



## M Shape vs. Bell Shape : The Ideology of National Identity and Its Psychological Basis in Taiwan

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According to Huang, Liu and Chang (2004), national identity in Taiwan is facing a dilemma of double identity, as both Taiwanese identity and Chinese identity are viable. This predicament has deep historical roots, but controversies between political and cultural aspects of identity have been increasing. In order to know more about the substance of double identity and its psychological basis, the present follow up research treated national identity as an awakening national consciousness. Collective self-esteem (affective component) and identity consciousness (cognitive component) combined with imagination of future nationhood (behavioral tendency) to form an ideology of national identity, which was measured using Likert-style items and entered into a discriminant analysis against categorical measures of national identity.

1368 adult participants from all regions in Taiwan completed a self-report questionnaire in 2003. An indigenous revised scale of collective self-esteem measured affective aspects of identity, and forty new items about identity consciousness were developed. The results of factor analysis indicated that national identity consciousness consisted of four sets of beliefs: “Greater Chinese consciousness”, “Kuomintang (KMT) legitimacy”, “separation consciousness”, and “Taiwanese refinement”. Whether participants supported reunification or independence served as the measure of imagined future nationhood. A categorical measure divided participants into three national identities based on forced choice survey responses: “Chinese First”, “Taiwanese First”, and

“Taiwanese Only”. These three kinds of national identity were regarded as dependent variables for the ideology of national identity. In addition, personality scales such as “social dominance orientation”, “right-wing authoritarian personality” were regarded as antecedent factors of the ideology of national identity.

Results demonstrated that people with three types of national identity showed significant differences on four sets of national identity consciousness, collective self-esteem, future imagination and other relevant variables. Discriminant analysis was used to provide a multivariate of analysis of the three types of national identity, and results indicated that “Taiwanese refinement” and “Taiwanese self-esteem” were in the middle of ideology and most people agreed with them, “separation consciousness” combined with “support for independence” on the one pole; and “Greater Chinese consciousness” “KMT legitimacy” and “support for unification” were on the other opposite pole of ideology. In other words, the distribution of the ideology of national identity was bell shaped but political party support was double peaks M shaped. Finally, a Structural Equation Model (SEM) was used to model the influences of psychological factors on the ideology of national identity, and the indicated that the three types of categorical national identity had different psychological bases.

**Key words:** *national identity, collective self-identity, collective consciousness, right-wing authoritarian, social dominant orientation*

