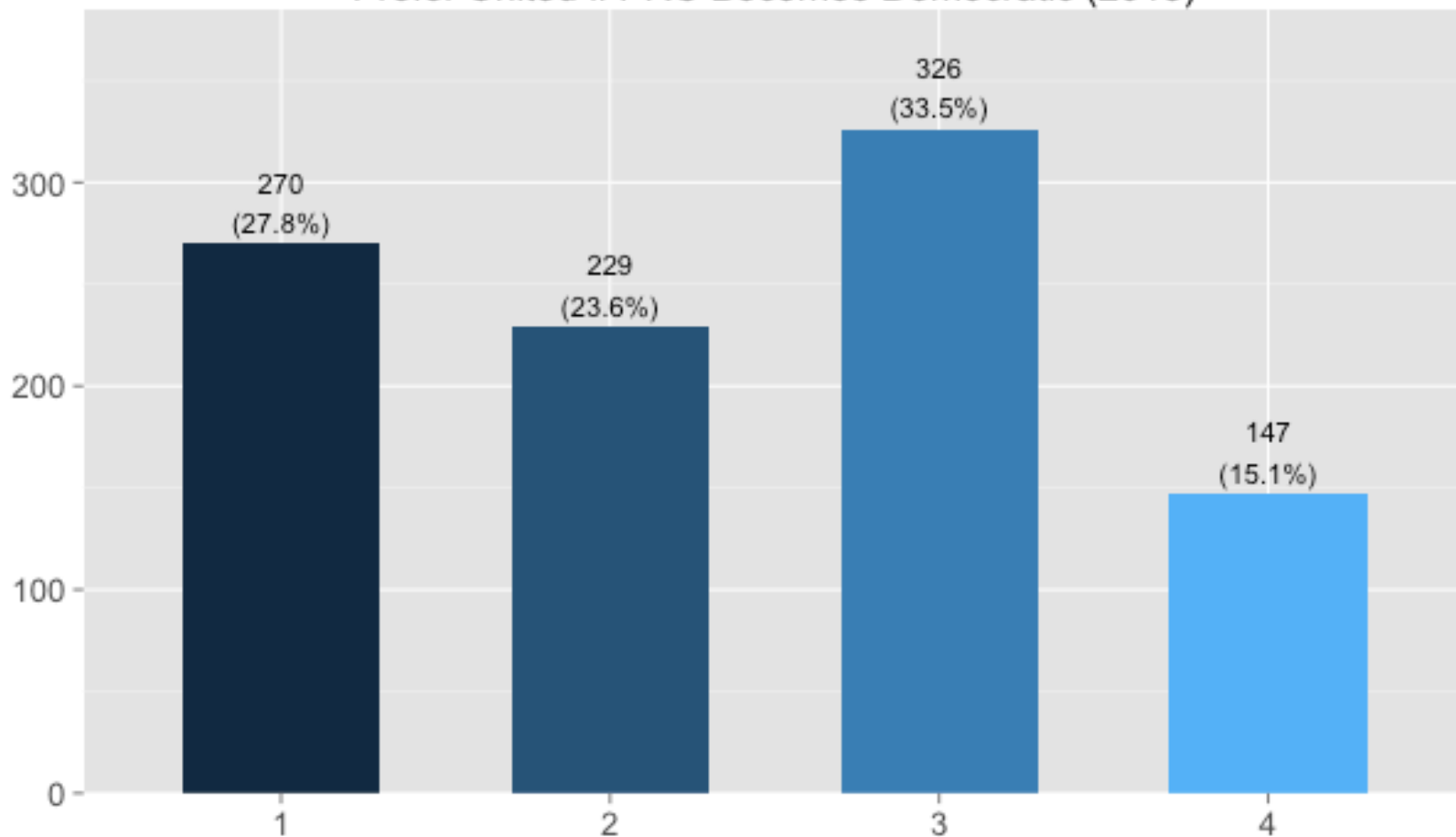
Taiwanese should establish own country (2013)



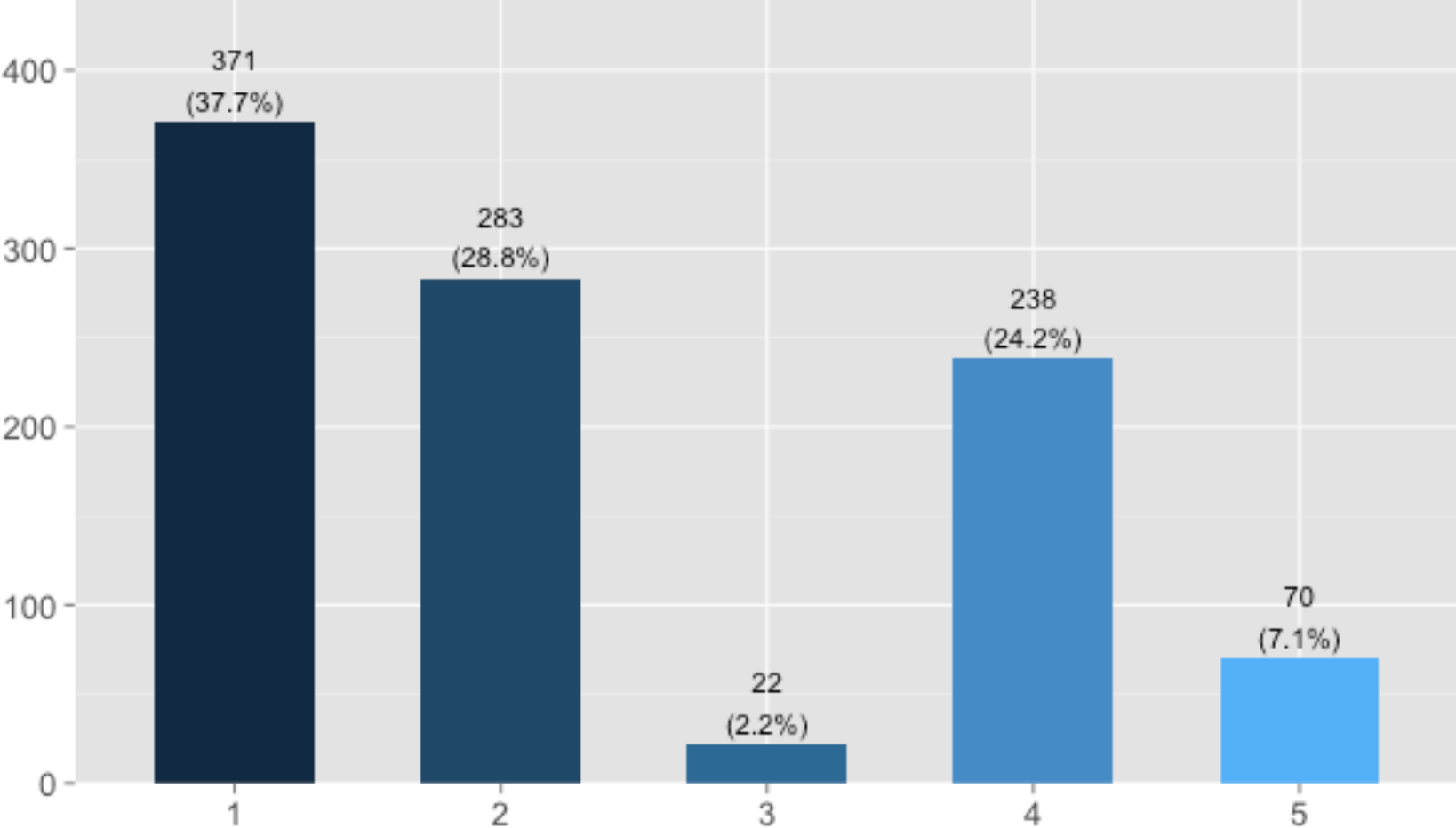
Hong-Kong and Shang-Hai are foriegn cities (2013)



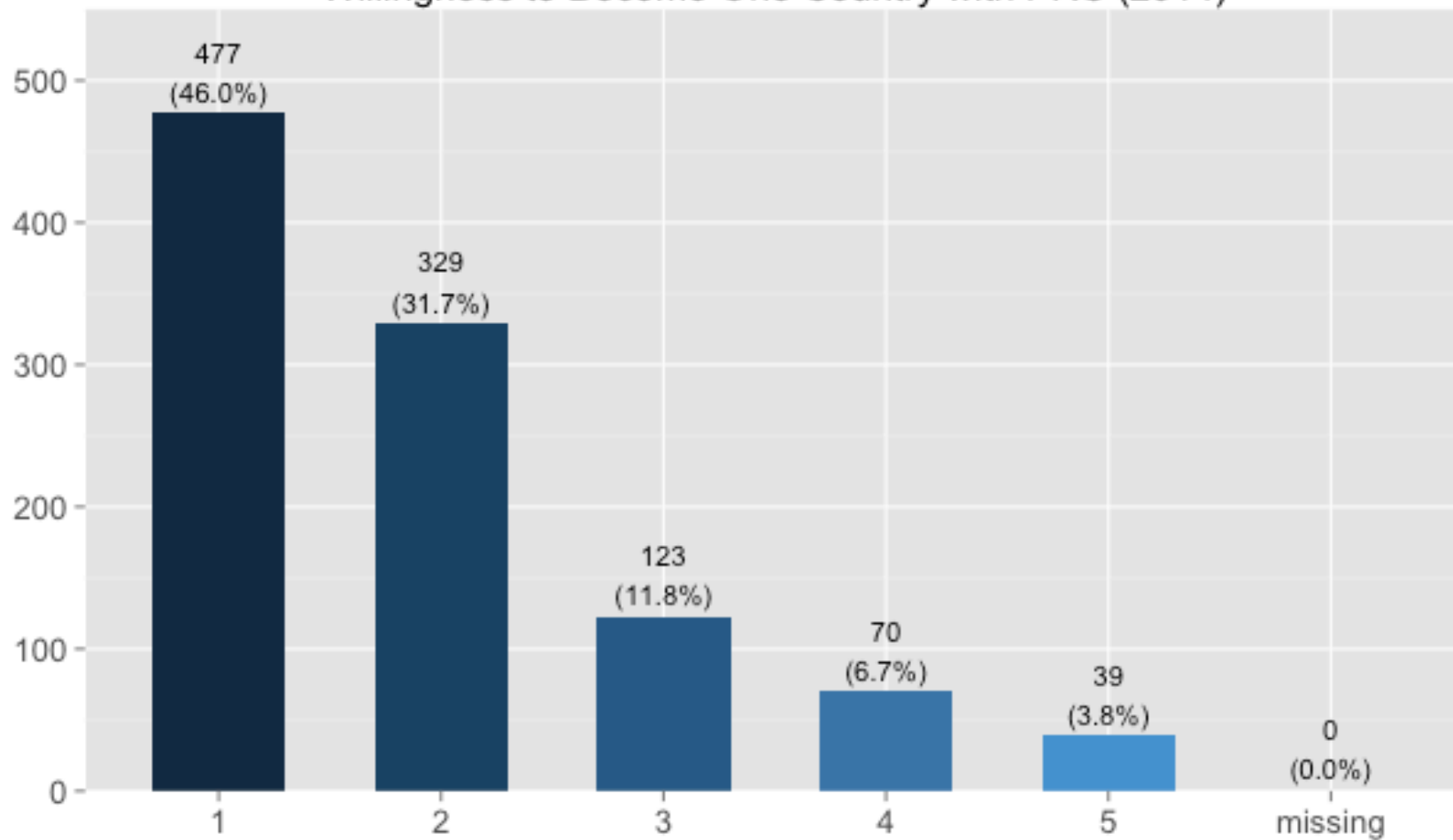
Prefer United if PRC Becomes Democratic (2013)



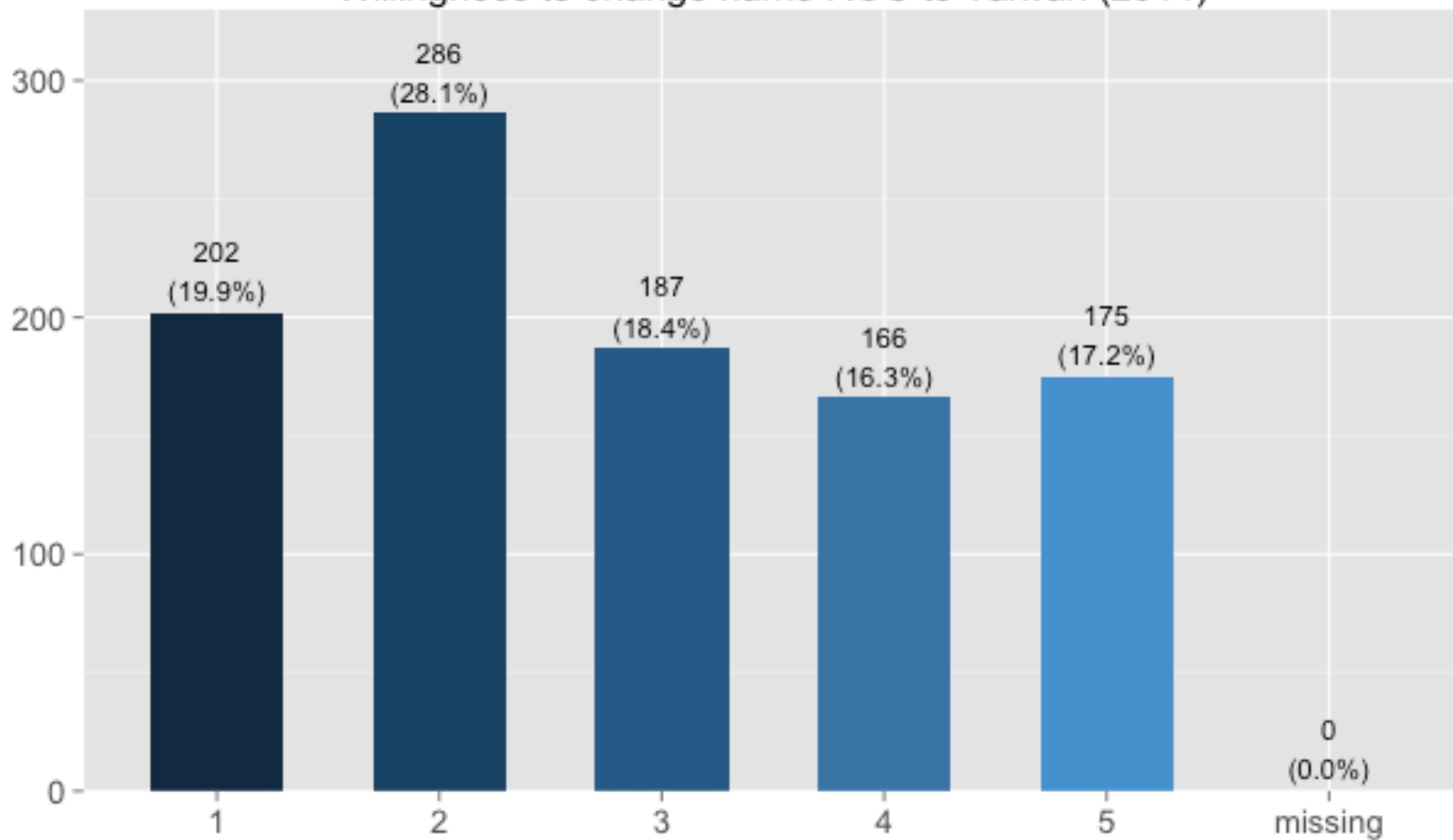
Inevitable Unification (2013)



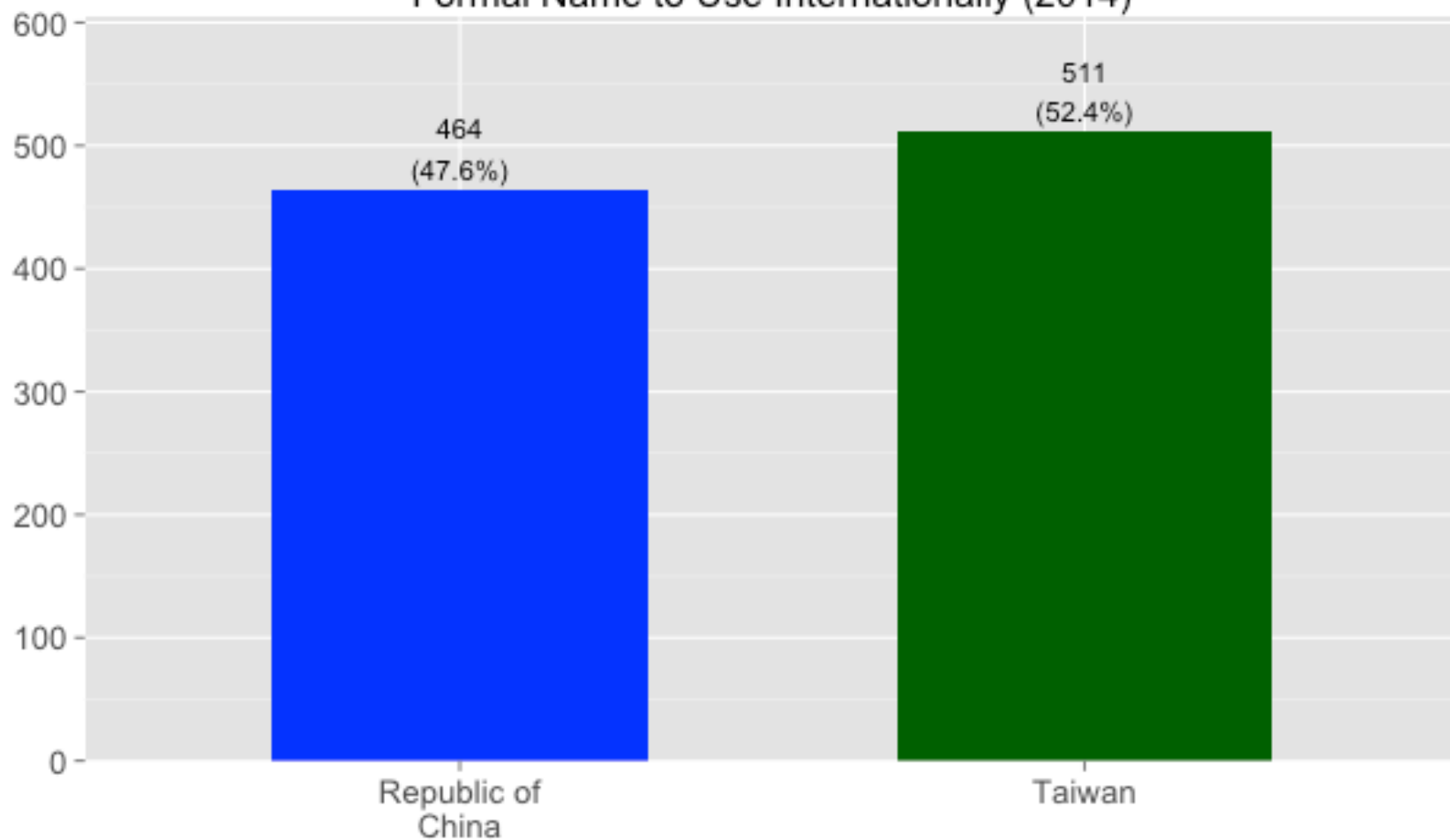
Willingness to Become One Country with PRC (2014)



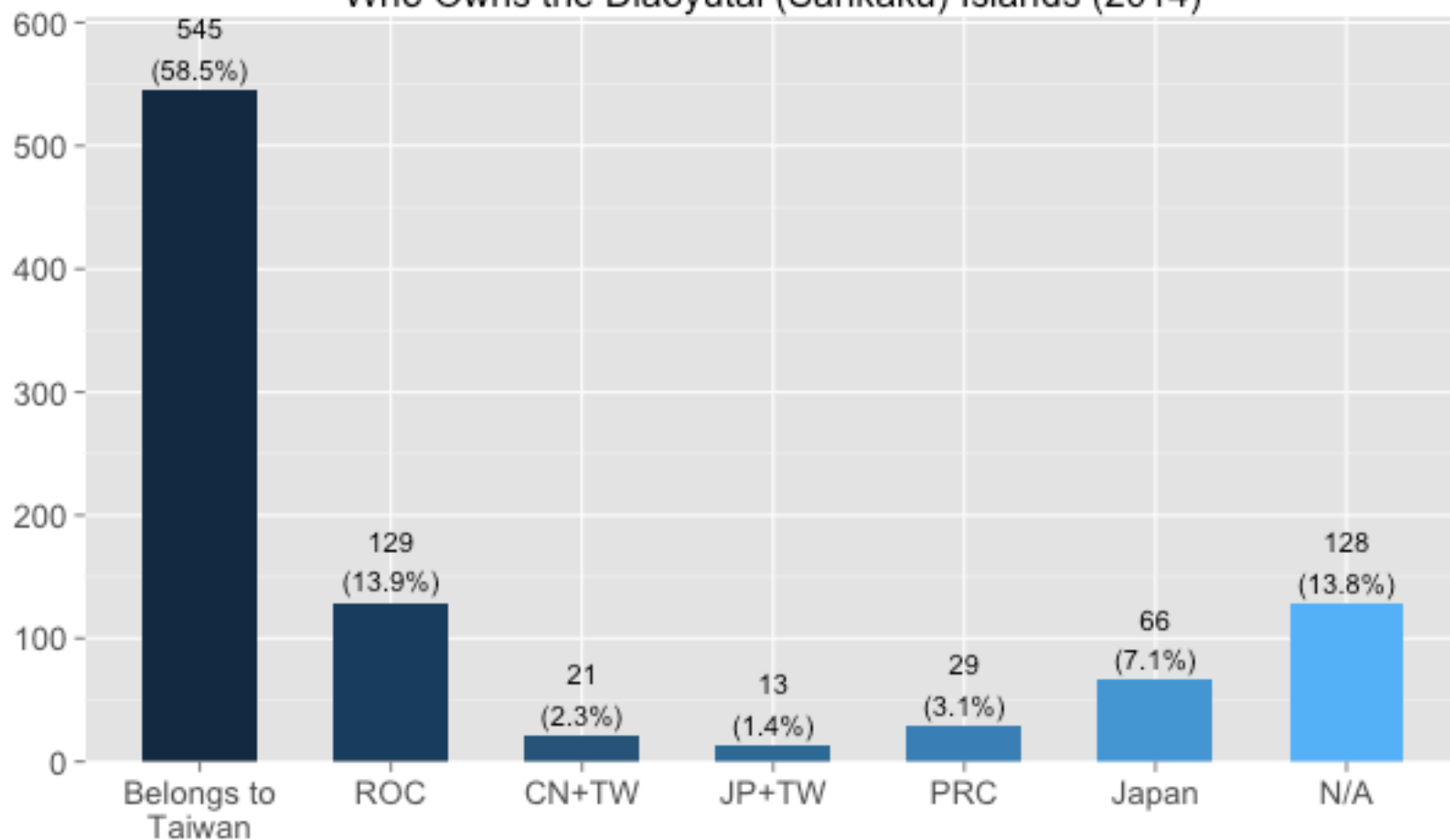
Willingness to change name ROC to Taiwan (2014)



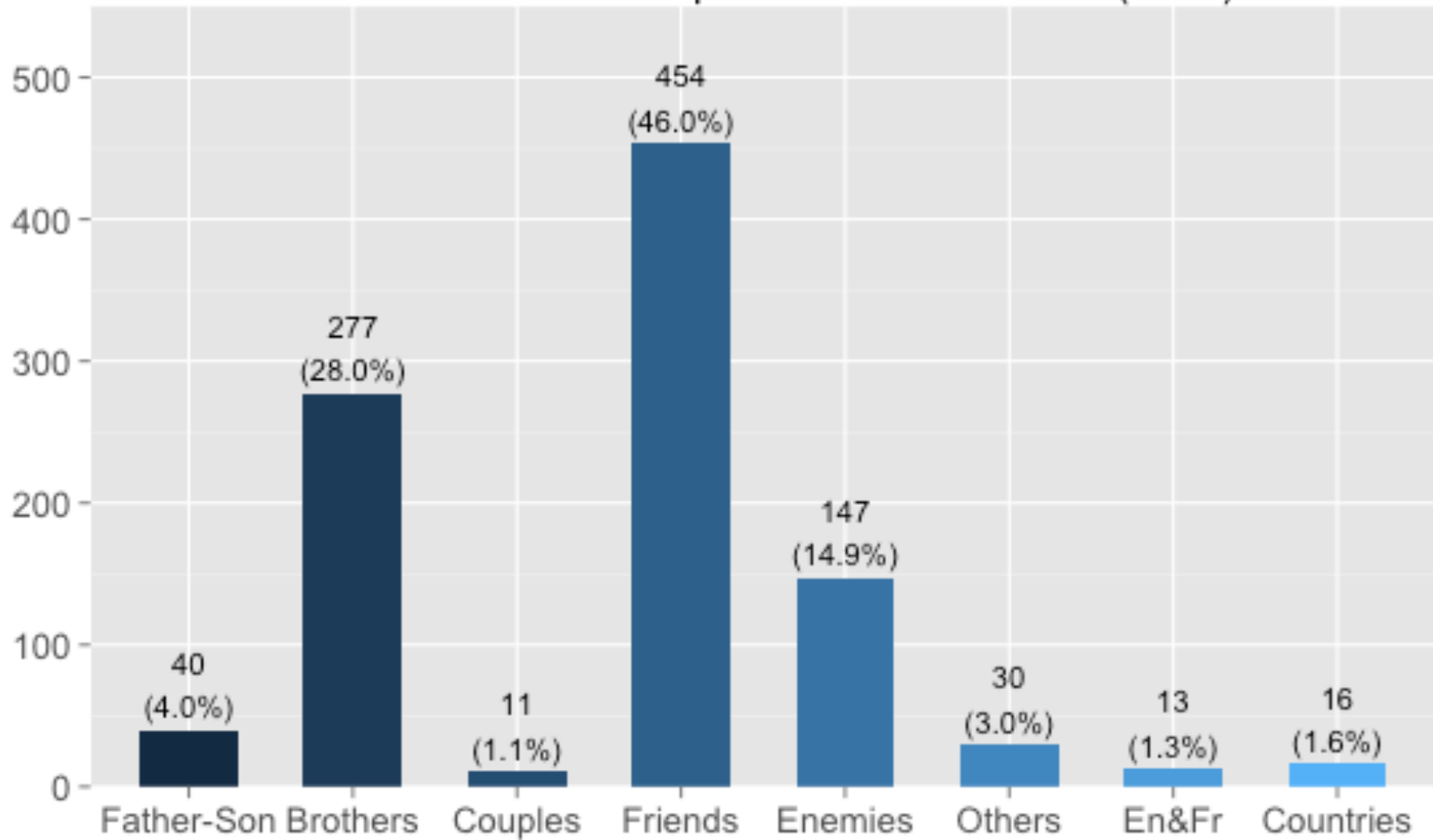
Formal Name to Use Internationally (2014)



Who Owns the Diaoyutai (Sankaku) Islands (2014)



Perceived Relationship with Mainland China (2014)





馬英九恢復戒嚴



清復 42小時

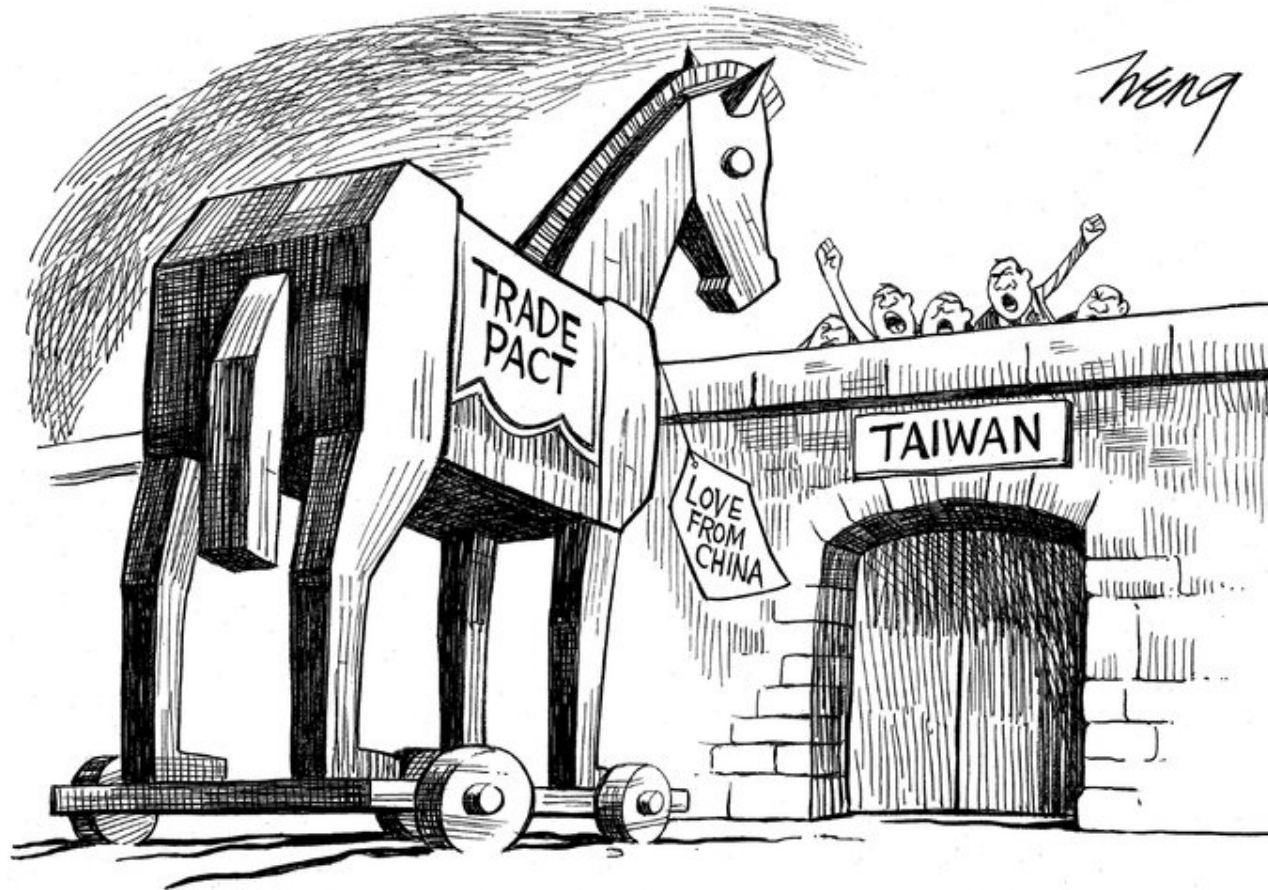
馬英九恢復戒嚴

踐踏人民生命

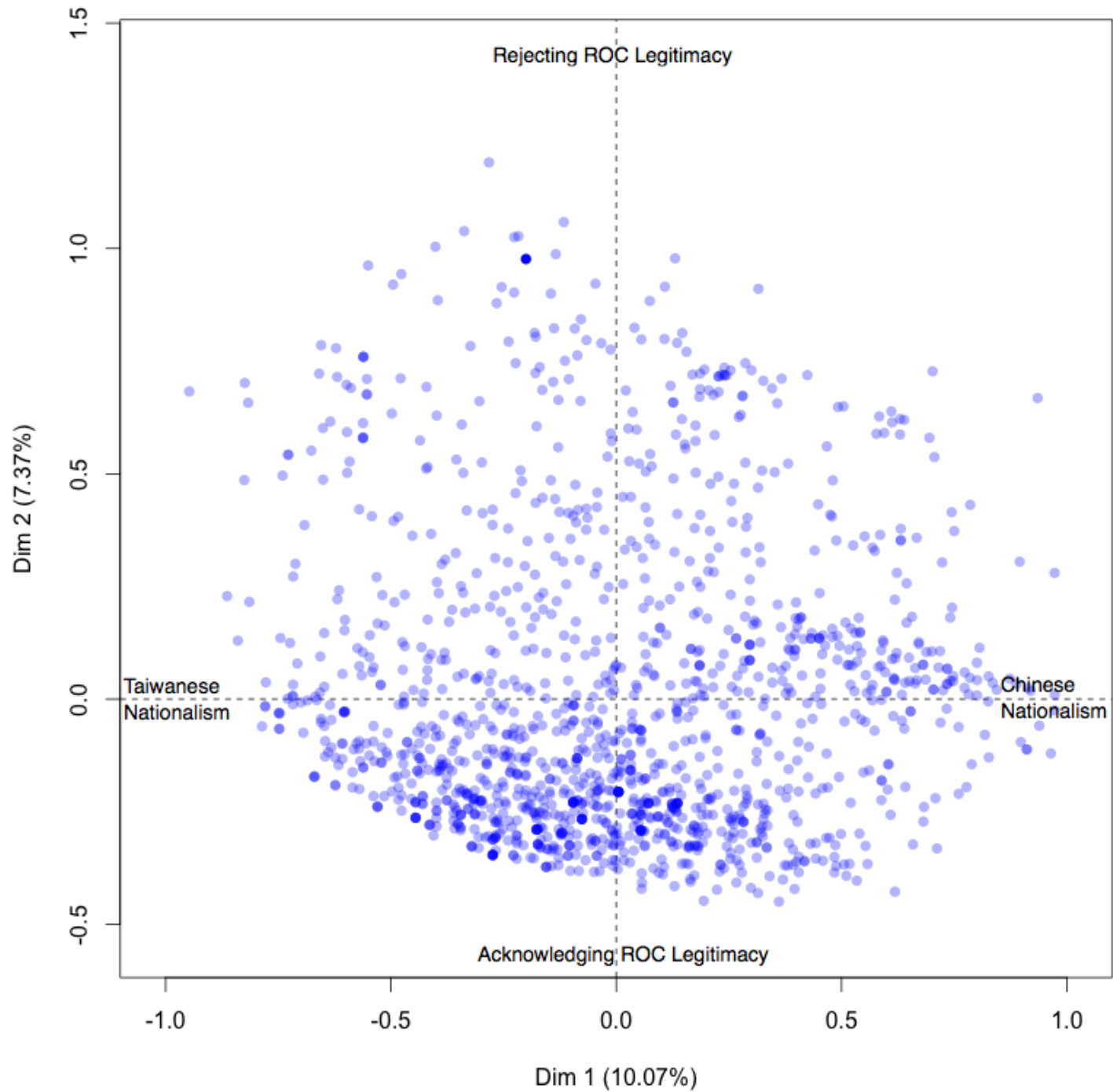
威權五十年 求逐

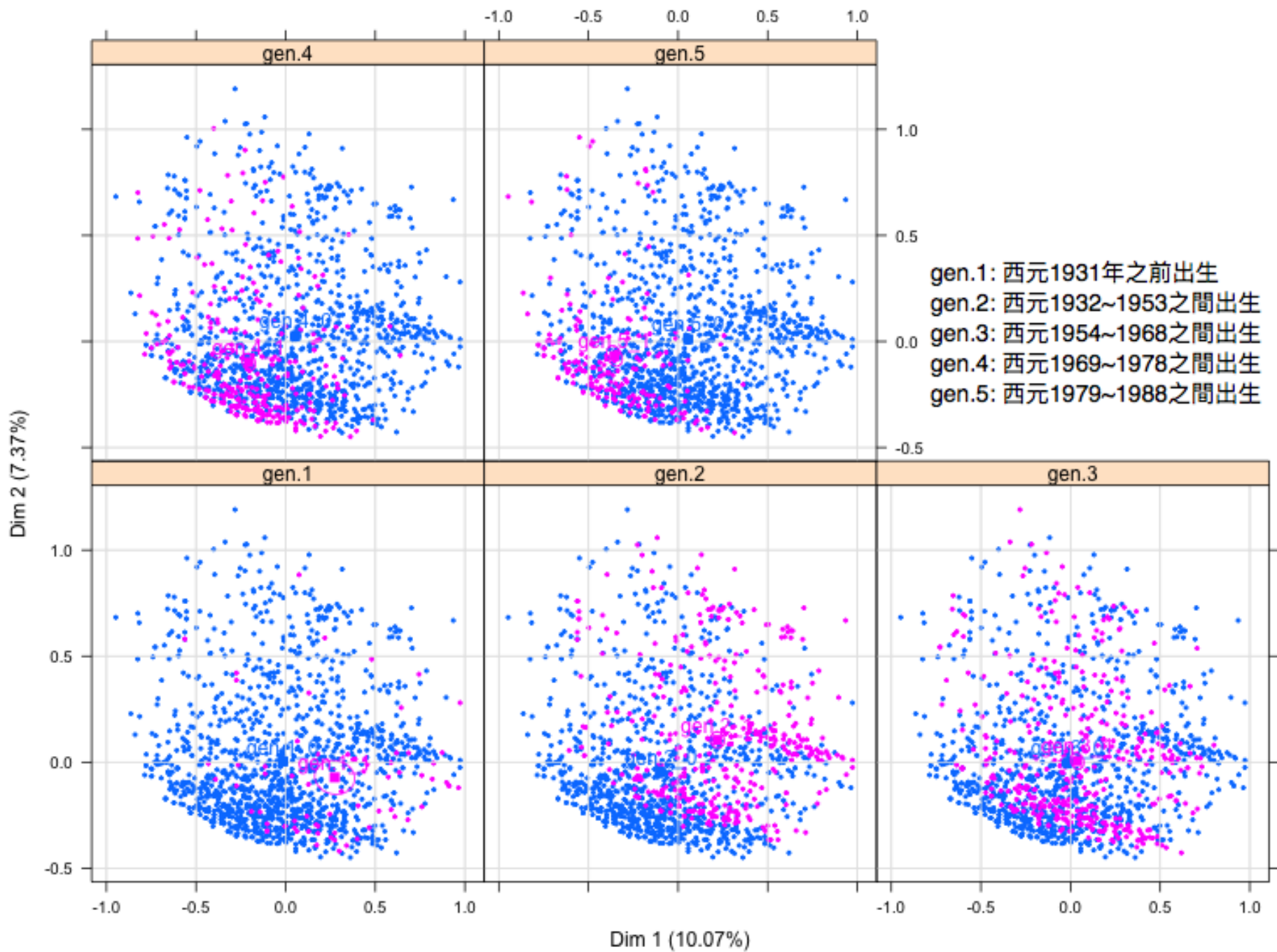
陸人無邊境 七百萬服務業人員

Students Protest against ECFA



NYT 2014.3.30











https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=1&v=t57URqSp5Ew

By May 10, 2019: 7,935,043 views



Do you find thing strange in this video?

Hint: date

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d9MoBXGEEiM>

Back to Jan
15, 2016:
will this KMT
campaign
poster work?

捍衛國旗，力挺周子瑜
穿戴國旗去投票
讓全世界都看見





Published on Jan 15, 2016

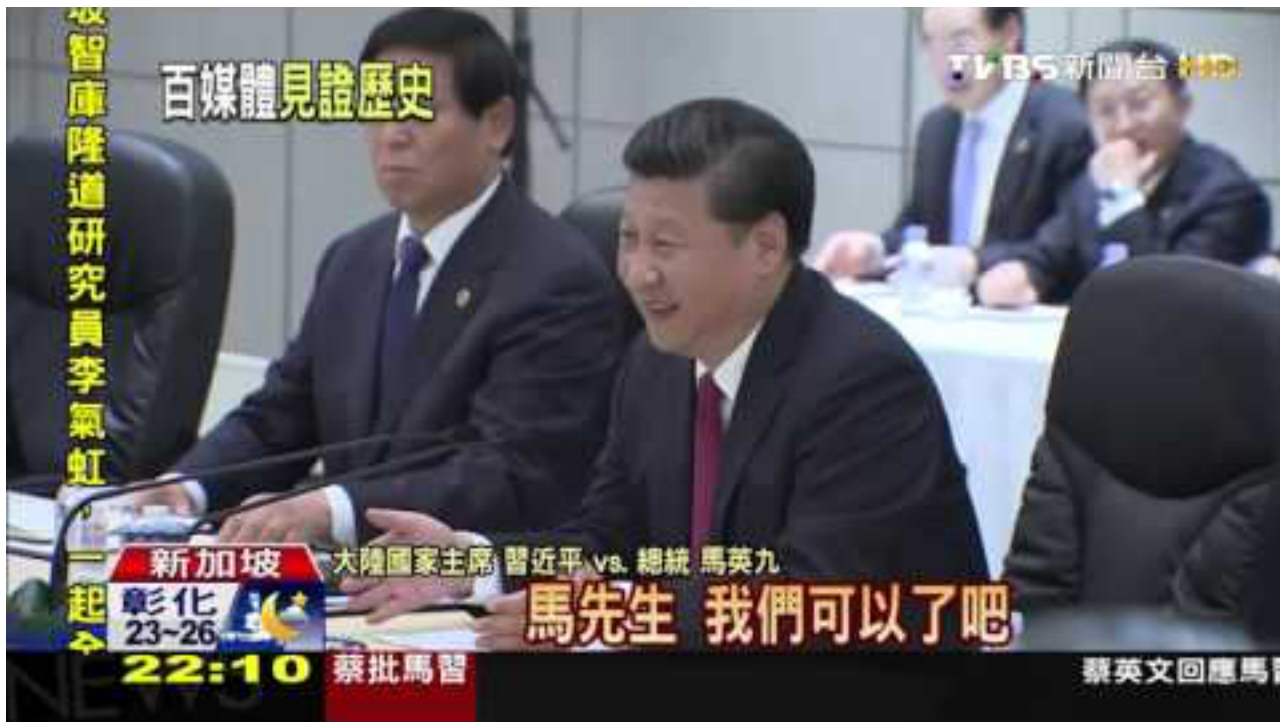
https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=2&v=Xl6-o3woKd4

Now Let's Talk about One China

Or at least think about its meanings



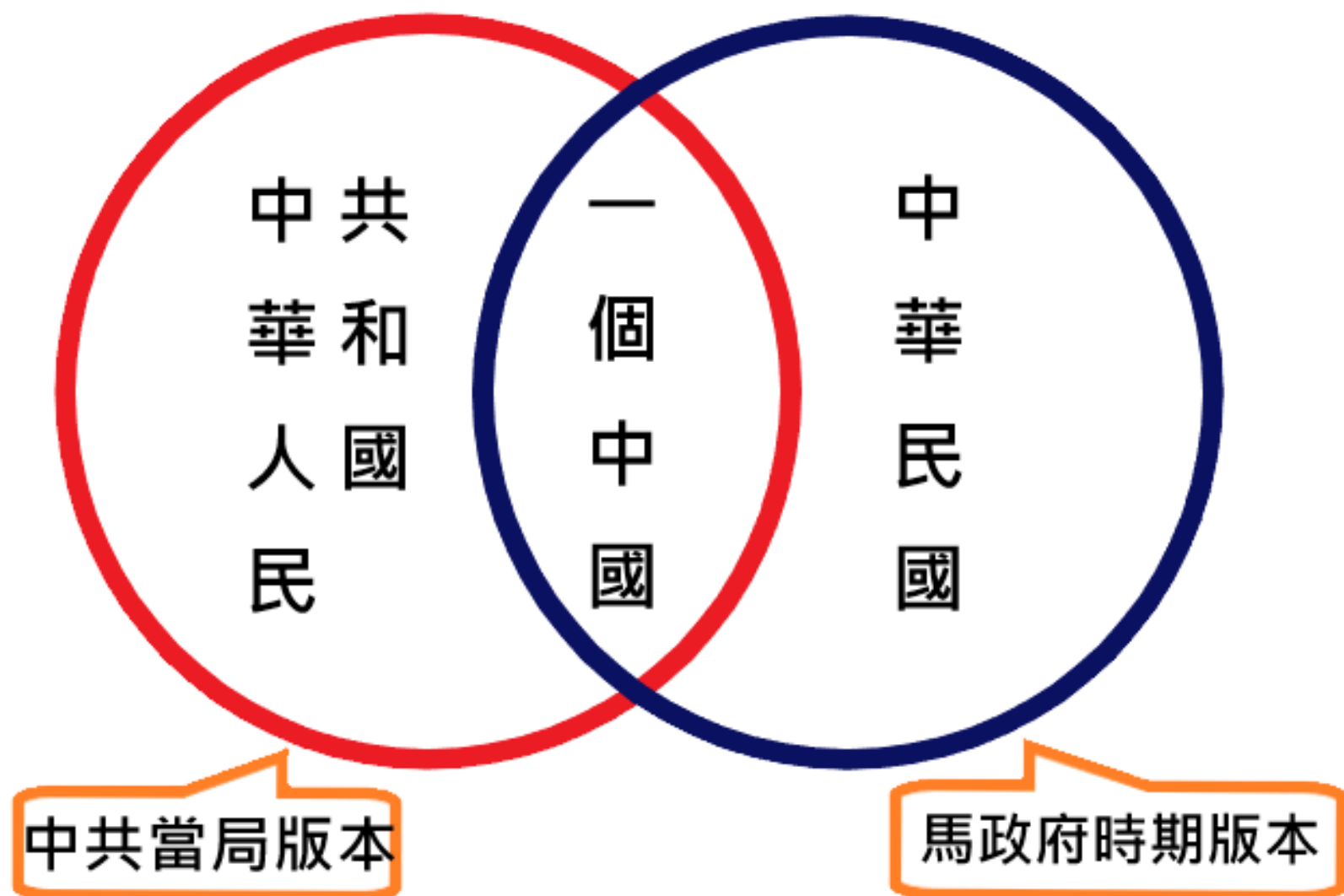
1993 @Hong Kong



2015.11 @Singapore

https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=1&v=mVYNZUm790w

九二共識





<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4j23Eth2aio>



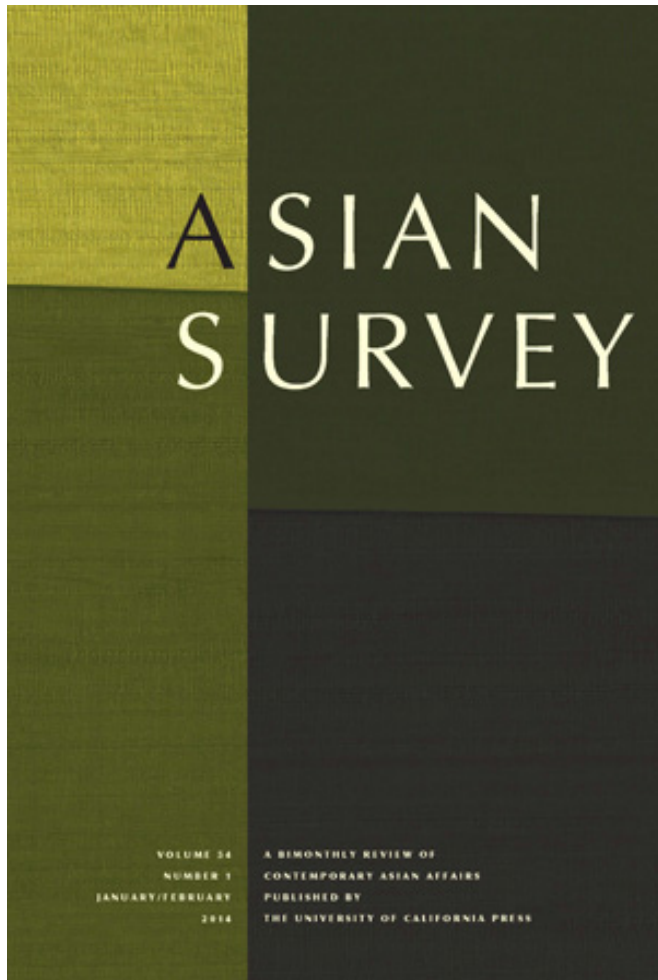
Conclusion

- Taiwan's identity politics is a result of historical conflicts.
- Taiwanese people's public opinion about mainland China policies is driven by national and country identification.
- Relationship with Mainland China: more like friends than family.
- Rejection to unification has become a consensus.



Discussion

- Legitimacy of ROC in Taiwan
 - Is ROC the last greatest common denominator?
 - How to re-conceptualize “Taiwan independence”?
- Democratic Prejudice vs. Democratic confidence
- Future Studies:
 - Taiwanese peoples’ perception about the roles of the U.S. and the rise of PRC.
 - A new battery of measurement questions for the concept of state/country identification.



Taiwanese Voters' Political Identification Profile, 2013–2014

Becoming One China or Creating a New Country?

ABSTRACT

This study summarizes critical factors that influence a voter's choice between the appellations "Taiwan" and "Republic of China," a subject that has not been systematically studied so far. When the legitimacy of "Republic of China" is considered, Taiwanese voters' political identity pattern reveals itself to be more complicated than

Liu, F. C.-S. (2016). Taiwanese voters' political identification profile, 2013–2014: Becoming one China or creating a new country? *Asian Survey*, 56(5), 931–957.

Liu, F. C.-S., & Li, Y. (2016). Generation matters: Taiwan's perceptions of mainland China and attitudes towards cross-strait trade talks. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 104, 263–279.

China policy

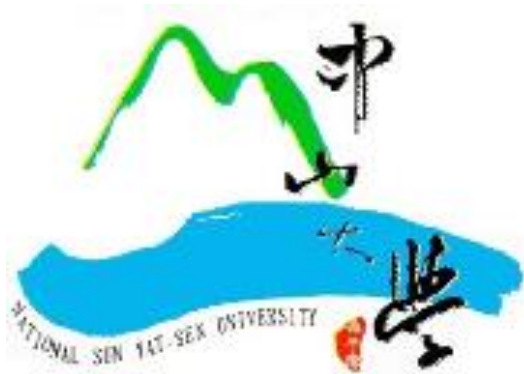
Great obfuscation of one-China

NOW, WHAT DO YOU SEE?

*...ion that there is only one China has kept the peace in East
...w it is coming under pressure from all directions*



Contact Info



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Measurement of State Identification

- 2013 data:
 - 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 data:
 - 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 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 Unification Preference

- 2013 data:
 - 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 data:
 - Do you hope that Taiwan and the mainland China become one country?