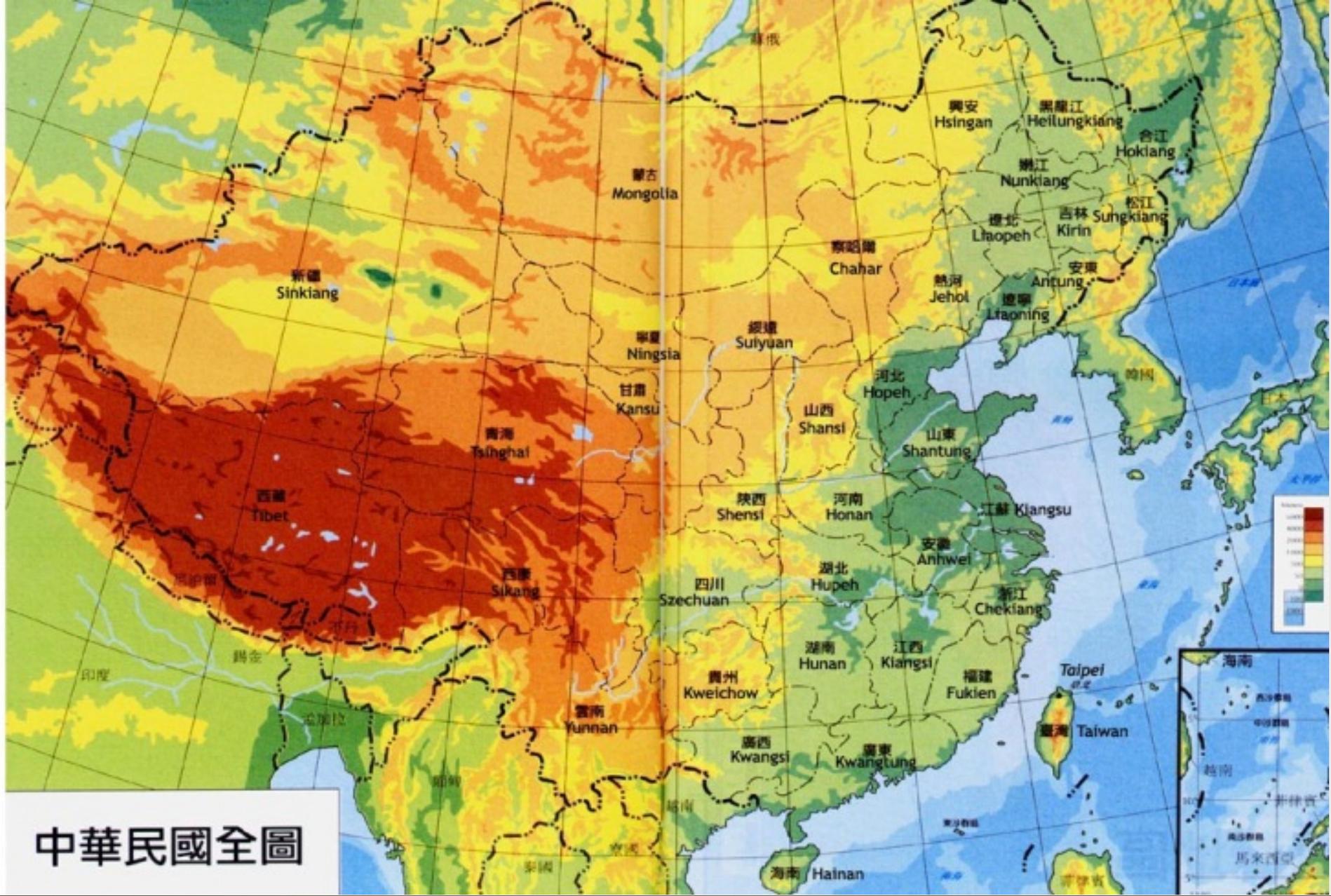


Say No to Chinese Identity?

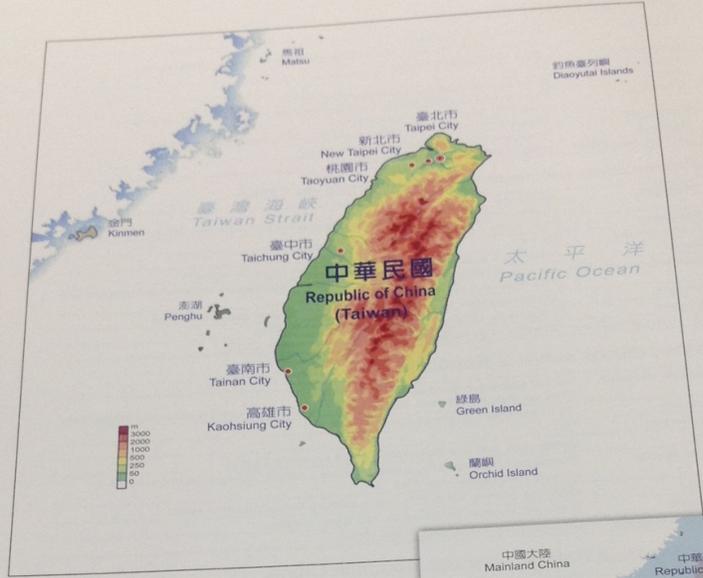
Identification (mis)Measurement and Overinterpretation in Taiwan

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WPSA 2020 @ Virtual Conference
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中華民國全圖





中華民國簡介

土地面積	36,197平方公里 (臺灣、澎湖、金門、馬祖、釣魚臺列嶼及其他島嶼)
人口	2,351萬4,750人 (2016年8月)
時區	UTC+8
氣候	地處亞熱帶氣候區，年均溫約攝氏23度
族群	漢族 (占97%以上，包括閩南人、客家人)，原住民族 (超過2%) 及新住民 (近1%)
語言	國語、閩南語、客家語、原住民族語
宗教	佛教、道教、天主教、基督教、伊斯蘭教及其他宗教
國內生產毛額	5,230億美金
人均國民生產毛額	22,294美金 (2015年)



Taiwan's official South China Sea Map (2015)



TWO CHINAS !?

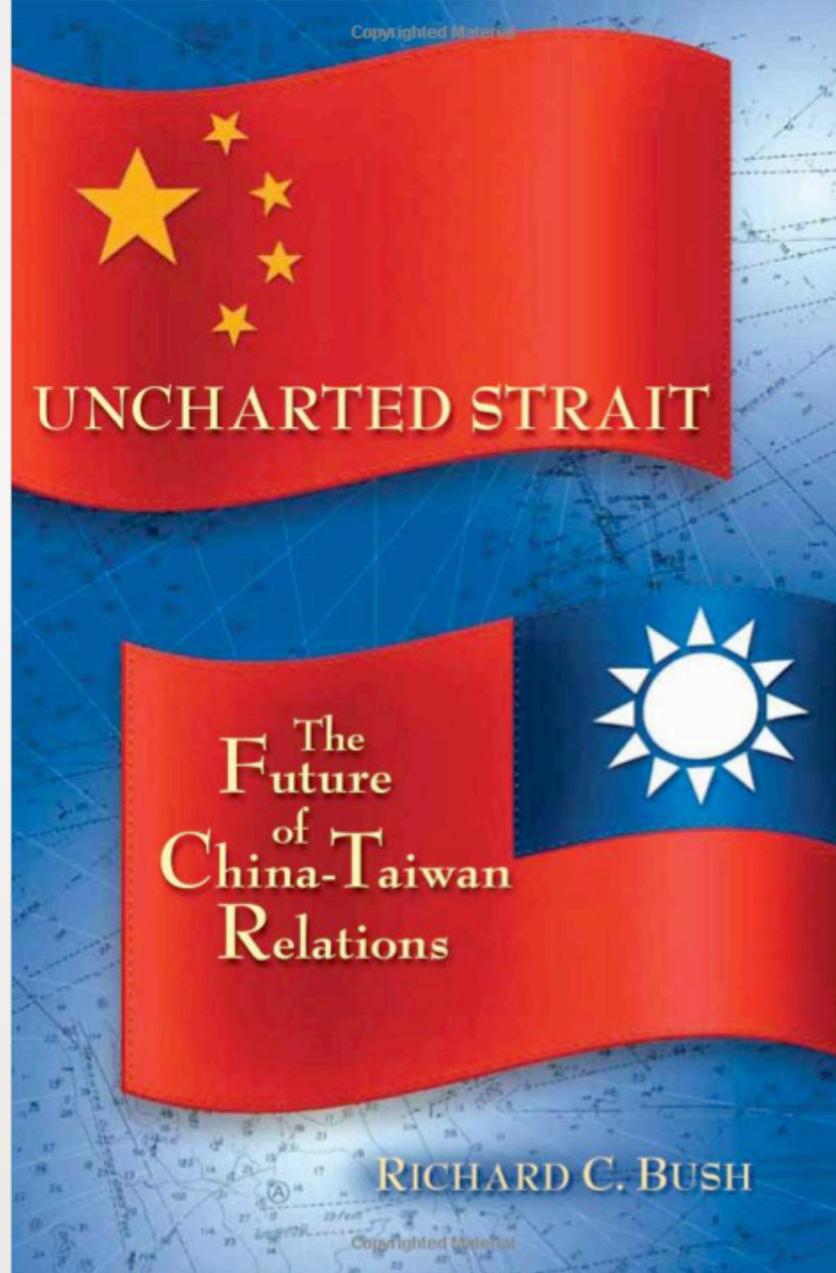
The one-China policy

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



One China
One Taiwan ?







中華民國
REPUBLIC OF CHINA



TAIWAN
臺灣
PASSPORT

Taiwan voters have multiple views about

- nation (民族): Taiwanese and/or Chinese?
- state (國家): ROC? Taiwan? Unification/Independent?



Chinese—Both—Taiwanese

“In today’s society, some think of themselves first as Taiwanese. Others may think of themselves first as Chinese, or as both Taiwanese and Chinese. Do you consider yourself as Taiwanese, Chinese, or both?”

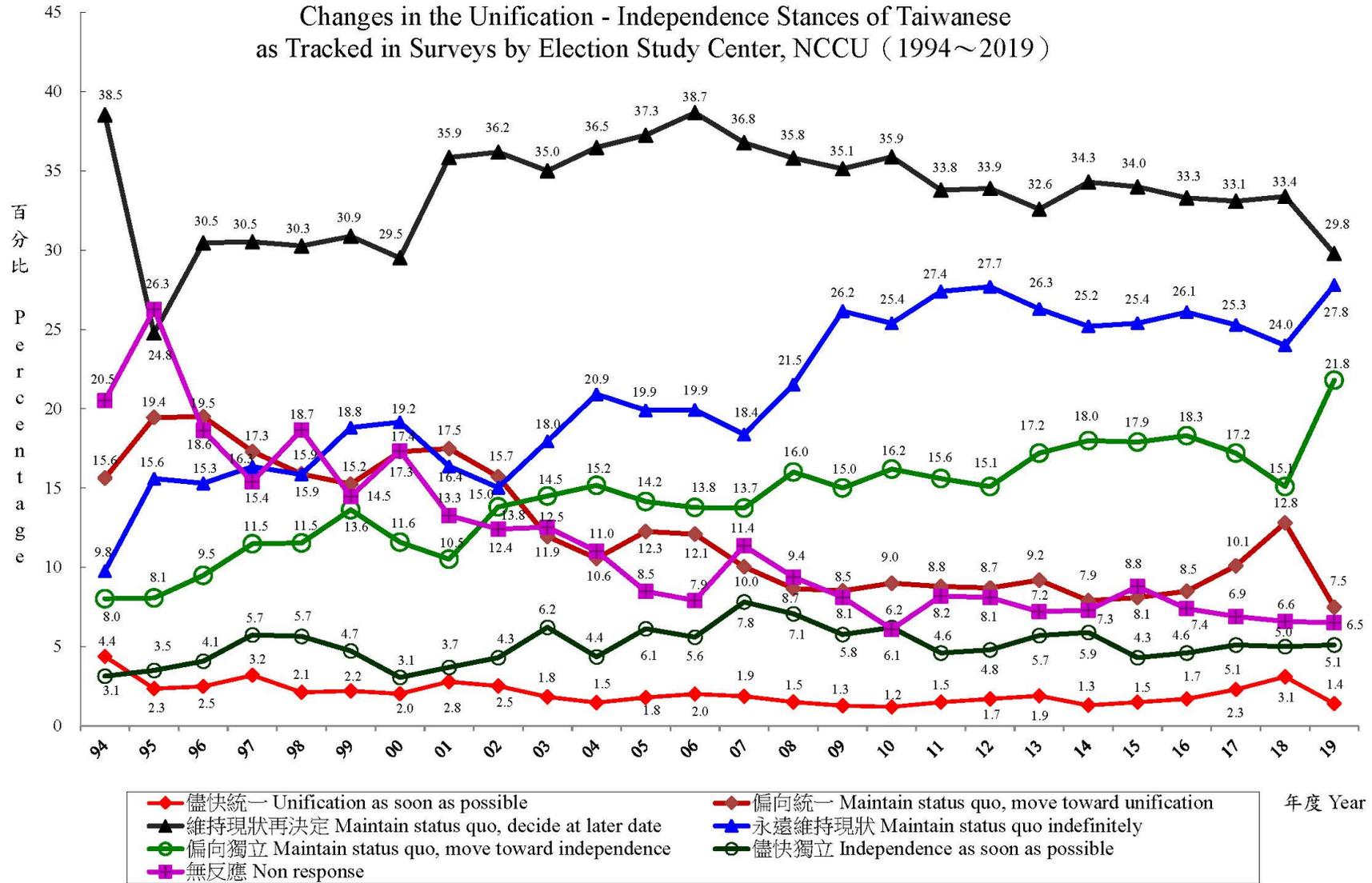


Unification—Status Quo—Independence

“Concerning the future Taiwan-mainland China relationship, some think that Taiwan should be independent, while others think we should unify with mainland China. Which comes closer to your view?”

臺灣民眾統獨立場趨勢分佈 (1994~2019)

Changes in the Unification - Independence Stances of Taiwanese as Tracked in Surveys by Election Study Center, NCCU (1994~2019)



國立政治大學選舉研究中心 製

We have discussed too little about the validity of Identification measures

And we haven't had evidence about if they are really trustworthy.



Research Question

How valid are the most commonly used survey questions

- Unification/Independence/status quo
- Chinese/Taiwanese/Both

when they are used to measuring state/nation identification?

Methodology and Method

- Methodology: the Exploratory Data Analysis (EDA) approach
- Method: Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) : put survey questions into their context and examine how the “options/choices” related to each other.
- Explore patterns emerging from a set of categorical variables that are mostly used for studying political identity
- Double check patterns with multiple datasets over the past 7 years

Data

Representative Samples

- F2F Survey: Taiwan Social Change Survey **2013** (TSCS, n=1,952)
- CATI Telephone survey **2015** (n=1,100)

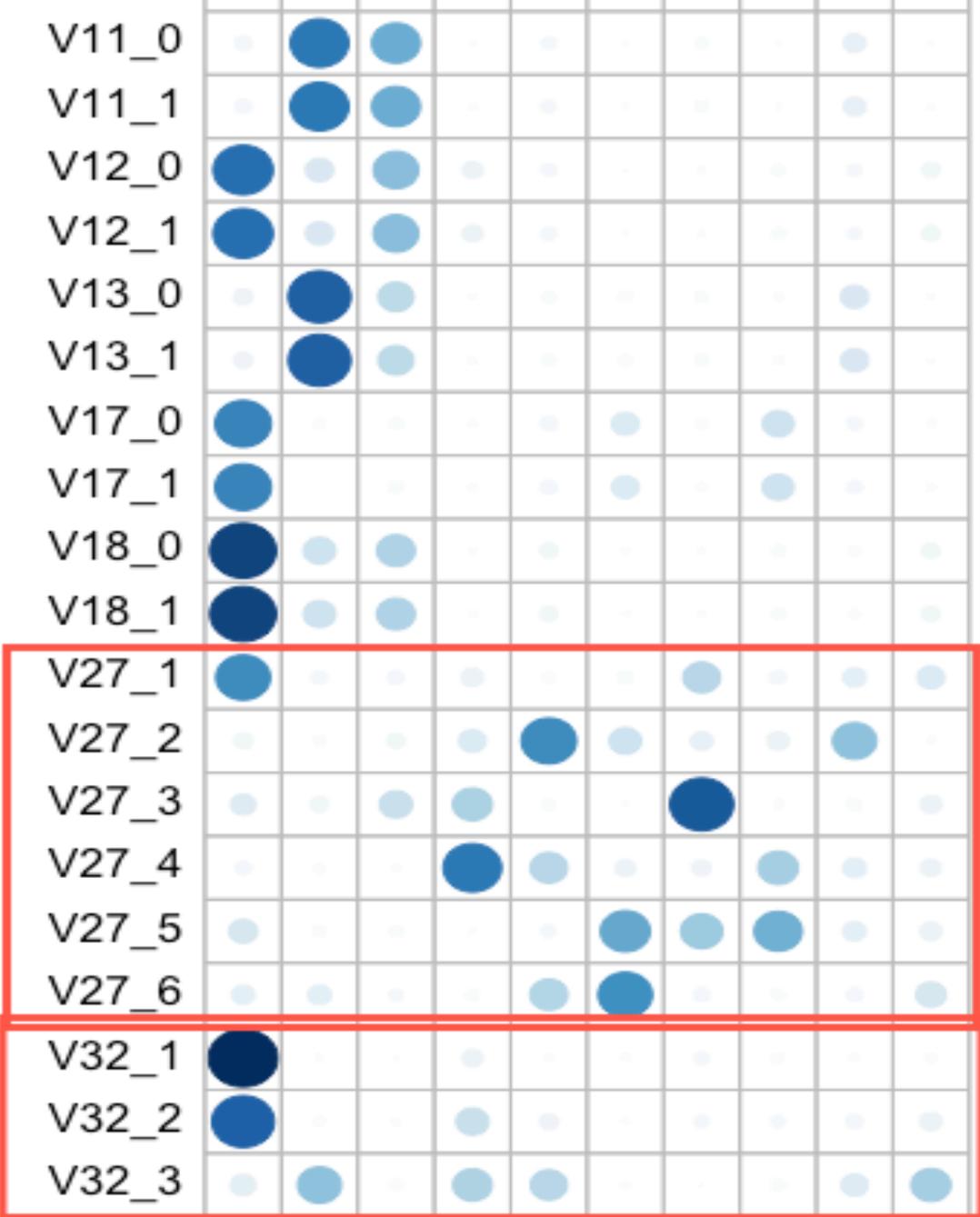
Convenient Samples

- Web panel 2015-**2016** (n=468)
- Web panel 2019-**2020** (n=504)

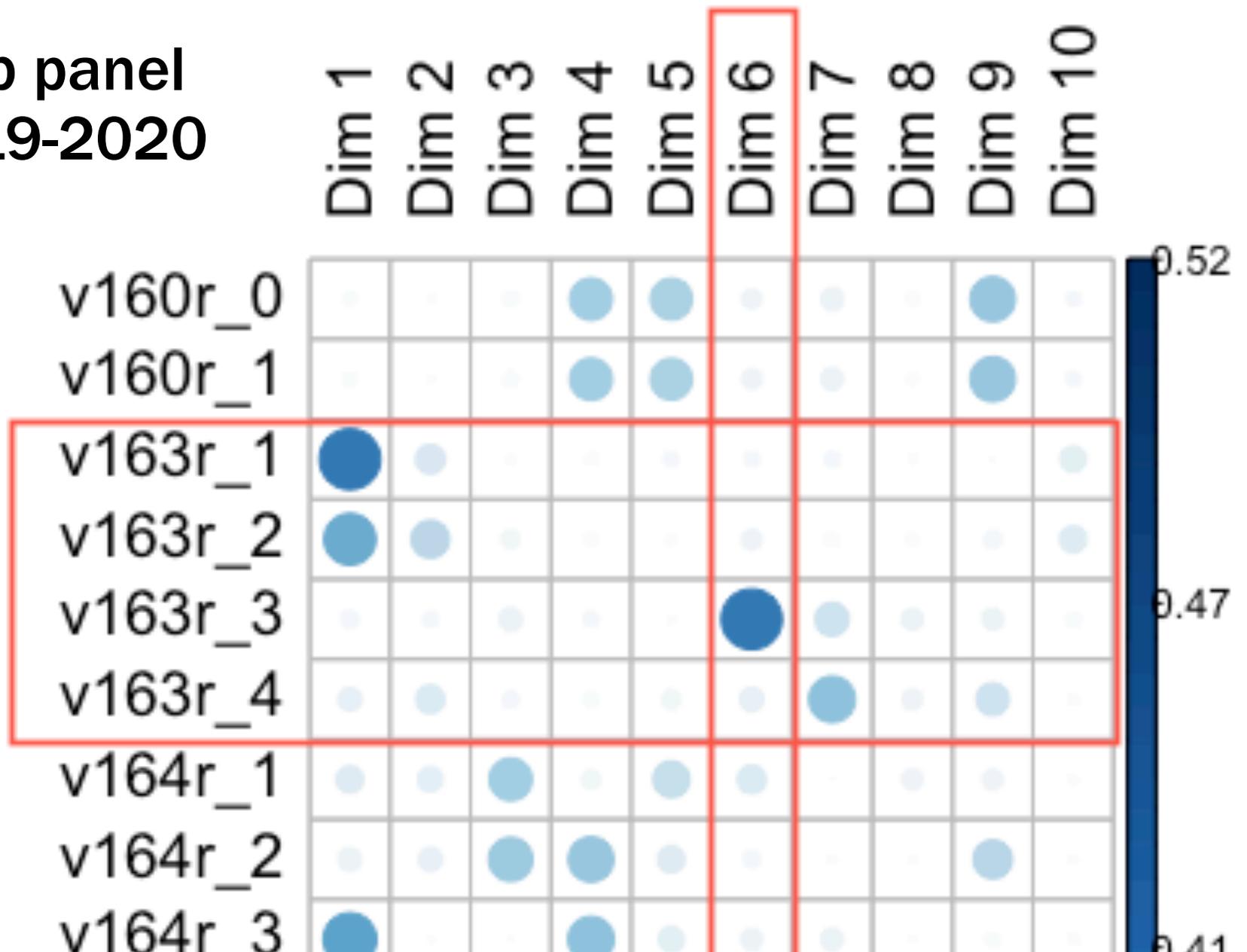
Main Findings

- Neither Chinese/Taiwan/Both nor “unification/independence/status quo” has internally consistency in all data sets
- U/I cannot fit into any major (latent) concepts.
- The patterns confirmed in NMF simulation

Phone 2015



Web panel 2019-2020





Chinese <- ! -> Both <- !-> Taiwanese



Unification \leftarrow ! \rightarrow Status Quo \leftarrow ! \rightarrow Independence

Conclusion & Discussion

- This paper serves as the first piece of empirical evidence that echoes the suspicion about the validity of political identity measures.
1. Rejecting unification does not necessarily equal to favouring independence, while pro-independence cannot be interpreted as anti-unification.
 2. Chinese identifies may hold reasoning that is not opposite to those rejecting the Chinese identity.
 3. voters who chose “status quo” cannot be interpreted as the set of their political attitudes stand in between.

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



**WE NEED TO AVOID ANY
SIMPLIFIED INTERPRETATION OF
THE OTHER SIDE'S CHOICES**

Future Studies

- Continue to use EDA to discover multi-layers of **reasoning** behind the survey questions regarding identification and belonging.
- Provide deeper and insightful **interpretation** without the presumption of linearity or spectrum for targeted survey questions.
- Re-examine current explanation about the Taiwan voters' will and
- Provide solutions to avoid accelerated crisis of social polarization along one's belonging and misinterpretation of the will of the "opposite" side.

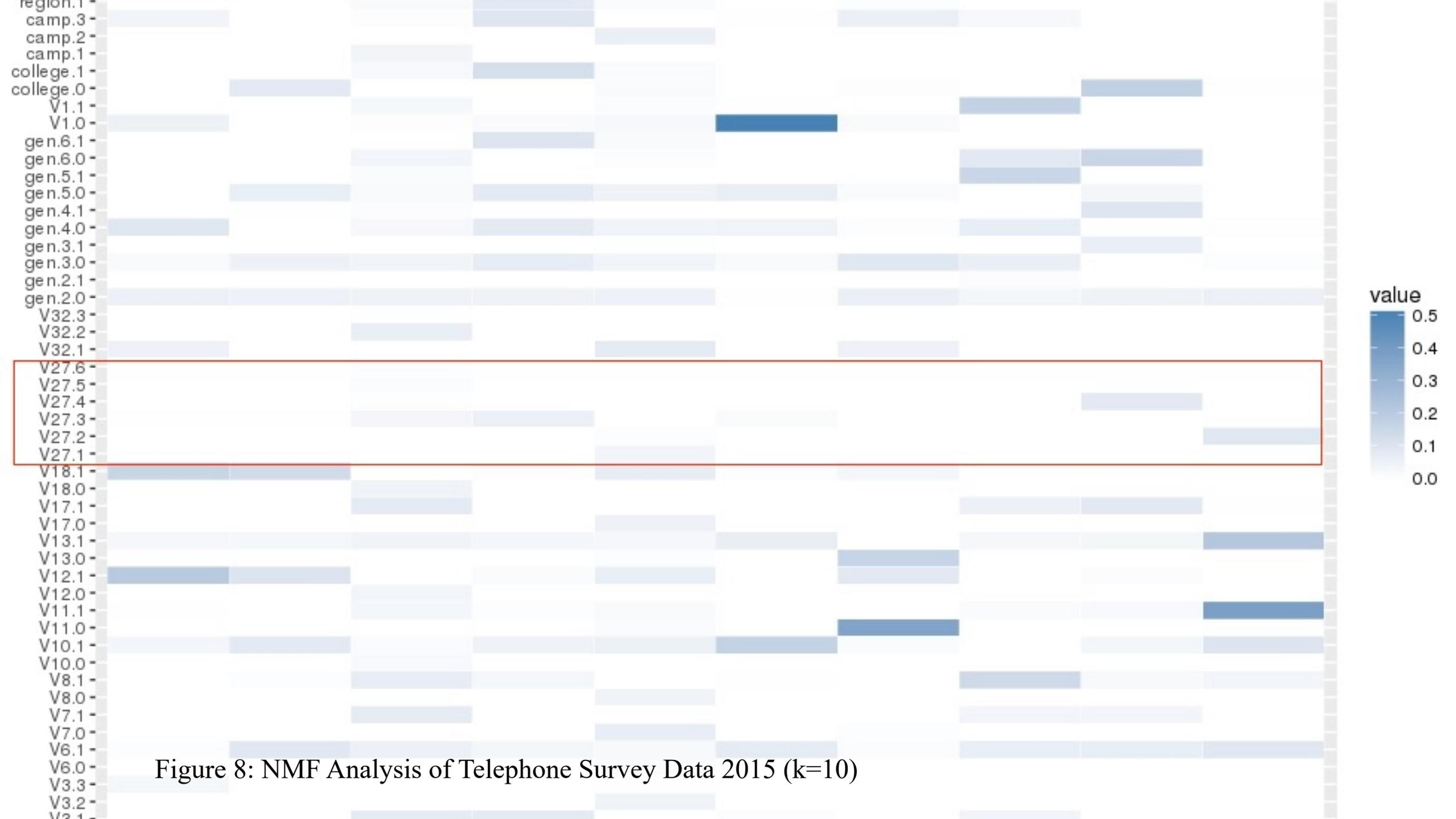
**Comments and
contact**

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csliu@mail.nsysu.edu.tw



Figure 7: NMF Analysis of TSCS2013 (k=10)



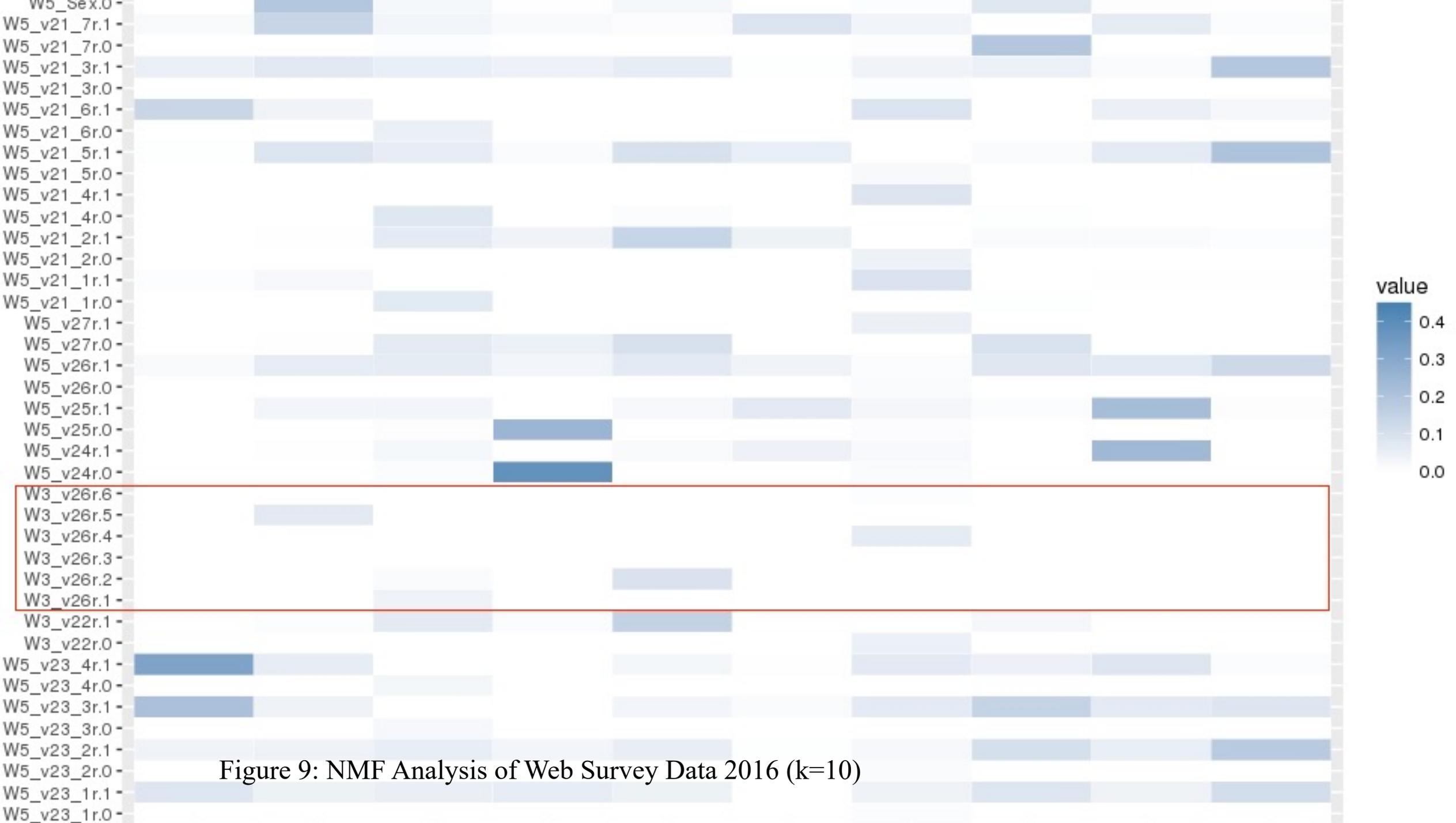


Figure 9: NMF Analysis of Web Survey Data 2016 ($k=10$)