

The **Measurement Crisis** in Taiwan's Identity Politics:
Re-evaluate the Conceptualization of
National and State Identification

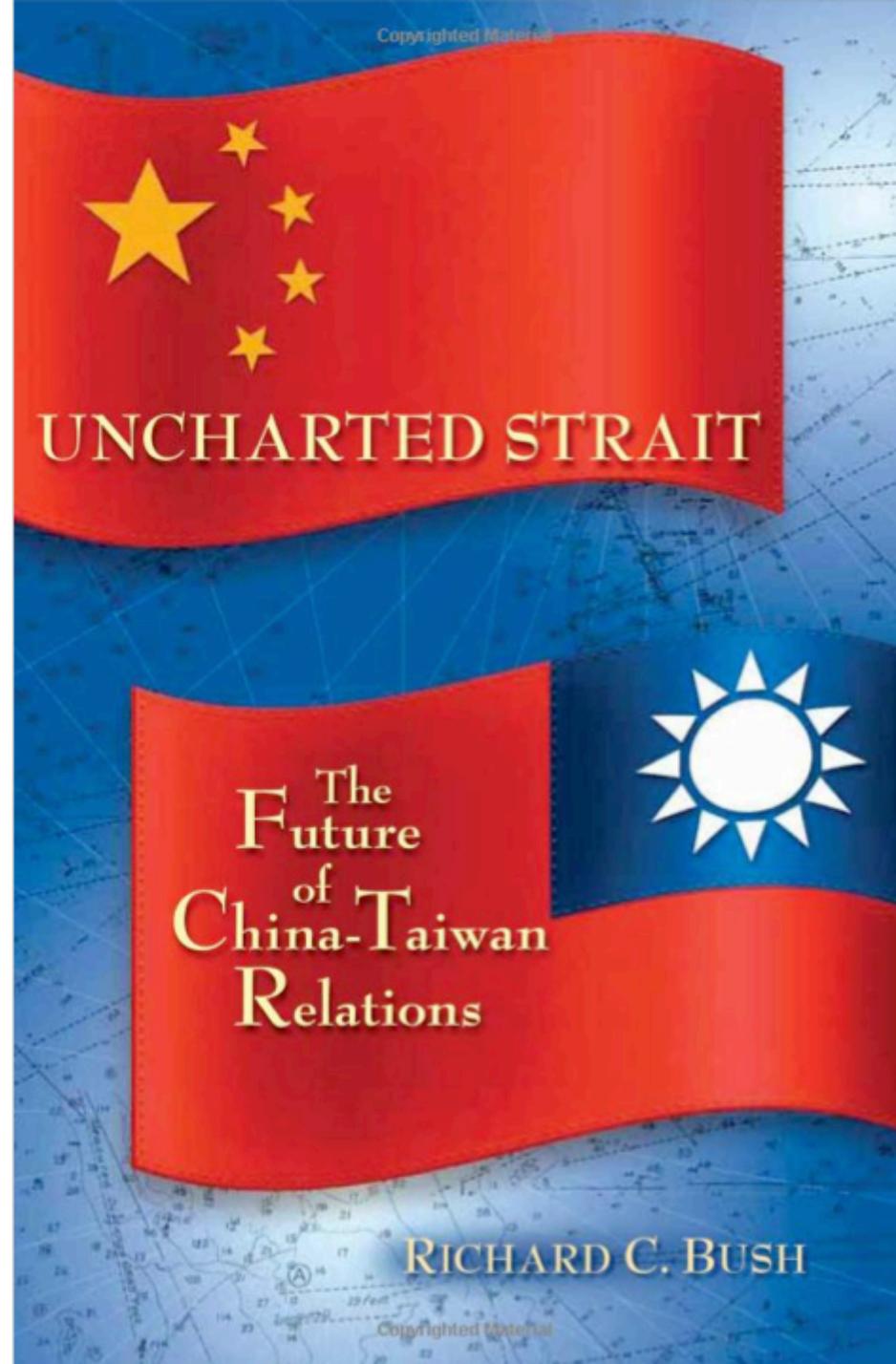
Frank C.S. Liu

NSYSU, Taiwan

April 13, 2017

WPSA @ Vancouver, BC, CANADA

One China? (One Taiwan?)



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



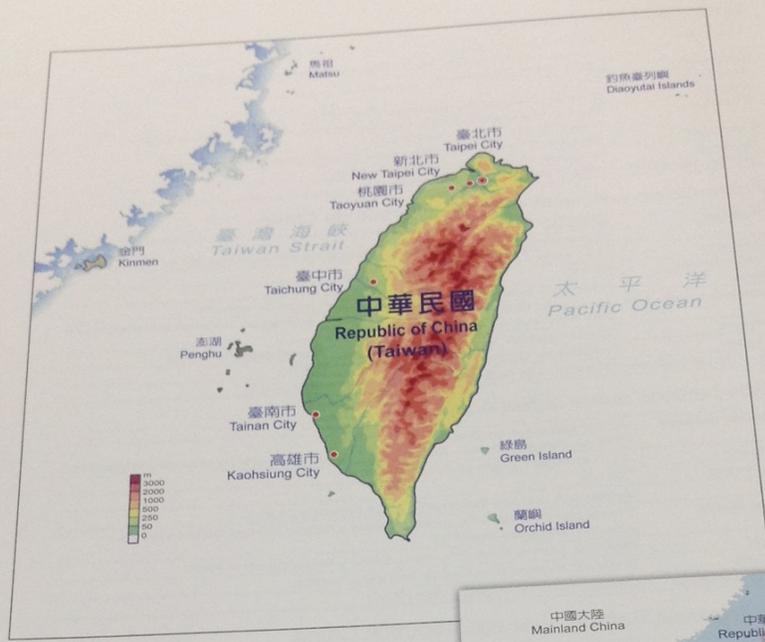


2015 Taiwan's official South China Sea Map





三、王遠舟
 Baylis, Inc.
 四、張亞中主編
 Relations)
 Tim Dunne 等
 Relations Theor
 梁文韜著, 2012
 爭辯》, 台北
 怡仁著, 2013
 和主編, 2011



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)



Taiwanese people have multiple views about

- **state (國家)**: Taiwan and/or ROC?
- **Nation (民族)**: Taiwanese and/or Chinese?

We have
developed a good number of survey questions,
but few discussion about
the concept-measurement connections

Taiwan, a nation-state (yet)?

That is why the concepts of nation and state should be clarified first.

How do scholars measure “state” identification?
“Chinese/Taiwanese” or “unification/independence”

Research Questions

- Are the measurements valid?
- Do the concepts find their measurements?
 - How sure are we when we associate the measurements with concepts?
 - How is the most commonly used survey question—unification/independence preference—function as a concept?
 - Could we find the right indicators for the concept of state identification?

Exploratory Methodology and Method

- Methodology: the Exploratory Data Analysis (EDA) approach
- Method: Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) techniques
- Explore patterns emerging from 30 survey questions that are most commonly used for studying political identity (please see Appendix of the paper).
- Double check patterns with multiple datasets

Data Sets

Representative Samples

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

Convenient Sample

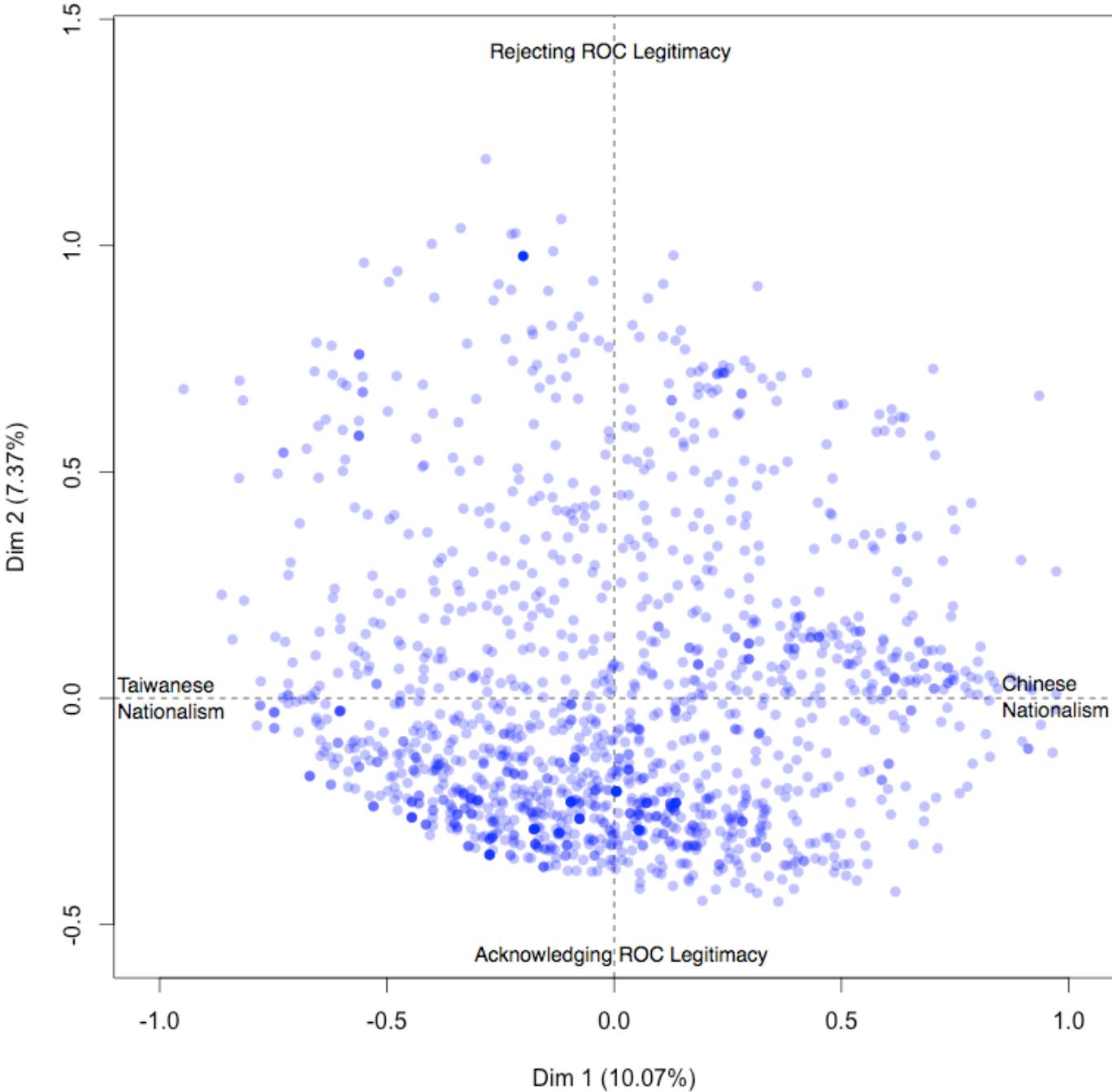
- Web panel 2015-**2016** (n=468)

Main Findings

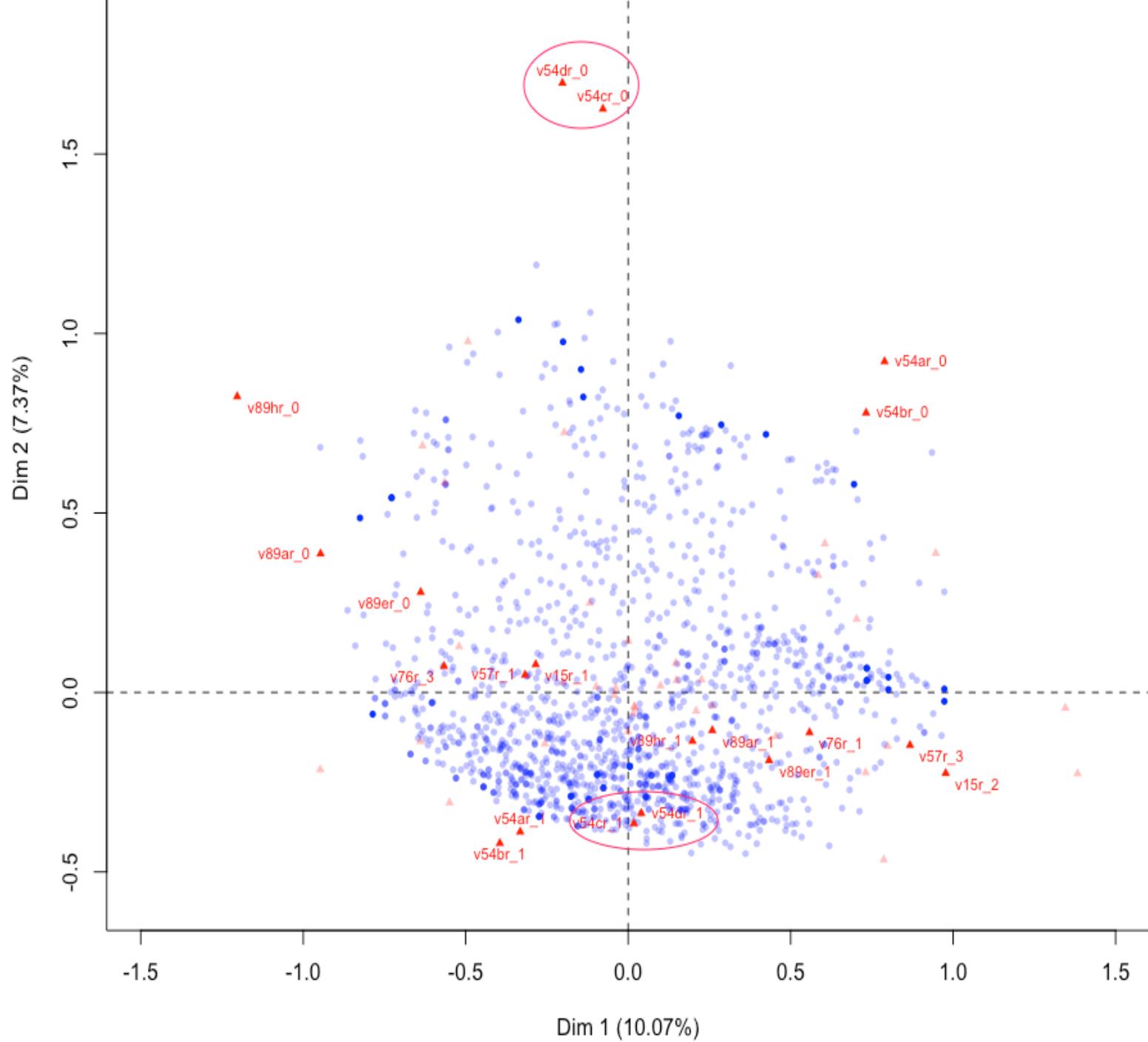
- We have many survey questions but not many concepts.
- One emerging concept is associated with acknowledging or rejecting the legacy of the Republic of China.
- The commonly used measurement “unification/independence” preference cannot fit into major concepts.

The distribution of
Taiwan Voters along
nationalism and
perception about
ROC

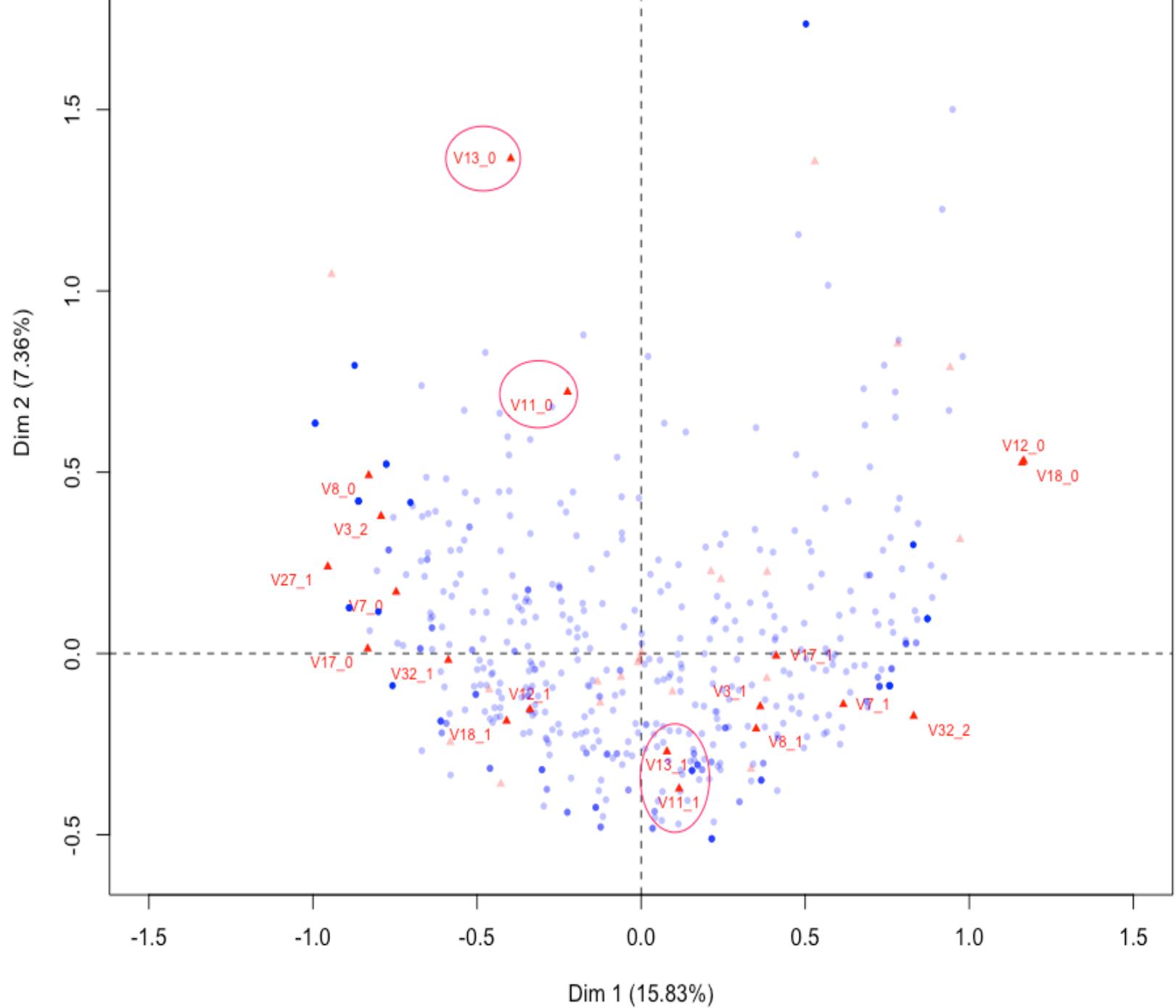
(TSCS2013, N=1,952)



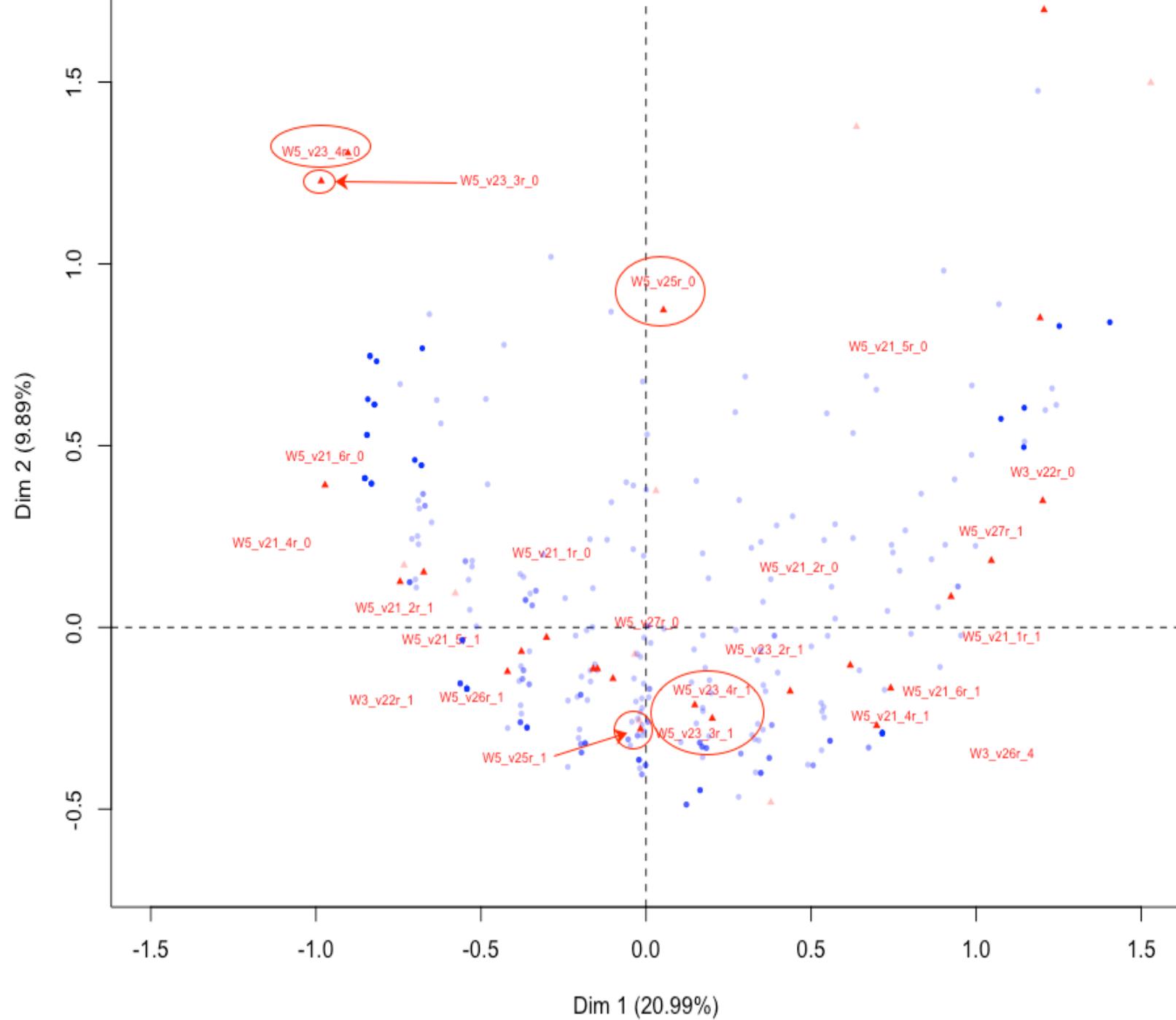
TSCS2013



ID2015



Webpanel 2015-2016



Measurements of the 1st Dimension

- **“Do you consider yourself as Taiwanese, Chinese, or both?”**
- “The Chinese people consist of various ethnic groups, and those groups should not be isolated from one another perception about Chinese nation.”
- “Taiwan has developed very different cultures that should no longer be regarded as part of Chinese culture.”
- “The Chinese people consist of various ethnic groups, and those groups should not be isolated from one another.”
- “Taiwanese people’s forefather is the Yellow Emperor (also called as Huang-di) from China, and we must inherit such an original and history.”
- “As the descendants of the Yellow Emperor, we should try our best to promote Chinese culture in the international community.”

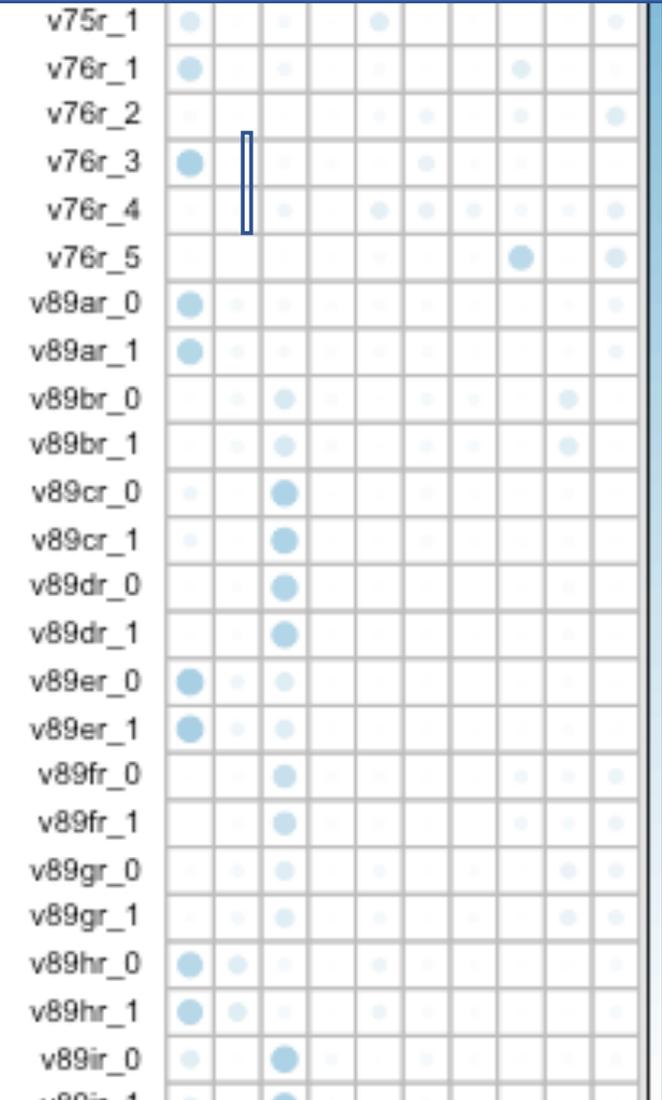
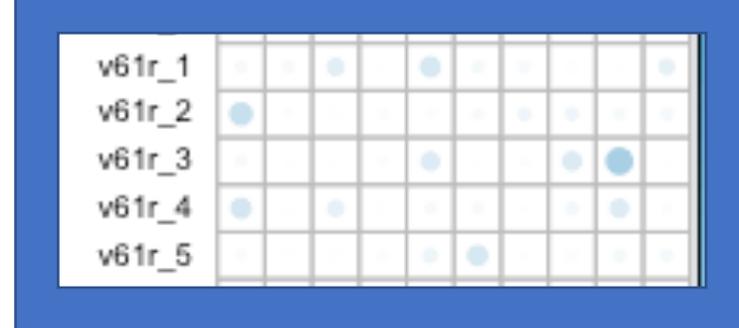
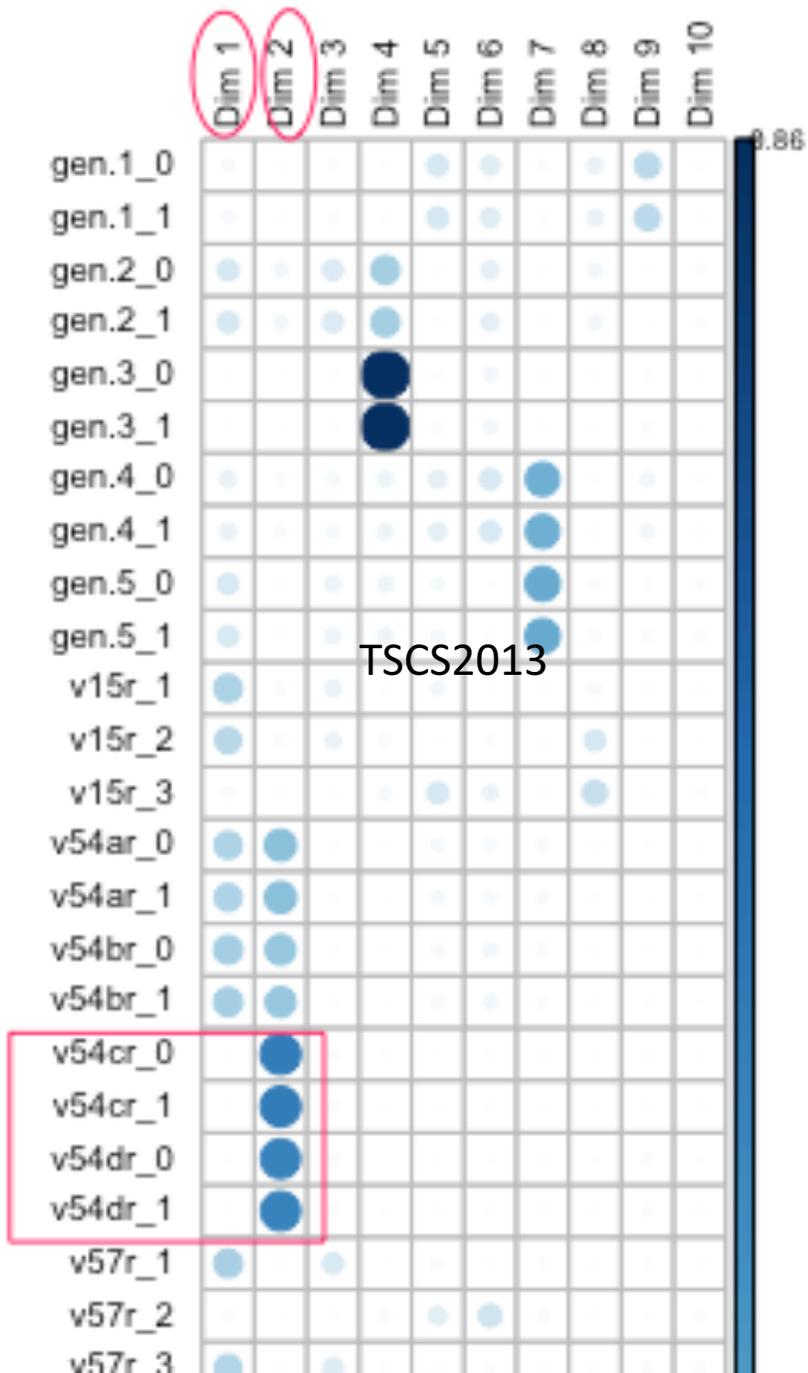
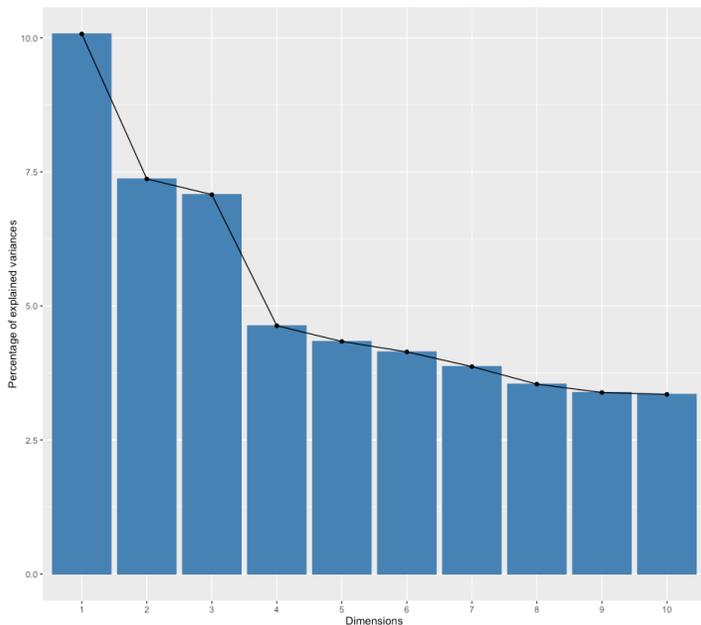
Measurements of the 2nd Dimension

- "End of the Ching Dynasty and establishment of **the Republic of China** is an important historical event and should be remembered by the next generation and forever."
- " The victory of the Second Sino-Japanese War is an important historical event and should be remembered by the next generation and forever."

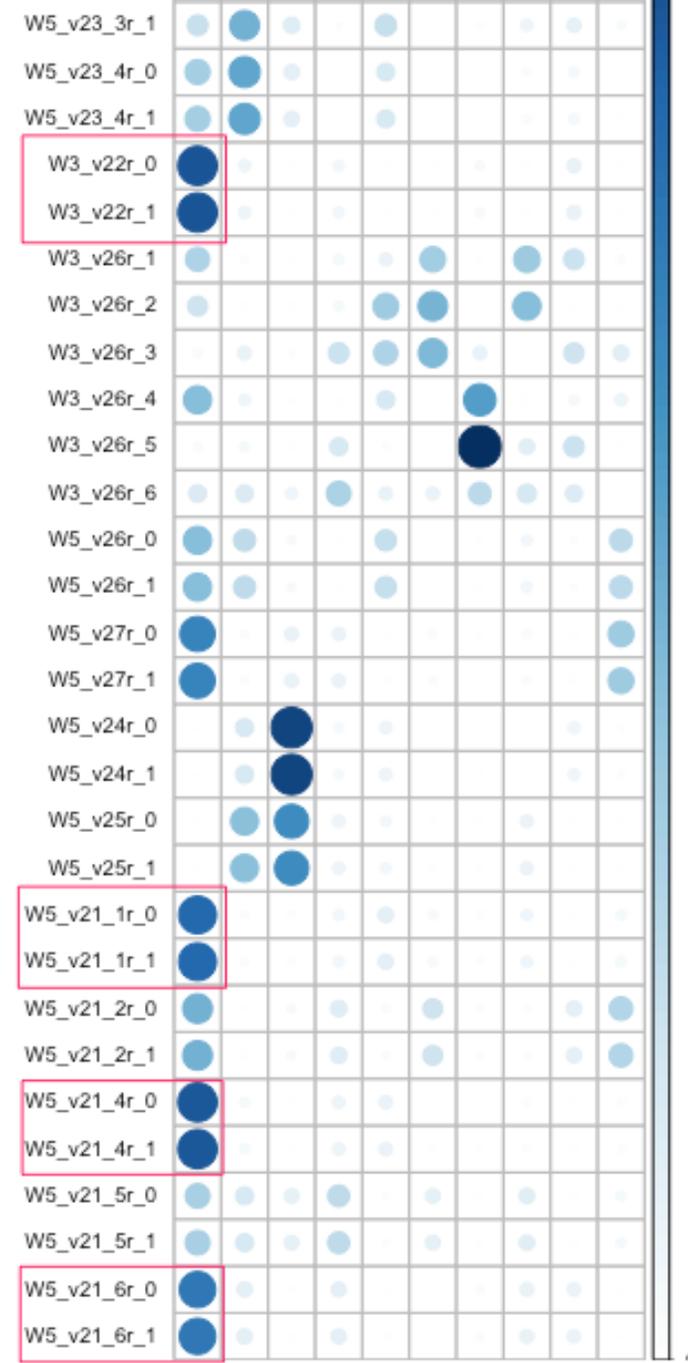
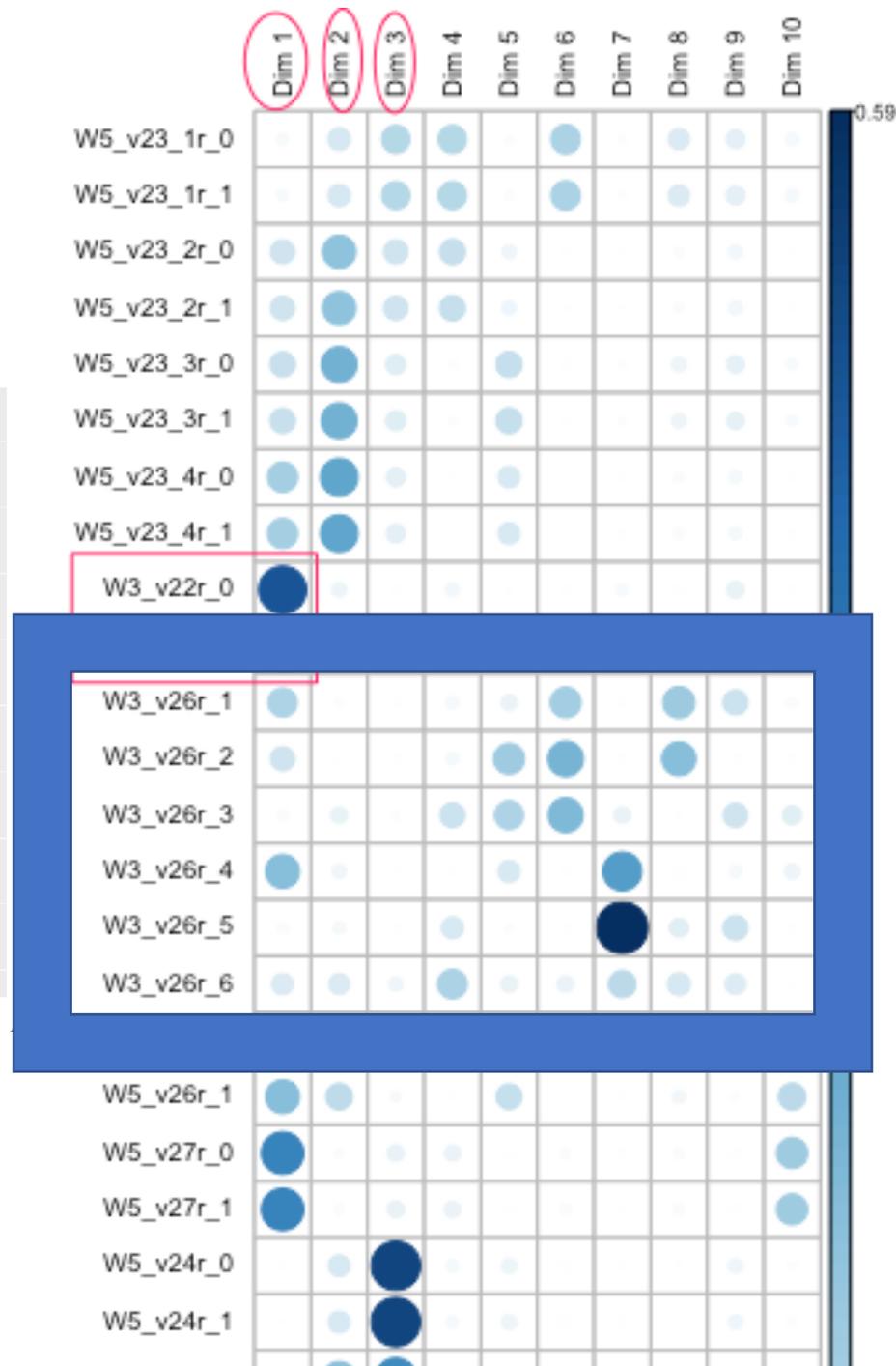
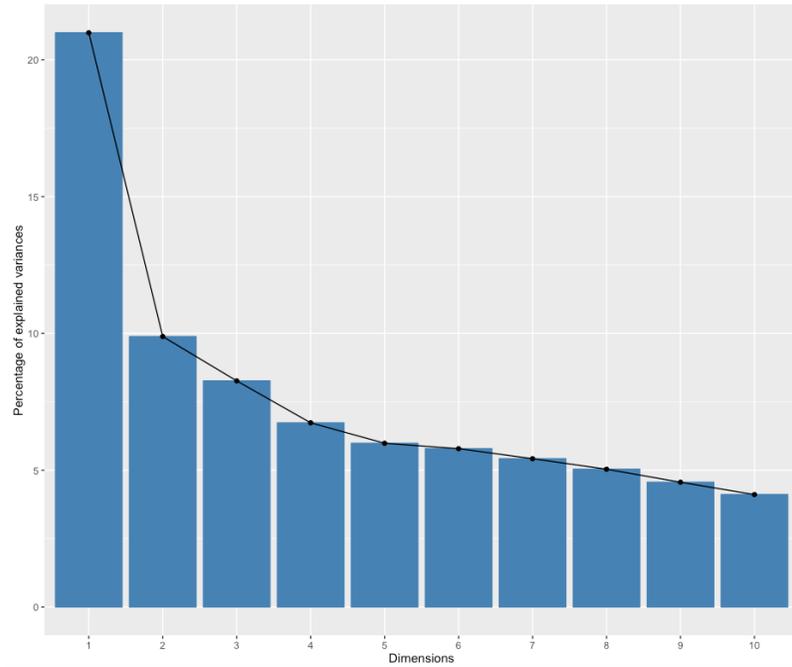
The Failure of the Uni/Indpt Measurement

- The commonly used simple "unification/independence" question can NOT be grouped into any of the top 10 dimensions.
- Even the conditional unification/independence questions are NOT measurements of state but national identification:
 - "If the independence of Taiwan would not lead to war, we should declare independence."
 - "If the economic, social and political development in China is more or less the same as development in Taiwan, there should be a cross-strait unification."

TSCS2013



Webpanel 2015-2016



Conclusions

- It is likely that most commonly used survey questions regarding Taiwan's political future are linked to one concept: national/ethnic identification.
- The concept of state/country identification has been under-studied and its measurements are worth exploration.
- Time to Taiwan's identity politics onto a radar with at least two axes,
 - national identification: (Taiwanese-Chinese) and
 - state identification: (accepting-rejecting) the legacy of ROC.
- MCA is a promising tool for conceptualization.

When Taiwanese people talking about political identity, the language used is more about “**two nations**” (Chinese nation vs. Taiwanese nation) rather than “two states”.

Taiwan is neither a state- nation nor a nation-state

Taiwanese people see themselves as a nation with ambivalent perception of a state.

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



The **Measurement Crisis** in Taiwan's Identity Politics

The commonly used “Unification/Independence” language fail to function as a proper measurement of neither state identification nor national identification.

Future Studies

- Look for valid measurements for state identification.
- Observe how the legitimacy of ROC transforms or **diminishes** in Taiwan.
- Discover new perspectives by which political leaders, journalists, and scholars go beyond using Unification/Independent to describe the cross-Straight issue and political identity.

Keep Checking the Measurement-Concept Connection

- There are at least two survey questions that may compose the third concept:
 - “Do you believe the status quo with respect to Taiwan already constitutes independence?”
 - “Do you believe the people of Taiwan already have their own country?”

