

ABSTRACT

Located within the literature on racial/ethnic identity formation theory, especially the transformational stages developed by William E. Cross in his “Psychology of Nigrescence,” the purpose of this dissertation is to interpret and analyze the biographical information of six selected activists affiliated with the Taiwan Independence Movement (hereafter TIM) in the United States, especially their experiences of identity shifting from Chinese identity to Taiwanese identity.

While contending that the essence of national identity --- especially the elements relevant to the construction of subjective meaning --- has often been neglected by most of the students of nationalism, the basic theoretical concern of this project is to bring the notion of national identity back into the tradition of social psychology, see national identity as a subtype of “social identity,” and adopt identity formation theory as an alternative framework for analyzing the national-identity-related issues.

As an exploratory study it is designed to address six research objectives, rather than to test a specific hypothesis. Specifically, this study is designed to address six research objectives, including: (1) a review and critique of the concept of national identity within the current literature on nationalism, especially the neglect of issues relevant to subjective meaning; (2) the identification of generic principles and processes in selected models relevant to racial/ethnic identity formation theory, so as to apply these principles as the framework for analyzing the self-described experiences of activists in the US TIM; (3) an assessment of the appropriateness of adopting the biographical method as the methodology for this study; (4) the presentation of a description of the process of national identity transformation illustrated by biographical data on six selected activists; (5) the construction of a preliminary model of national identity formation for comprehending these biographees’ experiences based on cross-case analysis; and (6) suggestion of the possible uses of the model and implications of the study for future research.

Key Words: National Identity, Racial/Ethnic Identity Formation Theory, Biography, Life History, Taiwan Independence Movement in the United States, Activists

**TRANSFORMING NATIONAL IDENTITY IN THE DIASPORA:
AN IDENTITY FORMATION APPROACH TO BIOGRAPHIES OF
ACTIVISTS AFFILIATED WITH THE TAIWAN INDEPENDENCE
MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	i
Table of Contents.....	vi
Detailed Table of Contents	viii
List of Tables	xviii
List of Figures.....	xx
List of Abbreviations	xxi
Acknowledgements	xxiii
Notes on Translation	xxviii
Chapter One: Introduction.....	1
Chapter Two: Literature Review: The Concept of National Identity within the Current Literature on Nationalism.....	37
Chapter Three: Analytical Framework: An Identity Formation Approach to National Identity.....	86
Chapter Four: Methodology: The Biographical Method.....	114
Chapter Five: Case Study (1): The Process of National Identity Formation of Ming-min Peng.....	167
Chapter Six: Case Study (2): The Process of National Identity Formation of Mu-sheng Wu.....	278
Chapter Seven: Case Study (3): The Process of National Identity Formation of Trong R. Chai.....	386
Chapter Eight: Case Study (4): The Process of National Identity Formation of Tsing-fang Chen.....	480
Chapter Nine: Case Study (5): The Process of National Identity Formation of Strong C. Chuang.....	578
Chapter Ten: Case Study (6): The Process of National Identity Formation of Fang-ming Chen.....	684
Chapter Eleven: Discussion.....	778
Chapter Twelve: Conclusion.....	898
Appendix.....	930
Glossary	936

References.....	988
Vita	1106

DETAILED TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	i
Table of Contents.....	vi
Detailed Table of Contents	viii
List of Tables	xvii
List of Figures.....	xix
List of Abbreviations	xx
Acknowledgements	xxii
Notes on Translation	xxvii
Chapter One: Introduction	
1.1 Statement of the Problem.....	1
1.2 A Brief Sketch of Taiwan.....	4
1.2.1 The Land and the People.....	4
1.2.2 The Origin of Modern Taiwanese Nationalism: The February 28 Incident, 1947.....	8
1.2.3 The Roots of Taiwanese Nationalism: Distinguished Historical Experience.....	12
1.3 Situating the Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement into the Historical Context.....	13
1.4 U.S. Taiwan Independence Movement as an Unexamined Phenomenon...	20
1.4.1 Taiwan Studies.....	21
1.4.2 American Studies.....	27
1.5 Proposing the Research Questions.....	31
1.6 Research Objectives.....	32
1.7 Chapter Arrangement	33
Chapter Two: Literature Review: The Concept of National Identity within the Current Literature on Nationalism	
2.1 Introduction.....	37
2.2 The Concept of Identity.....	38
2.2.1 Why Study Identity?.....	39
2.2.2 The Development and Problem of Identity Studies.....	43
2.2.3 The Definition of Identity.....	47
2.2.4 Three Types of Identity: Individual Identity, Collective Identity, and Social Identity	51
2.3 The Concept of Nation.....	56
2.3.1 The Fundamental Problem of Studying Nation and Nationalism....	56

2.3.2 Defining Nation from Objective Characteristics.....	61
2.3.3 Defining Nation from Subjective Consciousness.....	63
2.3.4 The Definition of Nation.....	64
2.4. The Concept of National Identity.....	67
2.4.1 The Definition of National Identity.....	67
2.4.2 The Characteristics of National Identity.....	70
2.5. The Concept of National Identity within the Current Literature on Nationalism: The Neglect of Subjectivity Issues.....	74
2.5.1 Overview of Current Literature on Nationalism.....	74
2.5.2 The Neglect of Subjectivity Issues within the Current Literature on Nationalism.....	81
2.5.3 Concluding Remarks.....	84
 Chapter Three: Analytical Framework: An Identity Formation Approach to National Identity	
3.1 Introduction.....	86
3.2 The Origins of Identity Formation Theory.....	87
3.2.1 Identity as a Psychosocial Stage: Erik Erikson.....	87
3.2.2 Identity as a Personality Construct: James Marcia’s Identity Status Model.....	92
3.3 The Application of Identity Formation Theory to Studies on Racial/Ethnic Identity.....	94
3.4 Cross’s Nigrescence Model.....	98
3.4.1 Pre-encounter Stage.....	99
3.4.2 Encounter Stage.....	103
3.4.3 Immersion-emersion Stage.....	106
3.4.4 Internalization Stage.....	108
3.5 An Identity Formation Approach to National Identity.....	112
 Chapter Four: Methodology: The Biographical Method	
4.1 Introduction.....	114
4.2 The Biographical Method.....	115
4.2.1 The Definition of Biography.....	115
4.2.2 A Brief History of the Biographical Method in The Social Sciences.....	116
4.3 The Rationale of Adopting the Biographical Method in this Study.....	121
4.3.1 Advantages of the Biographical Method.....	122
4.3.2 Disadvantages of the Biographical Method.....	125
4.3.3 Why the Biographical Method in this Study?.....	127

4.4 Selection of Biographical Works.....	131
4.4.1 Defining the U.S. Taiwan Independence Movement.....	131
4.4.2 Defining the Activist.....	134
4.4.3 All Possible Biographical Data.....	137
4.4.4 The Criteria Used in This Study to Select the Research Subjects...	143
4.4.5 Biographical data Relevant to the Selected Research Subjects.....	146
4.5 Procedures for Data Analysis.....	150
4.5.1 Immersion in the Biographee's Life.....	155
4.5.2 Establishing a Basic File about the Biographee's Life History.....	155
4.5.3 Constructing an Analytical File.....	159
4.5.4 Conducting a Within-case Analysis.....	160
4.5.5 Conducting a Cross-case Analysis.....	162
4.6 Research Relationships.....	162

Chapter Five: Case Study (1): The Process of National Identity Formation of Ming-min Peng

5.1 Introduction.....	167
5.2 The Childhood and Adolescence Periods (1923-1939).....	169
5.2.1 Family Background.....	169
5.2.2 Father.....	172
5.2.3 A Taiwanese Attending Japanese Schools.....	175
5.2.4 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	183
5.2.5 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period (Cont.).....	184
5.3 The Period during Study in Japan (1939-1945).....	189
5.3.1 The Middle School Section of the Kansei Gakuin.....	190
5.3.2 Entering the Third Higher School in Kyoto.....	192
5.3.3 The Low Ebb of Life in the High Tide of War.....	196
5.3.4 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	199
5.4 The Period under the KMT Rule (1946-1964).....	203
5.4.1 The Expectations for the New Era.....	204
5.4.2 The First Impressions of China/Chinese.....	205
5.4.3 Entering National Taiwan University.....	209
5.4.4 The February 28 Incident in 1947.....	210
5.4.5 Going to the Western World to Study.....	213
5.4.6 The Golden Period of Academic Career.....	215
5.4.7 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	219
5.4.8 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period (Cont.).....	228

5.5 Drafting “A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation” (1964-1970).....	232
5.5.1 Drafting “A Declaration of Formosan Self-salvation”.....	233
5.5.2 Court Martial and Surveillance.....	236
5.5.3 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period: The Collapse of the Old Identity.....	238
5.5.4 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period (Cont.): The Construction of the New Identity.....	241
5.6 Overseas Exile (1970-1992).....	246
5.6.1 Escaping to Sweden.....	246
5.6.2 Formosan Studies, Inc. and the WUFI.....	249
5.6.3 The Taiwanese-American Society and the FAPA.....	251
5.6.4 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	255
5.6.5 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period (Cont.).....	260
5.7 The Period during Taiwan’s Democratization (1992-).....	265
5.7.1 Returning to Taiwan.....	266
5.7.2 Presidential Candidate and the Nation-building Union of Taiwan..	267
5.7.3 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	271
5.8 Conclusion.....	274

Chapter Six: Case Study (2): The Process of National Identity Formation of Mu-sheng Wu

6.1 Introduction.....	278
6.2 The Childhood Period (1933-1945).....	280
6.2.1 Family Background.....	280
6.2.2 Daliao and Niaosong Elementary Schools during the Japanese Rule Period.....	288
6.2.3 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	292
6.2.4 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period (Cont.).....	295
6.3 The Period under the KMT Rule (1945-1963).....	300
6.3.1 Shifting from Japanese to Chinese.....	301
6.3.2 The February 28 Incident of 1947.....	305
6.3.3 Life in Middle and High Schools.....	308
6.3.4 National Taiwan University.....	313
6.3.5 Air Force Reserve Officer.....	318
6.3.6 The Days at Taiwan Sugar Company.....	320
6.3.7 A Description of National Identity during the Period.....	324
6.3.8 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	330
6.4 The Initial Period during Study and Work in the United States (1963-1986).....	333

6.4.1 Studying for Master's Degree at the University of Mississippi.....	333
6.4.2 Working for Geigy Chemical in Alabama.....	337
6.4.3 Working for Mobil Chemical in New Jersey.....	340
6.4.4 Joining the UFAl.....	341
6.4.5 Studying for Ph.D. Degree at the University of Texas at Austin.....	345
6.4.6 The Taiwanese Association of America.....	350
6.4.7 The Years in New England.....	357
6.4.8 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	360
6.4.9 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period (Cont.).....	367
6.5 The Post-WUFI Period (1986-).....	370
6.5.1 Deciding Not to Renew the WUFI membership.....	370
6.5.2 Returning to Alabama.....	373
6.5.3 Returning to Taiwan for the First Time.....	375
6.5.4 The Fourth Movement.....	376
6.5.5 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	378
6.6 Conclusion.....	383

Chapter Seven: Case Study (3): The Process of National Identity Formation of Trong R. Chai

7.1 Introduction.....	386
7.2 The Childhood Period (1935-1945).....	388
7.2.1 Family Background.....	388
7.2.2 Childhood Years.....	395
7.2.3 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	397
7.3 The Period under the KMT Rule (1945-1960).....	397
7.3.1 The Initial Period after the KMT's Takeover and the February 28 Incident.....	398
7.3.2 Father Arrested without Rhyme or Reason.....	400
7.3.3 Life in Middle and High Schools.....	402
7.3.4 National Taiwan University.....	406
7.3.5 The Guanziling Meeting.....	409
7.3.6 A Description of National Identity during the Period.....	412
7.3.7 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	418
7.4 The Initial Period during Study and Work in the United States (1960-1986).....	421
7.4.1 The Master Program at the University of Tennessee.....	422
7.4.2 The Doctoral Program at the University of Southern California....	424
7.4.3 Starting to Participate in the TIM.....	428
7.4.4 Chairperson of the UFAl.....	431

7.4.5 Teaching and Research Days.....	437
7.4.6 President of the Formosan Association for Public Affairs.....	440
7.4.7 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	445
7.5 Promoting the Plebiscite Movement in the United States (1986-1990).....	455
7.5.1 Commissioner of the FAPA Plebiscite Committee.....	455
7.5.2 Determined to Return to Taiwan.....	458
7.5.3 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	460
7.6 Returning to Taiwan (1990-).....	463
7.6.1 President of the Association for A Plebiscite in Taiwan.....	464
7.6.2 Elected Five Terms as a Legislator.....	466
7.6.3 Formosa TV.....	469
7.6.4 Continuing to Push the Plebiscite Law in the Legislative Yuan.....	470
7.6.5 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	474
7.7 Conclusion.....	476

Chapter Eight: Case Study (4): The Process of National Identity Formation of Tsing-fang Chen

8.1 Introduction.....	480
8.2 The Childhood Period (1936-1945).....	482
8.2.1 Family Background and Childhood Years.....	482
8.2.2 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	488
8.3 The Period under the KMT Rule (1945-1963).....	489
8.3.1 Middle School Years.....	489
8.3.2 National Taiwan University and Reserve Officer.....	494
8.3.3 Around the World with the Moral Rearmament Movement.....	496
8.3.4 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	498
8.4 The Period during Study in Paris (1963-1970).....	504
8.4.1 Between Literature and Painting.....	504
8.4.2 The Emerging Dissident Consciousness.....	506
8.4.3 The Writing of Ph.D. Dissertation.....	511
8.4.4 In Search of New Painting Style: The Use of Hieroglyphs and Folk Arts.....	514
8.4.5 The Theory of “Five-Dimensional World Culture” and the Completion of Dissertation.....	520
8.4.6 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	525
8.4.7 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period (Cont.).....	530
8.5 Participating in the World Federation of Taiwanese Association (1970-1980).....	542
8.5.1 Organizing the “Taiwanese Association” in France.....	542

8.5.2 Organizing the World Federation of Taiwanese Association.....	548
8.5.3 Moving to the United States.....	553
8.5.4 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	555
8.6 Returning to the Painting World (1980-).....	558
8.6.1 Returning to the Kingdom of Art.....	559
8.6.2 Returning to Taiwan for the First Time.....	561
8.6.3 The Spirit of Liberty.....	563
8.6.4 The Story after 1987.....	566
8.6.5 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	571
8.7 Conclusion.....	575

Chapter Nine: Case Study (5): The Process of National Identity Formation of
Strong C. Chuang

9.1 Introduction.....	578
9.2 Childhood under the Japanese Rule (1938-1945).....	580
9.2.1 Family Background and Childhood Years.....	580
9.2.2 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	589
9.3 The Period under the KMT's Rule (1945-1965).....	590
9.3.1 Zhaigang Elementary School and Xuejia Elementary School.....	591
9.3.2 The Junior Section of Chang Jung Middle School.....	596
9.3.3 Nanguang High School.....	601
9.3.4 The Years at National Taiwan University.....	604
9.3.5 Military Service in Matsu.....	609
9.3.6 Starting to Work as a Public Servant.....	611
9.3.7 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	613
9.3.8 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period (Cont.).....	616
9.4 The Initial Period during Study in the United States (1965-1966).....	619
9.4.1 Kansas State University.....	619
9.4.2 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	626
9.4.3 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period (Cont.).....	631
9.5 Joining the WUFI (1966-1988).....	634
9.5.1 Joining the UFAL.....	635
9.5.2 The Doctoral Program at Purdue University.....	637
9.5.3 Working for Procter and Gamble.....	643
9.5.4 Elected to the WUFI Central Committee.....	649
9.5.5 The KMT's Oppression against the Opposition Movement.....	653
9.5.6 The Disturbances within the WUFI.....	657
9.5.7 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	661
9.6 The Period during Taiwan's Democratization (1988-).....	667

9.6.1 Sneaking Back into Taiwan.....	667
9.6.2 Moving to Delaware and the WUFI's Relocation to Taiwan.....	672
9.6.3 Finale of the Story.....	675
9.6.4 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	678
9.7 Conclusion.....	680
Chapter Ten: Case Study (6): The Process of National Identity Formation of Fang-ming Chen	
10.1 Introduction.....	684
10.2 Before Going Abroad to Study (1947-1974).....	686
10.2.1 Family Background.....	686
10.2.2 Elementary School, Junior Middle School and High School.....	694
10.2.3 Fu-Jen University.....	696
10.2.4 The Graduate School at National Taiwan University.....	698
10.2.5 A Description of National Identity during the Period.....	702
10.2.6. An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	705
10.3 The Initial Period during Study Abroad (1974-1980).....	711
10.3.1 Between Red China, White China and Taiwan.....	712
10.3.2 Breaking up with Kwang-chung Yu.....	716
10.3.3 The Pulse of Time.....	722
10.3.4 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	724
10.3.5 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period (Cont.).....	730
10.4 Overseas Exile (1980-1992).....	736
10.4.1 The <i>Formosa Weekly</i>	737
10.4.2 The Taiwanese Consciousness Debate.....	741
10.4.3 The <i>Taiwan Culture</i> Bimonthly.....	745
10.4.4 A Description of National Identity during the Period.....	749
10.4.5 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	757
10.5 Returning to Taiwan (1992-).....	762
10.5.1 The Director of DPP's Department of Culture and Information...	763
10.5.2 Returning to Academia.....	766
10.5.3 A Description of National Identity during the Period.....	767
10.5.4 An Analysis of National Identity during the Period.....	773
10.6 Conclusion.....	775
Chapter Eleven: Discussion	
11.1 Introduction.....	778
11.2 The Process of National Identity Formation among U.S. TIM Activists: Summary of the Case Studies.....	779

11.2.1 Ming-min Peng (1923 -).....	782
11.2.2 Mu-sheng Wu (1934 -).....	788
11.2.3 Trong R. Chai (1935 -).....	793
11.2.4 Tsing-fang Chen (1936 -).....	800
11.2.5 Strong C. Chuang (1938 -).....	806
11.2.6 Fang-ming Chen (1947 -).....	812
11.3 The National Identity Pattern among U.S. TIM Activists: A Typological Analysis.....	818
11.3.1 Japanese Identity Patterns.....	819
11.3.2 Chinese Identity Patterns.....	826
11.3.3 Low-salience Patters of National Identity.....	833
11.3.4 Taiwanese Identity Patterns.....	835
11.4 The Process of National Identity Formation among U.S. TIM Activists: A Typological Analysis.....	848
11.5. The Process of National Identity Formation among U.S. TIM Activists: The Establishment of an Identity Formation Model.....	852
11.5.1 Stage 1: Childhood.....	856
11.5.2 Stage 2: Adolescence.....	863
11.5.3 Stage 3: Early Adulthood.....	873
11.5.4 Stage 4: Adult Conversion.....	877
11.5.5 Stage 4: Adult Conversion (Cont.).....	881
11.5.6 Stage 5: Identity Recycling during Exile.....	886
11.5.7 Stage 6: Identity Recycling after Democratization.....	894
 Chapter Twelve: Conclusion	
12.1 Introduction.....	898
12.2 Contribution of this Research	898
12.2.1 Contribution to Literature on Nationalism.....	899
12.2.2 Contribution to Literature on Racial/Ethnic Identity Formation...	900
12.3 Limitations and Shortcomings of this Research.....	901
12.3.1 Sampling Problem of Gender Distribution.....	902
12.3.2 Sampling Problem of Generation Distribution.....	903
12.3.3 Sampling Problem of Immigration and Educational Background.	905
12.4 Future Study.....	907
12.4.1 Using Different Theoretical Frameworks to Analyze the Activists Selected in this Study	907
12.4.2 Continuing to Study the U.S. TIM Activists.....	913
12.4.3 Continuing to Study the U.S. TIM.....	917
12.4.4 Studying Taiwanese American.....	920

12.4.5 Studying the TIM Activists in Other Areas and at Different Eras.. 923
12.4.6 Studying Activists of Other Political/Social Movements..... 928

Appendix. A Brief Introduction to the TIM-related Organizations in the United States..... 930
Glossary..... 936
References..... 988
Vita 1106

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1	Significant Events in Taiwanese History before World War II.....	14
Table 1.2	Selected Research Topics about National Identity in Taiwan, Historical Studies.....	24
Table 1.3	Selected Research Topics about National Identity in Taiwan, Macro-structural Studies.....	25
Table 2.1	Frequency Count of the Word “Identity” in “Dissertation and Thesis Abstracts” of Taiwan.....	46
Table 2.2	A Summary of Proposed Three Types of Identity.....	53
Table 2.3	Main Varieties of Modernization Theory in the Study of Nationalism.....	78
Table 3.1	The Four Stages of Nigrescence.....	100
Table 4.1	Terms/Forms Relevant to Biography.....	117
Table 4.2	Biographies of Activists Affiliated with the Taiwan Independence Movement in the United States.....	138
Table 4.3	Various Strategies Used in Analyzing Biographical Data.....	152
Table 4.4	A Continuum of “Construction”.....	155
Table 5.1	Major Events in the Life of Ming-min Peng.....	177
Table 6.1	Major Events in the Life of Mu-sheng Wu.....	281
Table 7.1	Major Events in the Life of Trong R. Chai.....	390
Table 8.1	Major Events in the Life of Tsing-fang Chen.....	484
Table 8.2	Tsing-fang Chen’s Theory on “Five-dimensional World Culture”...	522
Table 9.1	Major Events in the Life of Strong C. Chuang.....	582
Table 10.1	Major Events in the Life of Fang-ming Chen.....	688
Table 11.1	Process of National Identity Formation among U.S. TIM Activists: Summary of Case Studies.....	780
Table 11.2	Process of National Identity Formation among U.S. TIM Activists: Typological Analysis.....	849

Table 11.3	Comparison between Parham’s “Recycling Stages” and Cross and Fhagen-Smith’s “Modified Recycling Stages”	890
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LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1	The Map of Taiwan.....	6
Figure 1.2	Location of Taiwan.....	7
Figure 1.3	The Evolution of World United Formosans for Independence, 1956-1970.....	16
Figure 2.1	A Synthesized Definition of Nation.....	68
Figure 3.1	Psychosocial Stages Proposed by Erikson.....	91
Figure 3.2	Four Categories of Identity Status Proposed by Marcia.....	94
Figure 5.1	Photo of Ming-min Peng.....	170
Figure 7.1	Photo of Trong R. Chai.....	389
Figure 8.1	Photo of Tsing-fang Chen.....	482
Figure 8.2	Early Painting of Tsing-fang Chen (1965).....	516
Figure 8.3	“The Real Moon” by Tsing-fang Chen (1973).....	525
Figure 8.4	“Greetings from the East” by Tsing-fang Chen (1985).....	565
Figure 8.5	“Early Bird” by Tsing-fang Chen (1990).....	568
Figure 9.1	Self-portrait of Strong C. Chuang: The Pleasure with Grandson (2002).....	581
Figure 9.2	Logo of WUFI Designed by Strong C. Chuang.....	647
Figure 10.1	Photo of Fang-ming Chen.....	686
Figure 11.1	Descriptive Model of Process of National Identity Formation among U.S. TIM Activists.....	853
Figure 11.2	Typology of Biographees’ Identity Patterns in the Stage of Identity Recycling during Exile.....	892

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APT	Association for A Plebiscite in Taiwan
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CHRF	Committee for Human Rights in Formosa
CUM	Chinese Unification Movement
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
EFTA	European Federation of Taiwanese Association
FAPA	Formosan Association for Public Affairs
FFF	Formosan's Free Formosa
KMT	Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party)
KSU	Kansas State University
NATMA	North American Taiwanese Medical Association
NATPA	North America Taiwanese Professors' Association
NATWA	North America Taiwanese Women's Association
NTU	National Taiwan University
OTIM	Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement
PRC	People's Republic of China
PCT	Presbyterian Church in Taiwan
PGROF	Provisional Government of Republic of Formosa
ROC	Republic of China
TAA	Taiwanese Association of America
TC	Taiwanese Collegian
TCP	Taiwanese Communist Party

TIM	Taiwan Independence Movement
TSU	Taiwan Solidarity Union
UFAI	United Formosans in America for Independence
UFI	United Formosans For Independence
UFIE	Union for Formosa's Independence in Europe
USC	University of Southern California
UYFI	United Youth Formosans for Independence
WFTA	World Federation of Taiwanese Association
WUFI	World United Formosans for Independence

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and other friends, also provided me a lot of invaluable documentary resources relevant to the overseas TIM that allowed me to explore the history as well as ideology of this movement. Dr. Tsing-fang Chen and his lovely wife, Lucia Chen, were also generous, for they provided me with a massive number of newsclips about Dr. Chen, offered insightful comments on my draft about Dr. Chen's case study, and took time out of their busy schedule to accept my interview at their studio in New York City. Furthermore, I also got the warm and strong moral support from many OTIM activists who have encouraged me faithfully about the importance of this project. I do not intend to list all of their names here. But I think they can understand how precious I treasure their support in my heart.

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dissertation. This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, together with Yi-tsai Tserng, my beloved grandfather who passed away in 1999 before the birth of my son.

NOTES ON TRANSLATION

As per Western custom, all Taiwanese, Chinese, and Japanese names in the text are given with the first name first and family name last, with the exception of important political figures like Lee Teng-hui, Chen Shui-bian, Mao Zedong and so forth, who appear in this dissertation with the family name preceding the given name, as is the Taiwanese custom.

All Taiwanese, Chinese, and Japanese names and terms used in this dissertation are romanized in using the pinyin system, with the following exceptions:

(1). When a name has a preexisting romanized form that has gained wide publicity, the original form will be use to avoid confusion (e.g., Taipei, Kaohsiung, Hsinchu, Lee Teng-hui, Kuomintang, Seizo Kobayashi).

(2). When an author of a Chinese text also writes in English under the name not romanized in the pinyin system, or I learned of some people's personal way of romanizing their own names through social encounters with these people or by internet search of these people's names, the original form has been retained out of respect for their own preference (e.g., Trong R. Chai, Tsin-fang Chen, Strong C. Chuang).

(3). When following the convention to translate first name in English for Taiwanese, a dash (-) has been inserted between the second and third characters of the given name when applicable (e.g., Lee Teng-hui, Tsin-fang Chen, Guo-hui Dai), although this method does not conform to the conventional pinyin system. However, when an individual of the People's Republic of China or Japan is mentioned, a dash has not been inserted in order to follow the practice adopted in contemporary China and Japan (e.g., Mao Zedong, Seizo Kobayashi).

For all Taiwanese, Chinese, and Japanese names and terms occurring in the text, the pinyin romanization as well as the Chinese characters will be given in the following parentheses with italics (e.g., Kaohsiung (*Gaoxiong* 高雄), Trong R. Chai (*Cai Tongrong* 蔡同榮), Seizo Kobayashi (*Xiaolin Jicao* 小林躋造)) on their first occurrence. Once they are mentioned, these names and terms will not be given further information about their original words on their second and later occurrences.

A glossary of all Taiwanese, Chinese, and Japanese names and terms is provided as a part of the appendixes shown at the end of this dissertation.

Chapter One

Introduction

Political regimes may determine an official “identity” for a people but, subjectively, the identified may contest this designation.

--- Thomas B. Gold, *Taiwan's Quest for Identity in the Shadow of China*

1.1 Statement of the Problem

In a paper calling for core and comprehensive bibliographies of Taiwan Studies, John Shufelt notes that “Names are significant. Exactly what they signify has sometimes been the cause of serious dispute, and it is right that we should take care to call things by their proper names” (1997, 1). Indeed, few issues occupy a more central place than national identity, or “what’s in a name?”, on the future political agenda in Taiwan. For many decades, a notable theme of political debate in Taiwan has been the “naming” of this semitropical island, which has been known or identified, variously, as “*Formosa*,” “*The Republic of China*,” “*Chinese-Taipei*,” “*Taipei, China*,” “*The Republic of China on Taiwan*,” “*The Republic of China (Taiwan)*,” “*Taiwan*,” or arguably, “*The Republic of Taiwan*.” Especially since the 1990s, of all the phenomena that characterized the history of the past one and a half decades, the emergence of competing assertions of nationhood has had the most dramatic impact on the political landscape of that island state.¹ “The national identity issue,” states Chien-lung Lu (1999, back cover),

¹. For newly published general references about Taiwan, refer to Copper (1996, 2000); Dikotter and Shambaugh (1998); and Rubinstein (1999). For specific works regarding the “competition” among

a scholar of Taiwan's identity politics, "is one of the most earsplitting, controversial, irresolvable, and emotional problems [in Taiwan]."

The question of Taiwan's national identity is related to the international status of Taiwan. Is there to be an acceptance of the idea of one China with Taiwan having autonomy? Or is there to be independence for Taiwan with a separate Taiwan and a separate China? According to polling results released by the Mainland Affairs Council of Taiwan's Executive Yuan in May 2003, it seems that most Taiwanese residents do not have definite answers for the above questions yet. While most respondents prefer to "preserve the status quo," pro-independence supporters and pro-unification supporters are 21.6 per cent and 14.6 per cent respectively among the whole population (Mainland Affairs Council 2003a, 2003b).

The controversy over Taiwan's national identity is a heated debate that is taking place in Taiwan. However, it is an intense debate that is carried on among Taiwanese in the United States as well. The common view is that the political identity of Taiwanese Americans is shaped by the evolution of Sino-American relations and domestic politics over the last fifty years. The periodic surge in the tension between Taiwan and Mainland China never fails to galvanize the passions of many Taiwanese Americans. Unfortunately, until today, we do not yet have solid data on the political preferences of Taiwanese Americans for the future status of Taiwan. Nonetheless, the so-called "Taiwan Survey," which was conducted by then US Congress Representative Stephen J.

different nationalist discourses emerging in Taiwan, refer to Corcuff (2002a); Hsiao (2000); Hughes (1997); Lin and Zheng (2001); Cheng-feng Shih (1994); Shu (1998); and Mei-ling Wang (1999).

Solarz in July 1989, could serve as a reference point for the matter.² Among 4,500 respondents, all of them were Taiwanese Americans, 85.79 percent favored a plebiscite on Taiwan, 99.30 percent favored Taiwan self-determination, and 89.51 percent favored an independent Taiwan. Only 5 percent of respondents preferred to “preserve the status quo (Chai 1990, 160; Cheng-yi Lin 1991, 142).

The striking discrepancy about preferred national identity between Taiwanese on the island and Taiwanese outside the island deserves our attention. First of all, we can reach a straightforward conclusion that there exist different opinions regarding Taiwan’s national identity between Taiwanese in Taiwan and Taiwanese in the US. While the former prefer to preserve the status quo, the latter favor Taiwan as an independent country. Second, while taking only the pro-independence supporters into consideration, we can claim that the percentage of pro-independence supporters among Taiwanese Americans is much higher than among Taiwanese residing in Taiwan. Third, since many Taiwanese Americans possess Taiwanese identity through their resocialization experiences after leaving Taiwan, we can assume the existence of a specific mechanism in the US that accounts for transformation of their national identity. Through this mechanism, these Taiwanese Americans not only established a new national identity, but also abandoned their old identity, which was probably a product of the propaganda of Taiwan’s then

². The sample of this survey, which was provided by the Formosan Association for Public Affairs (*Taiwanren Gonggong Shiwuhui* 台灣人公共事務會, hereafter FAPA), included members of ethnic organizations and subscribers to newspaper and magazines relevant to Taiwanese Americans. The total number of this sample was 11,000, which constituted about one tenth of Taiwanese Americans across the US then. The return rate was 37 percent (Chai 1990, 160). We have to be very cautious about the meaning of the above numbers because we do not have the hard data about the exact number or a comprehensive name-list of Taiwanese Americans, the targeted population of this survey. However, since we do not have other available data regarding the matter at this moment, the result still deserves our attention.

Mainlander government.

What then is this identity-transformation-mechanism? What is the general process of identity change among Taiwanese Americans? It seems that the Taiwanese diaspora community plays a certain role in this process. However, we can only speculate this possibility, since we do *not* have any academic research dealing with the issue so far.

1.2 A Brief Sketch of Taiwan

1.2.1 The Land and the People

The island of Taiwan, or Formosa,³ lies between the Ryukyu Islands, which are part of Japan, to the north, and the Philippines, to the south. To the east of Taiwan is the Pacific Ocean; to the west is the Taiwan Strait; to the northwest lies the East China Sea, and to the southwest, the South China Sea. The Bashi Channel separates Taiwan from the Philippines. Taiwan is sometimes compared in shape to a sweet potato or to a tobacco leaf, two of its major crops. At 14,000 square miles, it is roughly the size of the Netherlands or the U.S. state of West Virginia. The Pescadores (*Penghu* 澎湖) group of islands off the southeast Taiwan coast, together with some smaller ones, is considered part of Taiwan itself (see Figure 1.1 for the map of Taiwan; Figure 1.2 for the location of Taiwan) (Copper 1993, 2; M. Cohen 1991, xii; Mendel 1970, 9).

(Figure 1.1 about here)

³. Around the mid-16 century, a Portuguese fleet sailing through the Taiwan Strait on the way to Japan sighted Taiwan and called it *Ilha Formosa*, meaning “beautiful island” in Portuguese. The Portuguese was the first Westerners to see Taiwan and gave the island a name based on their first impression. According to the existing literature, there are different accounts about the exact timing of this event. For instance, Cooper (1993, xi, 7) lists it as happening in 1517, Ong (1979, 19) as around 1541, Bing Su (1980a, 52) and De-shui Zhang (1992, 27, 34) as in 1557. However, the visit of this island by the Portuguese was not reported until 1599 (Mei-ling Wang 1999, 13).

(Figure 1.2 about here)

Taiwan's population is usually divided into four ethnic groups: Aborigines, Hoklo, Hakka, and Mainlander.⁴ The non-Han residents of several distinct groups, who are considered to be Malay-Polynesian origin, are referred to collectively as Aborigines (*Yuanzhumin* 原住民). They comprise a bit more than one percent of the population.

⁴. Any claim regarding people's grouping always involves political implications. This statement can easily be applied into the Taiwanese case, just like any other place in the world. In Taiwan, first of all, some authors challenge the idea of dividing the people of Taiwan into different "ethnic" groups (especially the notions of "Taiwanese" and "Mainlanders") since "the Taiwanese[,] whose ancestors had all come from the [M]ainland, are Chinese" (Lung 1987, 25, quoted from Johnson 1992, 71). Second, some authors challenge the notion of "ethnic group" itself and contend that the term is problematic due to the intermediation between ethnicity and some other phenomena like class, gender, or status. Accordingly, "the term 'ethnic' is a very weak analytical tool" (Kang Chao 1999, 29). Finally, some other researchers suggest the "existence" of different ethnic groups in Taiwan since identification with a specific ethnic group is a "subjective belief" (e.g., Wen-cheng Lin 1993; Cheng-feng Shih 1997b). In this dissertation, I take the last position to see the existence of different ethnic groups in Taiwan as a reality, at least phenomenologically.

However, different opinions about the appropriate "classification system" still exist among the last group of scholars. Since we can find sub-groups within every so-called "ethnic group" (Mainlanders came from various parts of China; Aborigines have different cultural backgrounds; Hoklo and Hakka can also be further classified, based on their origin, into some sub-groups), any classification can be seen as "arbitrary" to some extent. My conventional classification is adapted from Cheng-feng Shih's (1997b, 1) rationale: first, we can distinguish people in Taiwan into non-Han residents and Han residents; then, we can further choose the timing of arriving in Taiwan (i.e., before or after 1945) as the second criteria to classify people; finally, we can use language as another criteria to categorize Taiwanese into Hoklo and Hakka.

	Came to Taiwan before 1945	Came to Taiwan after 1945
Non-Han residents	a	Not applicable
Han residents	b	d

a: Aborigines
c: Hakka
b: Hoklo
d: Mainlander

Figure 1.1
The Map of Taiwan



Source: Central Intelligence Agency (1999)

Figure 1.2
Location of Taiwan



Source: Chinese Cultural Studies, Brooklyn College (nd)

Then, "Taiwanese (*Taiwanren* 台灣人)"⁵ is the term used to denote only those Han

⁵ . In Taiwan, especially within the elite circle, there is a new tendency using the term "Taiwanese" to refer to all inhabitants of Taiwan, including members of every ethnic groups, rather than members of Hoklo and Hakka only. This tendency demonstrates the signal of gradual formation of a new "we-group" consciousness based upon the territory of Taiwan, since every person residing in Taiwan is seen as Taiwanese. I agree with this new connotation of the term "Taiwanese," since it is totally "politically correct." However, to many ordinary people in Taiwan, "Taiwanese" is still referred to Hoklo and Hakka only. It is why I adopt the term "Taiwanese" to describe Hoklo and Hakka only in this dissertation.

Chinese who already lived in Taiwan prior to the wave of migration that occurred at the end of the 1940s; and their offspring. Based upon their mother tongue, Taiwanese can further be categorized into two groups: Hoklo (*Helaoren* 鶴佬人) and Hakka (*Kejiaren* 客家人). Together they comprise about slightly less than eighty-five percent of the population, with the former outnumbering the latter by two or three to one.

The fourth group, “Mainlanders (*Waishengren* 外省人),” refers to those who were born on the Mainland China and came to Taiwan after 1945, though most came in 1949 to escape the Chinese Communist Party (hereafter CCP); and also their offspring. They comprise about fourteen percent of the population.⁶

1.2.2 The Origin of Modern Taiwanese Nationalism: The February 28 Incident, 1947

Taiwan and the nearby Pescadores islands were ceded to Japan in 1895, as an aftermath of the first Sino-Japanese War between 1894 and 1895. Fifty years of colonial rule by Japan ended with that country's defeat in World War II. In 1945, the Chinese government on Mainland China, which was controlled by the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, hereafter KMT) then, sent troops and civil service officials to take over Taiwan from Japan. To the Taiwanese, the fifty years of humiliation as a colony was coming to an end, and they were anticipating to be rejoined their homeland and governed

⁶ Roughly beginning in the 1990s, “ethnicity” or “ethnic group” has become a burgeoning research topic in Taiwan studies. For the comprehensive account about the ethnic assimilation and competition in Taiwan, see Fu-chang Wang (1989). For the sophisticated relationship among ethnicity, class, and state in Taiwanese society, see Shu H. Huang (1995). For the relationship between ethnicity and national identity, see Mau-kuei Chang et al. (1993).

again as Chinese by Chinese.

However, the new Chinese administration squandered these fraternal sentiments with amazing speed. Yi Chen (*Chen Yi* 陳儀), then the KMT-appointed governor of the “recovered” province, and his cronies embezzled public funds, extorted protection money from wealthy Taiwanese, ran a lucrative black market exporting goods back to the Mainland, and put those who complained on list of “subversives.” The Chen administration’s corruption and mismanagement caused troop misbehavior, galloping inflation, declining production, rising labor unrest, and widespread unemployment. The experience of encountering with the Mainlanders, who arrived to replace the Japanese, caused many Taiwanese to acknowledge, with disappointment, that in many ways the Japanese were probably superior to the Chinese. The sentiment also caused them to see themselves as different from the Mainlanders. Under the circumstances, “[a] rebellion was virtually inevitable” (M. Cohen 1991, 10).

On February 27, 1947, a female cigarette vendor, who was a forty-year-old widow carrying a baby girl in her arms, was beaten up by the Taipei City Monopoly Bureau⁷ agents for not having the proper license from the bureau. Unexpectedly, a Taiwanese bystander was shot to dead by one of the agents. That night, and all the following day, riots broke out as the Taiwanese gave vent to their outrage at the KMT administration. It was estimated that between 50,000 and 60,000 people participated in these struggles (Moody 1992). The riot continued for two weeks as Taiwanese vented the anger, frustration, and hostility toward the Mainlanders that had mounted in the year and a half

⁷. Monopoly Bureau was a government agency that monopolized the sale of alcohol and tobacco.

since the KMT came to Taiwan in 1945. Yi Chen, the KMT governor, at first negotiated with the protesters. Having negotiated an agreement whereby they would hand in their weapons in return for concessions, Chen brought in reinforcements from the Mainland and used this protest as a pretext for wholesale terrorism against the Taiwanese population.

This bitter and violent conflict ended in the bloody suppression claiming perhaps thousands of Taiwanese lives,⁸ as the aftermath of state terrorism. The killings were a systematic attack on the Taiwanese elite. Many of those killed, including numerous doctors, intellectuals, teachers, and local leaders, were either those who were educated or those who were affluent. Termed “February 28 Incident⁹,”¹⁰ the suppression of this

⁸. The precise number of executions, if it was ever known by the authorities, has not been released. Estimates run from a conservative one thousand dead to an extreme of more than a hundred thousand (Wachman 1994, 99).

⁹. A sensitive issue in the historiography of Taiwan is how to refer to the events of early 1947 --- incident (*shijian* 事件), popular uprising (*minbian* 民變), rebellion (*panluan* 叛亂 or *panbian* 叛變), or massacre (*tusha* 屠殺)? Each term carries it a political agenda. For the purpose of this work, I will follow Phillips’ rationale to use “Incident,” a relatively neutral term, for describing the events. Based upon his explanation, in Chinese, *shijian* often carries the connotation of an important event that is both unexplained and accidental (*oufa* 偶發). This term tends to suggest that the KMT was not to blame for the events of February and March 1947. However, in English, “incident” does not carry with it the connotation of “accidental” (Phillips 1998, 163).

¹⁰. Before martial law was lifted in Taiwan, in the forty years after the February 28 Incident, the incident had been a strict political taboo. It was not allowed to talk about in daily life, much less any academic research regarding the incident. However, after martial law was lifted, all those who had been suppressed strived to regain their rights of speech. As a result, the February 28 Incident increasingly became a hot public topic. Many articles and books started to reflect and discuss the incident. Meanwhile, some scholars also started to do academic research on the topic.

Currently in Taiwan, the bibliography related to the February 28 Incident has been too enormous for me to list. However, I would like to provide a brief list here (limited to books only; book chapters and individual essays excluded). For oral history from those who personally experienced the incident, refer to a series of writings by Yen-hsian Chang and his collaborators (Chang, Hu and Gao 1993, 1994; Chang, Hu and Li 1995; Chang et al. 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1995c); the three books edited by Taiwan Provincial Historical Documents Commission (1991, 1992, 1994); Hsiu-hua Shen (1997); Hsueh-chi Hsu et al. (1995); and the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica (1993).

incident proved to Taiwanese the dictatorial nature of the KMT regime in Taiwan, a rule that was characterized by the oppression of one group of people, the Taiwanese, by another, the Mainlanders.¹¹ However, with most Taiwanese elite being jailed or executed in the Incident, the opposition movement was virtually in the hands of a few surviving Taiwanese elite in exile or other overseas dissidents.

The February 28 Incident crystallized the development of Taiwanese nationalist feelings. According to Meisner (1964, 155), “The term ‘erh-erh pa’ (February 28) is not only a slogan of the exiled Formosan independence groups but it is a symbol that recalls tragic personal experiences deeply etched upon the consciousness of most adult Formosans.” As these feeling developed, overseas Taiwanese living in Japan started the Taiwan Independence Movement in the early 1950s (Ong 1964, 167; Mendel 1970, 147). In the United States, because Taiwanese students came to this country after the late 1950s, the Taiwan Independence Movement also blossomed in the 1960s.

For some official historical documents, refer to De-long Lin (1992); Xing-tang Chen (1992); Sheng-huang Jiang (2002); and James Wang (2002). For relatively significant academic research, refer to Tsui-lien Chen (1995); Fang-ming Chen (1988b); Dai and Ye (2002); Civil Research Group on 228 (1992); Research Group on the February 28 Incident of the Executive Yuan (1994); Chang, Chen and Yang (1998); and Lai, Myers, and Wei (1991).

¹¹. The interpretations of the February 28 Incident are various, based upon different “political positions.” First of all, the Communist perspective sees the incident as the worker-peasant revolt against the imperialist or capitalist state, and the feudal system, which was part of the great revolutionary tide that swept across China in the late forties under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

Second, the KMT perspective generally regards it as a rebellion of islanders who were first enslaved by Japanese indoctrination, and then instigated by the CCP or other ambitious elements. Third, the TIM (Taiwan Independence Movement) perspective views the uprising as an angry reaction to KMT-inflicted oppression, as one phase in the continuing Taiwanese struggle for self-rule and democracy.

Finally, the U.S. Department of State, in the *China White Paper* issued in 1949, attributes the occurrence of this Incident to political corruption of the administration and economic deterioration of the island. See Lai et al. (1991, 3-6) for the summary of these different interpretations about the Incident.

1.2.3 The Roots of Taiwanese Nationalism: Distinguished Historical Experience

The roots of conflict between Taiwan and China could be dated back several centuries. While our story of repression and opposition begins in 1947, a brief sketch of the general social and political forces that led to the uprising of 1947 are in order. As in any nationalist movement, images of the distant past are frequently invoked and maintain a symbolic importance. As one moves closer to the contemporary period, there are several historical trends of the past centuries that left a fading but still perceptible mark on the developing opposition.

The history of Taiwan has been a history of colonial oppression.¹² Originally resided by Malay-Polynesian indigenous groups, Taiwan has always been located at the intersection of other sphere of influence, including the Han Chinese, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, Manchus, Japanese, or even American. Although larger groups of Han Chinese began migrating to Taiwan in the seventeenth century, it was the Spanish and Dutch, wanting to build a trading post in Asia, who introduced the state apparatus into Taiwan. Koxinga (*Zheng Chenggong* 鄭成功) and his supporters expelled the Dutch in 1661 and used Taiwan as an anti-Manchu base until 1683. However, after consolidating its power

¹². Again, the interpretation of Taiwanese history is fraught with controversy by different “political positions.” The CCP interprets the historical record to support its irredentist claims on Taiwan (e.g., Bisheng Chen 1982; Zhifu Li 1955). By contrast, the KMT interprets the historical record to support ties to the Mainland and the Republic of China’s legitimacy as sole government of China (e.g., Tingyi Guo 1954; Da-shou Huang 1982). Other groups affiliating with the TIM interpret the record to support Taiwan independence (e.g., Ong 1964, 1979; Bing Su 1962, 1980a, 1980b). For the comparison between the CCP and KMT’s works on Taiwanese history, see Mu-shan Chen (1997). For the comparison between the KMT and the TIM’s interpretations about Taiwanese history, see Hsiao (1998, Chapter 6).

However, it seems that most of the “neutral” authors affiliated with Western academia agree that the separation and alienation in Taiwanese history have caused the “distinguished historical experience” for the Taiwanese people. For instance, Copper (1996, 21) asserts that studies of Taiwan’s history suggests links with “Southeast Asia, China, Japan, and possibly some other parts of Asia.” Wachman (1994, 93) also

in Mainland China, the Manchus of the Qing Dynasty gained control of Taiwan in 1683. Then the island was ceded to the Japanese in 1895 as an aftermath of the first Sino-Japanese War.

After Japan's defeat in World War II in 1945, Taiwan was turned over to the KMT led by Chiang Kai-Shek (see Table 1.1 for the summary of Taiwanese history before 1945). Soon afterward, civil war between the KMT and CCP broke out, and the KMT, defeated in 1949, fled the Mainland and moved their government to Taiwan. The CCP founded the People's Republic of China (PRC) and later became the recognized state of China, whereas the exile KMT, insisting on its national title of Republic of China (ROC), has remained the effective state on Taiwan to date. For nearly four decades since then, there were few contacts between Taiwan and China under the climate of post-World War II bipolar world. Moreover, during the past decades and a half, Taiwan has become even more separate from China politically as a result of democratization in Taiwan.¹³

(Table 1.1 about here)

1.3 Situating the Overseas Taiwan Independence Movement into the Historical

Context

The Taiwan Independence Movement (TIM), the banner bearer of Taiwanese nationalism, had its origin dated back to mid-1940s while the KMT took over Taiwan at

contends that "Taiwanese have inherited a legacy of subjugation by aliens: Spanish, Dutch, pirates, Manchurians, Japanese, and, in the minds of some, the KMT and refugees from the [M]ainland."

¹³. One can possibly argue that considering the fact the rulers of Qing Dynasty were what historians called Tartans or Manchus (a formerly non-Chinese tribe), Han Chinese ruled Taiwan for only four years from 1945 to 1949 (Mei-ling Wang 1999, 457).

Table 1.1.
Significant Events in Taiwanese History before World War II

Year	Event
Around the mid-16 century	Portuguese vessels sailing to Japan spotted Taiwan and referred to it as Ilha Formosa (beautiful island). This was the first mention of Taiwan in Western history.
1622	Dutch forces captured the Pescadores and built a base from which Dutch ships could control traffic through the Taiwan Strait.
1624	Dutch reached an agreement with the Chinese government to evacuate from the Pescadores in return for establishing settlements on Taiwan. This marked the beginning of Dutch colonial rule of Taiwan.
1626	Spanish forces seized Keelung and from there expanded to control northern Taiwan.
1642	Dutch forces captured major Spanish settlements in northern Taiwan, thereby consolidating control over the island.
1662	Koxinga defeated Dutch forces, marking the end of Dutch rule of Taiwan and the beginning of the “Zheng Dynasty” in Taiwan.
1683	The end of the Zheng family rule of Taiwan and the beginning of China’s governance of Taiwan under the Qing Dynasty.
1729	Emperor of China forbade immigration to Taiwan --- under penalty of death.
1860	Opening of several ports in Taiwan to Western trade.
1874	Japanese punitive expedition against aborigines for killing Japanese sailors.
1884	French naval vessels attacked port of Keelung.
1887	Taiwan was made a province of China.
1895	Treaty of Shimonoseki concluded Sino-Japanese War; Taiwan was ceded to Japan “in perpetuity.” Unsuccessful attempt to form the Republic of Taiwan.
1915	The Xilai An Incident, the last armed anti-Japanese struggle, emerged.
1945	The KMT took over Taiwan after the Japanese surrender.

Source: Compiled by author.

nationalism, had its origin dated back to mid-1940s while the KMT took over Taiwan at the end of World War II. However, due to the fact that most Taiwanese elite were jailed

or executed in the February 28 Incident as well as severe state repression right after the Incident, the TIM had to formulate its organizational infrastructure in political circles outside the island. From the late 1940s, activists began to organize clandestine political organizations in Hong Kong and Japan to question the legitimacy of the KMT's rule over Taiwan. Starting in the mid-1950s, the idea of Taiwanese nationalism gradually found some resonance among the Taiwanese students who went to study in North America (Shu 2002, 47).

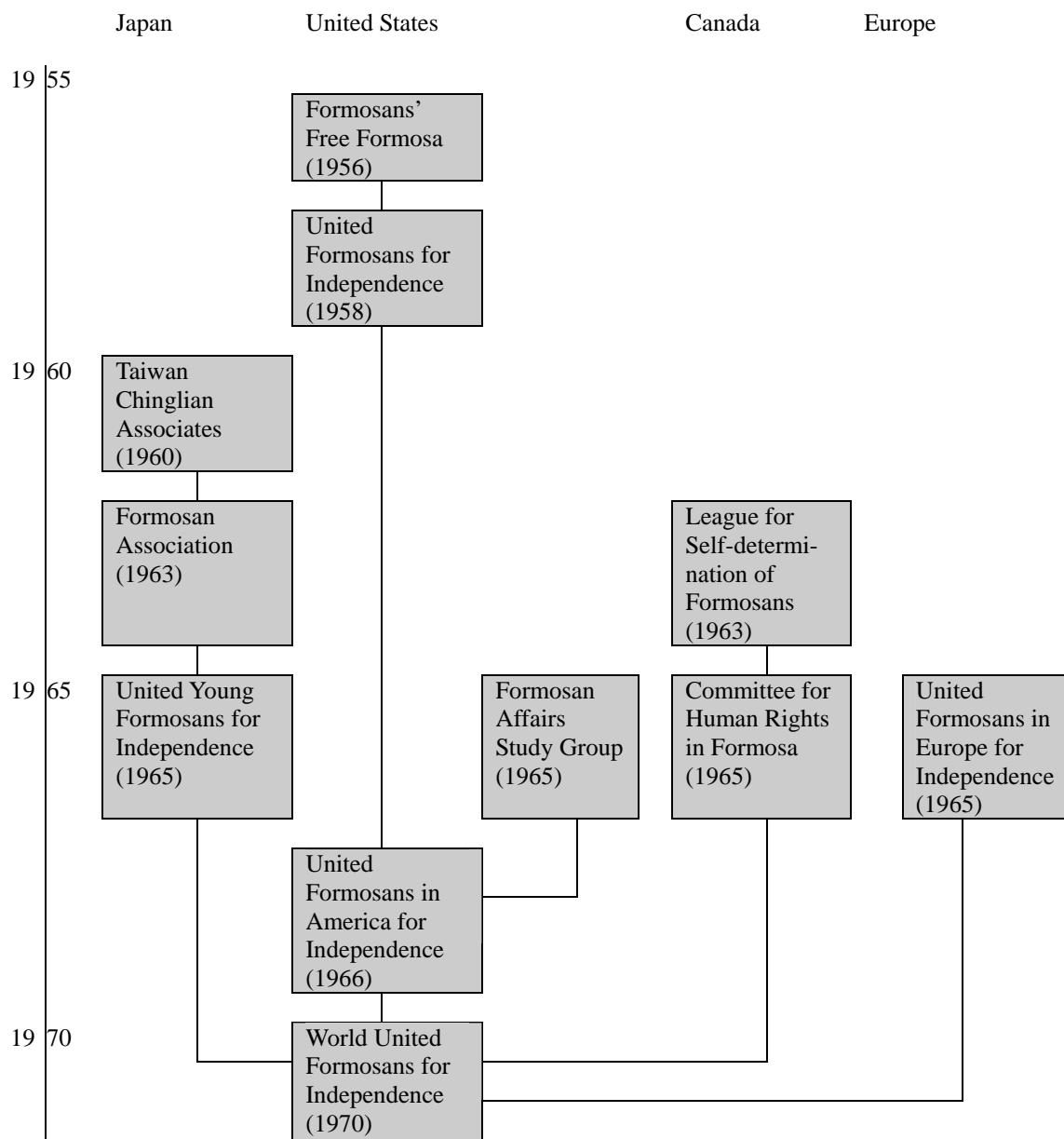
In 1955, Thomas W. I. Liao (*Liao Wenyi* 廖文毅) and his associates set up the Provisional Government of Republic of Formosa (PGROF) (*Taiwan Gongheguo Linshi Zhengfu* 台灣共和國臨時政府) in Japan, the chief intellectual and political center for overseas anti-KMT activities in the 1950s and 1960s. In February 1960, some younger Taiwanese students in Japan found another TIM organization, Taiwan Chinglian Associates (*Taiwan Qingnian She* 台灣青年社), which was renamed the Formosan Association (*Taiwan Qingnian Hui* 台灣青年會) in 1963. Believing that propaganda work and clandestine organization were the most critical activities at that time, the Association began to publish *Taiwan Youth* (*Taiwan Qingnian* 台灣青年) in Japanese and the *Formosan Quarterly* in English (Ong, 1964, 169 -170). In 1965, the formal name of this organization was again changed to United Young Formosans for Independence (UYFI) (*Taiwan Qingnian Duli Lianmeng* 台灣青年獨立聯盟)(Ming-cheng Chen 1992)(see Figure 1.3).

(Figure 1.3 about here)

In the United States, up to 1965, no unified, nationwide organization for Taiwan

Figure 1.3

The Evolution of World United Formosans for Independence, 1956-1970



Source: Shu (2002, 54)

independence had yet been founded, though there were a number of local groups actively engaged in the movement, notably those in New York, Philadelphia, Kansas, Oklahoma, Wisconsin, and California. Among these local submerged groups, Formosans' Free Formosa (3F)¹⁴ (*Taiwanren De Ziyou Taiwan* 台灣人的自由台灣) was the first as well as the most significant organization advocating Taiwan independence in North America. This organization was founded by John Lin (*Lin Rongxun* 林榮勳), I-te Chen (*Chen Yide* 陳以德), and Jay Loo (*Lu Zhuyi* 盧主義) in Philadelphia in 1956. Later, 3F was restructured and renamed as United Formosans for Independence (UFI) (*Taiwan Duli Lianmeng* 台灣獨立聯盟) in 1958 (Shu 2002, 53).

In Madison, Wisconsin, there was also another well-organized group called Formosan Affairs Study Group (*Taiwan Wenti Yanjiuhui* 台灣問題研究會), actively conducting political campaign under the leadership of Samuel Chou (*Zhou Shiming* 周燦明), a medical doctor. In October 1965, a meeting called Formosan Leadership Unity Congress was held in Madison, Wisconsin, where leading figures of the independence movement from all over the country gathered and agreed to make preparations for a unified organization. In the following year, a new organization, United Formosans in America for Independence (UFAI) (*Quanmei Taiwan Duli Lianmeng* 全美台灣獨立聯盟) was born (Alice King 1974, 22).

¹⁴. There are different versions about the exact wording of these 3 Fs in the existing literature. For instance, 3F is described as Free Formosans' Formosa by Ming-cheng Chen (1992, 81), as Free Formosan's Formosa by Jiashu Huang (1994, 27, 296), as Formosans for Free Formosa by Copper (1993, 56). In this research, I follow Zheng-san Li's (2000b, 128) work to describe the 3F as Formosans' Free Formosa, since this project is based upon Li's newly conducted interviews with the original founders of 3F.

In Canada, Robert Y. M. Huang (*Huang Yiming* 黃義明) and Albert Lin (*Lin Zhefu* 林哲夫) founded League for Self-determination of Formosans (*Taiwan Zhumin Zijue Lianmeng* 台灣住民自決聯盟) in 1963. Two years later, this organization was renamed as the Committee for Human Rights in Formosa (CHRF) (*Jianada Taiwan Renquan Weiyuanhui* 加拿大台灣人權委員會) based upon the consideration of engaging in the task of rescuing Ming-Min Peng (*Peng Mingmin* 彭明敏) under the name of human rights. In Europe, Union for Formosa's Independence in Europe (UFIE) (*Ouzhou Taiwan Duli Lianmeng* 歐洲台灣獨立聯盟) was founded in 1965 through the effort of Sekun Kang (*Jian Shikun* 簡世坤) (Alice King 1974, 22).

In 1968, the UYFI in Japan, the UFAI in the United States, the UFIE in Europe, and the CHRF in Canada gave a joint declaration, announcing that two magazines --- *Taiwan Youth* and *The Independent Formosa*¹⁵ --- were to be their joint organs. This was the first step for a complete unification of the world TIM organization. In January 1970, the World United Formosans for Independence (WUFI) (*Shijie Taiwan Duli Lianmeng* 世界台灣獨立聯盟), an ally of various overseas organizations advocating Taiwan independence, was formed in New York City, United States.

Indeed, since World War II, U.S. universities have become the training ground of elite in the third world countries, particularly those who had not subject to European colonial rule. Taiwan is no exception. In the United States, the territory far beyond the sovereignty of Taiwan, the KMT government has still maintained a strong network to

¹⁵. For the detailed description about the evolution of publications by overseas TIM, refer to Shu (2001a).

infiltrate the college and university campuses across the New World. According to Michael Glennon, who helped conduct a study of KMT's agents in America for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the KMT intelligence agencies "have conducted extended harassment, intimidation, and surveillance of the United States residents here on American soil" (quoted from M. Cohen 1991, 25). Without a doubt, the presence and activities of the KMT's agents on U.S. campuses and in other community organizations created a chilling atmosphere indeed for overseas Taiwanese who might otherwise be eager to test the more open political environment they found in America (Shu 2002, 47).

In spite of repression and the KMT's campaigns against the Taiwanese national culture, the Taiwanese nationalist movement still blossomed and became an overseas political force, especially after the establishment of the WUFI. On April 24, 1970, then Republic of China (ROC) Deputy Premier Chiang Ching-Kuo, Chiang Kai-Shek's eldest son, was nearly assassinated by two WUFI members. Furthermore, as a counterblow to the KMT's rude arrest of Taiwanese dissidents in the Kaohsiung Incident (*Meilidao Shijian* 美麗島事件)¹⁶ in December 1979, the overseas TIM also launched a series of activities targeting KMT representative offices in the United States. In other words,

¹⁶. On December 10, 1979, the *Formosa Magazine*, which was issued by the opposition activists, held a rally in Kaohsiung to celebrate the "World Human Rights Day." The KMT sent huge troops and police to quell with violence, resulting in fierce confrontation with the demonstrators in which more than one hundred people were wounded. The event was called the "Formosa Incident" in history. After the incident, the KMT went on to crack down the opposition movement, arresting more than 160 leading activists. Since the KMT's suppression against the opposition camp was so outrageous, both the international community and the overseas Taiwanese showed extreme concerns in the wake of the incident (Bi-chuan Yang 1997, 178-80; Taiwan House of Yuanliu 2000, 190).

The "Formosa Incident" can be seen as an important watershed for Taiwanese society to march from under-martial law to post-martial law, and from authoritarian rule to democracy. For related research and historical data about this incident, refer to Cultural and Educational Foundation for A New Taiwan (1999b); Zhongxin Fan (1993); J. Kaplan (1981); Ku (1999, 63-77); Shi-yu Lai (1987); Hsiu-lien Lu (1997); H. Thomas (1980); and Shieu-chi Weng (2001).

there were some, if not many, Taiwanese joined the clandestine political organizations and played the role of political exiles in the struggle against the KMT dictatorships and in the development of Taiwanese nationalism. This overseas TIM is definitely part of the Taiwanese history, though not many scholars paying enough attention on this topic.

1.4 U.S. Taiwan Independence Movement as an Unexamined Phenomenon

Conceptually, the overseas Taiwan Independence Movement in the United States, which involves both its homeland (i.e., Taiwan) and its host country (i.e., America), can be understood as a kind of “transnational social movement” or “diaspora movement.”¹⁷ Accordingly, the study of this movement should be located in two research areas: Taiwan study, especially those interested in Taiwan’s identity politics or Taiwanese nationalism, and American study, especially students of ethnic study, which has been an emerging interdisciplinary area since the 1990s. Amazingly, however, the U.S. TIM has received only scant attention in both research areas. No more than a few scholars --- whether sociologists, political scientists, or historians --- have studied this movement in depth. Indeed, many scholars appear unaware that this movement ever existed.

¹⁷. Since the 1990s, the so-called “globalization” has suddenly emerged as a hot research topic (e.g., Appadurai 1996; Featherstone 1990, 1995; King 1991; Prazniak and Dirlik 2000). Partly influenced by this trend, students of social movements also begin their exploration in the “transnational social movement.” For some significant works on this topic, refer to Pierre-Louis (2001); J. Smith (1995); Smith, Chatfield, and Pagnucco (1997); Smith and Johnston (2002); and Tarrow (2001).

As far as the so-called “diaspora movement” is concerned, it seems that there is still no scholar exploring this topic from the perspective of social movements yet. However, the topic of “diaspora” itself, which is also a hot issue among academic works, galvanizes many interesting publications recently (e.g., R. Cohen 1997; Edwards 2001; Shain 1999; Sheffer 2003; and T. Smith 2000).

1.4.1 Taiwan Studies

For students of Taiwan study, although the national identity issue has a long and complex history in Taiwan, while compared with the abundant academic works of nationalism related to other regions/nations since the 1960s,¹⁸ there has existed almost no academic treatment relevant to the issue of Taiwanese nationalism before 1990 (for a few exceptions, see Mancall 1964; Mendel 1970; and Gregor and Chang 1985).¹⁹ This situation is totally understandable. As far as the topic of nationalism is concerned, the relevance of “academic” research to the political practice is quite noticeable.²⁰ Taiwanese nationalism is no exception.

Under the KMT’s authoritarian rule, Taiwanese nationalism was fundamentally a political taboo to ordinary Taiwanese people as well as social scientists conducting Taiwan study. Before the lifting of martial law in 1987, all that Taiwanese people could do was to accept the identity of being “Chinese” culturally and to identify with the “Republic of China” politically, not to problematise them (Chun 1996; Tsung-rong Yang 1992).

¹⁸. Eric Hobsbawm, one of the most significant contemporary scholars in the field of nationalism, clearly makes the following statement: “The number of works genuinely illuminating the question of what nations and national movements are and what role in historical development they play is larger in the period 1968 – 88 than for any earlier period of twice that length” (1992, 4).

¹⁹. However, because of the potential “controversy, conflict, and influence” relevant to the TIM (Xi Huang 1992, 1), even before the 1990s, different political actors (including at least KMT, CCP, and TIM) had to propose their own “explanations” about the nature of Taiwanese nationalism. Accordingly, a flood of articles and books had appeared for serving the purpose of propaganda. Among these publications, very few could be qualified as academic works.

Examples of publication about the TIM by KMT and KMT-affiliated “scholars” include Central Daily Press (1984); Hao-ruo He (1969); Zhi-xiong Lin (1979); and Shu-nan Zhong (1978). Examples of publication about the TIM by CCP and CCP-affiliated “scholars” include Department of Editorship of People Press (1958); Foreign Language Press (1962); Jiashu Huang (1994); Yibin Jia (1993); Zhifu Li (1955); and Jin Lin (1993). For a critical review about this line of “research,” refer to Shu (1999, 2001b).

It is only recently, with the change in the political climate and the availability of new sources of information, that it has become possible for scholars to analyze the phenomenon relevant to Taiwanese nationalism. Due to the lifting of martial law and reaffirmation of constitutional rights such as the freedom of speech, for the first time in many years, open debates concerning the island's national identity and legal status have become possible. Indeed, in the past fifteen years, we have witnessed a dramatic increase in academic studies on Taiwanese nationalism or TIM. While adopting different theoretical perspectives or analytical frameworks, these recent Taiwanese-nationalism-related works can be roughly divided into four approaches: historical studies, macro-structural studies, micro-psychological studies, and normative studies.²¹

First of all, historical study focuses on specific historical events that help explain the

²⁰. See Section 2.3.1 of Chapter Two for further elaboration regarding the issue.

²¹. As a student of Taiwanese nationalism, I have to honestly point out that there seems to exist no comprehensive literature review with much theoretical meaning in this field yet. In the following discussion, I shall take examples to illuminate this point through several degree-required theses, since literature review is the necessary work for these projects.

First of all, in A-chin Hsiau's (1998) dissertation on contemporary Taiwanese cultural nationalism, he only divides the relevant literature into two categories: the imagined community approach (i.e., Wakabayashi 1994; Wu and Wakabayashi 1989) and the political competition approach (i.e., Fu-chang Wang 1996). Furthermore, in Horng-luen Wang's dissertation (1999), which employs an institutionalist approach with a global perspective to analyze recent nationalist politics in Taiwan, the author categorize the existing literature into three orientations: the ethnic explanation (Fu-chang Wang 1998a, 1998b; Nai-the Wu 1996; Mau-kuei Chang et al. 1993; Wachman 1994), the divided-nation model, and the economic explanation. Finally, in Yun-jen Ju's master's thesis on the origin and content of Taiwanese nationalism, she classifies the current literature into three types: the dynamics of Taiwanese nationalism (i.e., Mau-kuei Chang 1993; Nai-teh Wu 1993), exploring Taiwan's party politics from the perspective of Taiwanese nationalism (Bi-ling Guan 1994), and the possible conflict between nationalism and liberal democracy (i.e., Wang and Chien 1995).

In one of my previous papers (i.e., Shu 2001b, 140-2), I simply categorize the existing literature on Taiwanese nationalism into fourteen research approaches. However, this is only a convenient way to classify the literature without serious theoretical implications.

emergence and development of Taiwanese nationalism (for specific topics which have been examined under this category, refer to Table 1.2). Second, while adopting different analytical concepts borrowed from different academic disciplines, the macro-structural study, whose unit of analysis is the TIM as a whole, aims at providing some structural explanations for understanding the origin and dynamics of Taiwanese nationalism (for brief summary of works within this line of literature, refer to Table 1.3).

(Table 1.2 about here)

(Table 1.3 about here)

The third approach in the literature on Taiwanese nationalism is the micro-psychological study. This line of literature, which aims to tackle the problem of national identity on the individual level, focuses on ordinary people's views of national identity, and their relationship to social, political, economic and ethnic factors. Based upon the research methods adopted in these studies, we can further divide this line of literature into three sub-groups. The first group of research uses survey methods or opinion polls to ground their analysis of national identity. Through some simplified choices such as unification, independence and preserving the status quo, these studies tend to pin down the national identity issue by directly asking certain individuals what national identities they bear (Chang and Wu 1998; Yung-ming Hsu 1999; Fu-chang Wang 1998a; Nai-teh Wu 1996).²² The second group of studies adopts either historical documents or in-depth interviews to analyze the shifting process of national identity (i.e.,

²² In fact, there has been a proliferation of studies adopting survey data to explore the national identity issue in Taiwan since the 1990s. The works listed here are just some examples. For more comprehensive list covering this line of literature, refer to Yi-jun Xie (1997, Appendix, 4-34).

Table 1.2
Selected Research Topics about National Identity in Taiwan, Historical Studies

Research Topics	Date of Historical Events	Selected Works
The role of <i>the Republic of Formosa</i> ^a (<i>Taiwan Minzhuguo</i> 台灣民主國) in the forming process of Taiwanese identity	1895	Lung-chih Chang (1995) Morris (2002) Chiautong Yuzin Ng (1993) ^b Mi-cha Wu (1996) ^c
The development of Taiwanese identity under <i>Japanese colonial rule</i>	1895-1945	Fix (1993) Ching (2001) Shiaw-chian Fong (1993, 1994, 2001) Xiu-zheng Huang (1995) Ming-cheng Lo (2002) Rwei-ren Wu (2001, 2003)
The thesis of Taiwanese nationalism proposed by the <i>Taiwanese Communist Party</i> (<i>Taiwan Gongchandang</i> 台灣共產黨) in the 1920s and 1930s	1920s-1930s	Fang-ming Chen (1998b) Chien (1997)
The role of the <i>February 28 Incident</i> (<i>Ereberba Shijian</i> 二二八事件) for the later growth of Taiwanese identity	1947	Civil Research Group on 228 (1992) Edmondson (2002) Hung (2000) Lai et al. (1992) Phillips (1998) Research Group on 228 Incident of the Executive Yuan (1994) Chang, Chen, and Yang (1998)
The role of the <i>Formosa Incident</i> (<i>Meilidao Shijian</i> 美麗島事件) for the later development of Taiwanese identity	1979	Editorial Team of Oral History for the Formosa Incident (1999a, 1999b)
The general description about the origin and development of Taiwanese identity and TIM in the <i>post-World War II era</i>	1945-	Fupian Chen (1998) Ming-cheng Chen (1992) Geoffroy (1997) Chiautong Yuzin Ng (1994) Cheng-feng Shih (2000b)

Source: Compiled by author.

^a. While describing this short-lived Republic, most of the writers of English works refer it as “the Republic of Formosa” (see I-te Chen 1968, 57-60; Mendel 1970, 16). However, other English names are also used by different writers, such as “the Taiwan Republic” (Lung-chih Chang 1995; Lamley 1968; Mei-ling Wang 1999, 40); “the Formosan Republic” (Davidson 1988, 275-89); “Republic of Taiwan” (Bing Su 1986, 101); and “the Formosan Democratic Republic” (Meisner 1964, 149-50).

Table 1.2 (Cont.)

^b. Ng's work, which was based on his Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the University of Tokyo, was originally published in Japanese in 1970.

^c. This work is presented as a chapter in an anthology of Taiwanese history published in 1996. The original publication date is 1981.

Table 1.3

Selected Research Topics about National Identity in Taiwan, Macro-structural Studies

Research Topics	Selected Works
Exploring the development of Taiwanese identity from the perspective of <i>ethnic politics</i>	Mau-kuei. Chang et al. (1993) Chen, Chuang, and Huang (1994) Marsh (2002) Cheng-feng Shih (1994, 1997) Fu-chang Wang (1989)
Examining the possible connection between <i>political democratization</i> and the emergence of Taiwanese identity	Chia-lung. Lin (1998, 2001) Wachmen (1994) Fu-chang Wang (1996) Nai-teh Wu (1996, 1997)
Taking the <i>KMT's authoritarian rule</i> as the root for cultivating Taiwanese identity and analyzing the interaction between Chinese nationalism and Taiwanese nationalism	Jou Jou Chu (1994) Ming-cheng Lo (1994) Shu (1998) Rwei-ren Wu (2002)
Focusing on the ideological dimension of Taiwanese nationalism	Tzu-sung Chen (1995) Ju (1997) Chien Kuo Lai (1997) Zhong-sheng Xu (1992)
Borrowing the language of cultural studies or the notion of cultural nationalism for analyzing the <i>symbolic elements</i> of Taiwanese nationalism	Chow (1999) Corcuff (2002b) Hsiau (1998, 2000) Chien-ho Lu (1996) Jian-rong Lu (1999) Duu Jian Tsai (2001) You (1996)
Exploring the media presentation of TIM from the perspective of <i>mass communication</i>	Chung (2000, 2002) Xi Huang (1992) Shi Hong Yang (1995) Meng-he Zhang (1992)

Table 1.3 (Cont.)

Examining the prospect of TIM through the framework concerning the <i>interaction between Taiwan and Mainland China</i>	Chien-min Chao (1996) Yu-ling Wang (1996) Hsin-hsing Wu (1994)
Adopting the perspective of <i>international politics</i> to examine the issue relevant to Taiwan independence.	Tien-zhao Dai (1996) ^a Hughes (1997) Niou (1998) Mei-ling Wang (1999)
Borrowing the analytical framework of <i>institutionalism</i> to study the formation of so-called “national question” in Taiwan.	Horng-luen Wang (1999, 2000)
Using the theoretical perspective of <i>social movements</i> to investigate the framing process of TIM in the 1990s.	Ming-shi Wu (1998)

Source: Compiled by author

^a. This book, which was originally a Ph.D. dissertation submitted to Hosei University (*Fazheng Daxue* 法政大學) in Japan, was first published in Japanese in 1971.

from Chinese identity to Taiwanese identity) for certain activists affiliated with the Taiwanese opposition movement (Editorial Team of Oral History for the Formosa Incident 1999a; Hsiao-feng Li 1994; Cheng-feng Shih 1998b; Rwei-ren Wu 1999a; Chang, Hu, and Zeng 2000a, 2000b). Finally, there is also one study using Q methodology to reconstruct, from the subjects’ perspectives, the discourse on national identity in Taiwan (Wong and Sun 1998).

The final approach concerns the normative dimension, rather than the empirical phenomenon, of Taiwanese nationalism. The specific consideration in these studies is the theoretical foundation of legitimacy (or illegitimacy) relevant to Taiwanese nationalism. While some scholars take this challenge by borrowing concepts from the perspective of political philosophy (Yi-hua Jiang 1998; Carl Shaw 1997; Rwei-ren Wu

1997), other researchers conduct their studies through perspectives ranging from post-modernism through post-structuralism to post-colonialism (Chao and Johnson 2000; Kuan-hsing Chen 1994, 2000; Kuei-fen Chiu 1995; Chaoyang Liao 1995).

Unfortunately, compared to other subjects in the field of Taiwanese nationalism, the overseas TIM is still an ignored research topic (Shu 2001a, 99-100).²³ Fang-ming Chen has the following observation about the status of overseas TIM as an academic agenda:

Until today, the history of overseas TIM has not become a research topic for academicians yet. The reason why this topic is still not of concern to most scholars is understandable. One of the possible explanations is that Taiwan's political development is too fast to catch, since there emerge new political issues almost everyday [in contemporary Taiwan]. Accordingly, we still do not have appropriate time and space to examine a political movement that happened one or two decades ago, especially the overseas TIM, which appeared and flourished in places far away from Taiwan. (Fang-ming Chen 1998g, 3)

1.4.2 American Studies

For scholars of Taiwan studies, overseas TIM is an ignored topic because it developed abroad, especially in the United States. However, for students of American studies, the topic of U.S. TIM is still a trivial, if not non-existing, research agenda. On the one hand, as far as diaspora nationalism²⁴ located in the U.S. is concerned, this is in

²³. One indicator of this ignorance can be found in Corcuff's (2002a) edited anthology about Taiwan's national identity. Among 10 chapters selected in this book, my work (Shu 2002) is the only piece dealing with the topic of the overseas TIM.

²⁴. The term "diaspora" is found in the Greek translation of the Bible and originates in the verb "to sow" and the preposition "over." For the Greeks, the expression was used to describe the colonization of Asia Minor and the Mediterranean in the Archaic period (800-600 BC), which essentially had a positive connotation. However, due to the tragic Jewish (as well as Armenian) history, it is gradually quite widespread to understand the notion of diaspora as the dispersal of the Jews, which was basically a

fact an understudied academic area (Paul 1999, 3), only a few diaspora nationalist groups, most notably the Jewish, Cuban and Irish groups, have been the focus of scholarly attention.²⁵

On the other hand, in terms of the newly emerging area of Asian American studies,²⁶ scholars affiliated with this line of inquiry also do not consider “Taiwanese Americans”²⁷ as a research subject, not to mention the topic of U.S. TIM. Karen Liao

negative experience. Right now, the term is commonly used to describe other “dispersed” or “scattered” peoples of common national origin or belief as well (Cohen 1997, 1-2; Doorley 1995, 26).

In some environments, immigrant communities and their descendants exhibit a degree of national loyalty to their country of origin, hence the term “diaspora nationalism” (Doorley 1995, 26).

²⁵. For research on the Jewish diaspora in the United States, refer to Gerson (2001); Maibaum (1980); and Sorin (1985). For the Cuban diaspora in the United States, refer to Haney and Vanderbush (1999); Torres (1999); and Tweed (1997). For the Irish diaspora in the United States, refer to Doorley (1995) and Hanagan (2002). In the context of the United States, for case studies about the diaspora of other ethnic groups as well as comparative studies about diaspora among different ethnic groups, refer to Eastmond (1997); Jacobson (1995); Paul (1999); and Shain (1993, 1999).

²⁶. For a general description about the field of “Asian American Studies,” especially those serving as the introductory material in academia, refer to Hirabayashi and Okihiro (1998); Okihiro et al. (1988); and Okihiro et al. (1995). As far as anthologies in the field are concerned, refer to Wu and Song (2000) and Zhou and Gatewood (2000).

²⁷. While compared with other ethnic groups residing in the United States, there is still no consensus among Taiwanese living in the United States, who are the relative “late comers” historically, about the appropriate name to label their own group. In the English language, it seems that the term “Taiwanese American” is the most popular and acceptable one (e.g., see Sibyl Chen 2002a; Wen-yen Chen 1989; Yenkuai Chuang 1998; Liao 2002; Ng 1998), since the term itself is borrowed from other ethnic groups (e.g., African American, Cuban American, and etc.) without much controversy.

However, in the Chinese language, while referring to the relevant literature, in addition to “Taiwanese American” (*Taimeiren* 台美人) (see Rong-ru Chen 2001; Thian-hok Li 2000; Kenjohn Wang 1999), we can also find other terms like “Taiwanese living in the United States” (*Lumei Taiwanren* 旅美台灣人) (Rong-ru Chen 1995, 13, 15, 21), “new sojourner” (*Xinqiao* 新僑) or “new Chinese sojourner” (*Xinhuaqiao* 新華僑)(as relative to “old sojourner” (*Laoqiao* 老僑))(see Yan 1983, 102; Hsiang-shui Chen 1991), and “Taiwanese sojourner” (*Taiqiao* 台僑)(as relative to “Chinese sojourner” (*Huaqiao* 華僑))(see *Taiqiao Monthly* (*Taiqiao Yuekan* 台僑月刊), the newsletter published by the Taiwanese Association of America, Inc. (*Quanmei Taiwan Tongxianghui* 全美台灣同鄉會) between 1993 and 1994).

Due to the emergence of second-generation Taiwanese, it seems that the term “Taiwanese American” has gradually replaced other terms as the most popular label among members of Taiwanese community in the United States as part of the vehicle for their construction of self-identity.

(1997) aptly uses the term “Chinification” to describe this tendency in Asian American scholarship.²⁸ To some extent, this bias is the replication of the problem of equating Taiwanese with Chinese in mainstream American discourse. Due to the complicated relations between Taiwan and the United States, Taiwanese Americans have been marginalized within dominant American discourse for the latter half of the 20th century. After the World War II, the United States continued to recognize the “democratic” Republic of China as the government of all China, even after the KMT retreated to Taiwan in 1949. Eventually, in 1979, the U.S. shifted recognition to the CCP’s People’s Republic of China.²⁹ Relations with the KMT in Taiwan or with the CCP on the Mainland both precluded recognition of the Taiwanese as a separate and distinct people, because both governments claimed Taiwan as part of China and Taiwanese as Chinese (K. Liao 2002, v).³⁰

²⁸. For scholars within the field Asian American studies, especially those conducting research on the subject of “Chinese American” or “Overseas Chinese,” it is not necessary to consider “Taiwanese American” as a research topic because, judging from their perspective, there is no difference between Taiwanese and Chinese at all. For example, in *Chinatown No More: Taiwan Immigrants in Contemporary New York* (1992), anthropologist Hsiang-shui Chen describes the efforts of Taiwanese Americans to establish a separate pavilion from Chinese Americans during the Queens Festival of 1986 and frames the struggle with the question, “What association is most appropriate and able to represent the Chinese as a whole?” (1992, 245). He fails to grasp the strategic move made by Taiwanese Americans to distinguish and disassociate their experiences from Chinese Americans, and that they have no desire to “represent the Chinese as a whole.”

Furthermore, Timothy P. Fong’s *The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park, California* (1994) analyzes this Californian city that has been dubbed “Little Taipei” due to its high concentration of Taiwanese immigrants. Fong says: “The native Taiwanese are ethnic Chinese, descendants of those who migrated during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ...” (1994, 28). Finally, in his book *The Taiwanese Americans* (1998), Franklin Ng proclaims proudly, “Taiwanese Americans, the immigrants from Taiwan and their descendants, are a prominent group in this growing Chinese population” (1998, 1).

²⁹. For the historical evolution of U.S. policies toward Taiwan and China, refer to Ta Liu (2002); H. Tien (1983); and Mei-ling Wang (1999).

³⁰. The American policy of non-recognition towards Taiwan translates into the non-recognition of Taiwanese in the United States. Taking the U.S. Census report as an example, before 1990, people who checked the “Other” box and wrote in “Taiwanese” for the ethnicity question were counted as Chinese

For whatever reasons, the U.S. TIM has, in fact, received relatively little scholarly attention. The entire academic literature³¹ on the movement to date consists of only a few journal articles and book chapters (Gregor and Chang 1985; Shi-qi Lan 2002; Qi-hua Ma 1998b; Shu 2001a, 2002), several unpublished thesis and manuscript (Arrigo 1985; Shu 1996; Howard Wang 1997; Jin-xuan Wu 1986; Jun-hu Zhou 1980), and two books (Fupian Chen 1998; Martin 1985).³² In general, these works are helpful for us to understand the origin and development of the U.S. TIM. But, as it stands, this small body of literature on the U.S. TIM is inadequate, not only because of its size, but also because the works themselves are quite limited. On the one hand, with the exception of Shu (2001a) and Shi-qi Lan (2002),³³ most of these researchers depend on the secondary

(Karen Liao 2002, v). For the 1990 and 2000 U.S. Census, Taiwanese American organizations lobbied to establish Taiwanese “as a separate and distinct group.” Unfortunately, 1990 reports did not list “Taiwanese” as a separate category; Taiwanese is located under “Chinese,” with the only other subcategory being “Chinese, non Taiwanese” (USCB 1993, Table 1). For the 2000 reports, U.S. Census Bureau explains their coding strategy for “race” as “in some census tabulations, written entries of Taiwanese are included with Chinese while in others they are shown separately” (USCB 2002b, Item B-39).

³¹. I limit the following review within the “academic” literature. However, as a sensitive research topic, it is notable that many researchers have their own position regarding this movement. Some are activists of this movement themselves while others clearly demonstrate their anti-TIM orientation. These works are still considered as “academic” products as far as the authors follow the academic format to discuss the issue.

There are some other “non-academic” sources related to the U.S. TIM as well. Some of the materials are generated by the movement itself or by highly sympathetic writers. Most of them are published by the counter-movement such as the KMT or CCP. I will examine these “non-academic” resources later in the methodology chapter.

³². All the aforementioned works focus the entire projects on the U.S. TIM. However, in addition to these works, there are some other academic works “partially” dealing with this topic. On the one hand, some projects deal with the TIM as a whole, thus putting the U.S. TIM within the general context of Taiwanese nationalism (e.g., Geoffroy 1997; Xi Huang 1992; Mendel 1970; Chiautong Ng 1994; Mei-ling Wang 1999). On the other hand, there also exist some works concerning the politics of Taiwanese-American diaspora, which can be conceived as background information for studying the U.S. TIM (e.g., Sibyl Chen 2002a; Wen-yen Chen 1989; Dwyer 1999; Lee 1999; Karen Liao 1997, 2002; Shih-shan Henry Tsai 1986; Chuen-rong Yeh 1989).

³³. These two works deal with the relevant journals published by the U.S. TIM.

analysis of published accounts, especially those generated from the counter-movement, as their primary source of data. They tend to ignore the importance of the publications developed by the U.S. TIM itself. On the other hand, most of these works focus only on the “descriptive” level of historical event relevant to the U.S. TIM. Almost none of them attempt to “analyze” the movement by referring this movement to the broader theoretical debate around the general literature of social movements, nationalism, or diaspora.

1.5 Proposing the Research Questions

By focusing on the process of national identity transformation among some selected activists in the U.S. TIM, this dissertation is a preliminary attempt to close the gap within the existing literature on Taiwanese nationalism. *Through the analysis of their biographies, this study endeavors to explore the mechanism that enables these activists to break with the dominant ideology of Chinese nationalism and to engage, at considerable cost to themselves, in activities related to TIM, which are based upon the idea of Taiwanese nationalism.* The central questions I will address in this research are:

(1) *What* were these activists’ national identities over their life course? *When* in their life course did they develop a dissident Taiwanese national identity?

(2) *How* did these activists acquire their national identities? What was the role of families, schools, peers, and other sources of political socialization in influencing the formation of their national identities? Since most of these activists were Taiwanese Americans, what was the influence of their American experiences (or put differently, the Taiwanese diaspora in the US) in shaping their national identities? Once they joined the

overseas TIM, what was the effect of participation in protests and other activities on their national identities?

(3) Overall, can we develop *a theoretical model of national identity formation* that accounts for the unfolding of early political learning, later diaspora experiences, and resocialization within the social movement organization in longitudinal perspective?

1.6 Research Objectives

To answer the aforementioned questions, I will adopt the “racial/ethnic identity formation theory,” especially the transformational stages developed by William E. Cross in his “Psychology of Nigrescence,” as the analytical framework to interpret and analyze the biographical information about six selected activists affiliated with the US TIM.

Since there is no known research on this topic, the present project is considered to be an *exploratory study* in terms of both Taiwan studies and American studies. As an exploratory work, instead of specific hypothesis testing, the *qualitative approach* will be used to investigate the living experiences of TIM activists. Specifically, this study is designed to address six research objectives, including:

- (1) a review and critique of *the concept of national identity* within the current literature on nationalism, especially the neglect of issues relevant to subjective meaning;
- (2) the identification of generic principles and processes in selected models relevant to *racial/ethnic identity formation theory*, so as to apply these principles as the framework for analyzing the self-described experiences of activists in the US TIM;
- (3) an assessment of the appropriateness of adopting the *biographical method* as the

methodology for this study;

(4) the presentation of a description of the process of national identity

transformation illustrated by *biographical data* on six selected activists;

(5) the construction of *a preliminary model of national identity formation* for comprehending these biographees' experiences based on cross-case analysis; and

(6) suggestion of the possible uses of the model and implications of the study for *future research*.

1.7 Chapter Arrangement

To achieve these six research objectives, this dissertation is divided into twelve chapters. In addition to this *Introduction chapter*, *Chapter Two* is a review of the current literature on national identity. Generally speaking, we can understand national identity at two different levels: either as something related to a “collectivity” or as something attached to an “individual.” In terms of academic disciplines, the notion of national identity is located within the study of nationalism and of concern to students of political science for the most part. However, political scientists tend to devote most of their attention to phenomenon at the level of the collectivity, paying little attention to this subject at the individual level. This observation, which will be illuminated in this chapter, is most apparent when discussing existing studies of nationalism since most are macro-perspective without much focus on the issue of subjectivity relevant to the life experiences of individuals.

In order to deal with this shortcoming in the existing literature, in *Chapter Three*, I shall propose an alternative analytical framework --- identity formation theory --- to

explore the formation of national identity. My basic argument is that we should bring the notion of national identity back into the academic tradition of social psychology. Erik E. Erikson's concept of "formation of ego identity," where the notion of identity is thought of as a process taking place over time, rather than an inborn characteristic inherited from the very beginning of life, shall be applied to the study of national identity. In this chapter, I shall first introduce the theoretical origins of identity formation theory, paying particular attention to the works of Erik E. Erikson and James E. Marcia. Then, located within the existing literature on race and ethnicity, I shall briefly review the studies applying identity formation theory to the subject of racial/ethnic identity. Furthermore, I shall summarize the developmental stages proposed by William E. Cross in his study of the formation of racial identity among the African Americans, which serves as a fundamental reference in this study. Finally, I shall justify the use of racial/ethnic identity formation theory in the study of national identity.

Chapter Four, the methodology chapter, is focused on the notion of biography, which is the empirical material used in this study. I shall begin with a brief introduction to the biographical method, introducing the evolution of this method in social science literature. Next, after summarizing the advantages and shortcomings of the biographical method, I shall explain the reason why I decide to use this method as the basis of the research design in this study. Third, I shall review the selection of biographical information relevant to the six activists affiliated with the U.S. TIM, which serves as the main data source for this study. Fourth, I shall present the procedures for data analysis adopted in this study. Fifth, I shall briefly discuss the research relationships. Finally, using the notion of "trustworthiness" proposed by Yvonna S. Lincoln and Egon G. Guba,

I shall provide an evaluation of the research design associated with this study.

Chapters Five to Ten are the empirical results of this study. In each chapter, arranging the data chronologically in the form of narrative story, I shall present the life histories of every subject selected in this study. To grasp the process of the formation of national identity among these U.S. TIM activists, I shall try to divide their life histories into several developmental stages, exploring the content of national identity at each and every stage.

Chapter Eleven, the discussion of empirical findings in this study, is a cross-case analysis resting on the preceding chapters. First of all, I shall summarize the contents in terms of national identity as it appears at different life stages to establish the foundation for the analysis that follows. Second, I shall provide a typological analysis of all emerging national identity patterns, which include “Japanese identity,” “Chinese identity,” “low-salience attitudes,” and “Taiwanese identity,” as they appear at different life stages. Third, by focusing on the “process of national identity formation,” I shall arrange another typological analysis and propose a three-fold categorization of the selected biographees: “early socialization,” “adult conversion,” and “identity recycling.” Finally, I shall endeavor to integrate the static and dynamic typologies to propose a six-stage model for comprehending the process of national identity formation among these U.S. TIM activists. The specific stages suggested in this model include the following phases: childhood, adolescence, early adulthood, adult conversion, identity recycling during exile, and identity recycling after Taiwan’s democratization.

Chapter Twelve is the conclusion, where I shall report the major findings, theoretical implications, limitations of this study, and suggestions for future research based on this project.

Chapter Two

Literature Review: The Concept of National Identity within the Current Literature on Nationalism

Regions are not actors; their inhabitants are.

--- Robert J. Thompson and Joseph R. Rudolph, Jr.,
The Ebb and Flow of Ethnoterritorial Politics in the Western World

2.1 Introduction

It is the purpose of this chapter to provide the literature review for this study. Specifically, this literature review brings together and integrates works in identity studies as well as the study of nationalism as a basis on which suggestions for the notion of “national identity” can be offered.

To this end, the following section begins with a discussion of the concept of “identity.” The possible application areas, the conceptual history, as well as the problem of “identities studies” are then explored in detail. This serves as a foundation for the definition of the concept of identity in this study. Three types of identity --- personal identity, collective identity, and social identity --- will also be examined in this section.

Further, since “national identity” is the major concern in this study, the concept of “nation” will be examined in next section. I shall first elaborate on the fundamental problem of studying nation and nationalism. Then, based upon a synthesis of two theoretical orientations, I shall engage in the task of defining the concept of nation, seeing nation as a collectivity with some “imagined” objective characteristics.

This is followed by a discussion of the concept of “national identity” in the next section. I shall commit to the definition of national identity first. Further, while treating national identity as a specific type of “social identity,” I shall then suggest some features of national identity in this section.

This chapter ends with a review of existing literature on nationalism relevant to the concept of national identity. After briefly reviewing the modernization and constructionist approaches as in the field, I shall contend that most of the existing literature on nationalism tends to analyze nationalist phenomena from the macro-perspective, ignoring the idea that national identity should also be treated as a sort of “social identity” and understood from the micro-perspective. Since the existing literature on nationalism does not pay enough attention to subjectivity, an alternative analytical framework for this study will be proposed in the next chapter.

2.2 The Concept of Identity

In recent years, scholars working on an astonishing array of social science and humanities disciplines have taken an intense interest in questions concerning “identity.” The reason that academia is so attracted by research about identity is, on the one hand, related to changes in “external environments” over the past two decades, which include the trend toward globalization, the emergence of new waves of nationalism in the 1990s, and the faster diffusion of new communications technology. On the other hand, this interest can also be attributed to “internal changes” in academic circles, such as the rapid institutionalization of interdisciplinary cultural studies, as well as the gradual popularity of the discourses in postmodernism and postcolonialism among scholars of different

disciplines. As a matter of fact, identity is an inescapable dimension of social life. Political philosopher William Connolly (2002, 158) appropriately argues, “each individual needs an identity; every stable way of life invokes claims to collective identity.”

In this section, I shall first address the importance of the concept of identity, attempting to answer the question why we should study identity? Second, after describing the proliferation of identity studies in different disciplines, I shall discuss the so-called “undisciplined” problem (Abdelal et al. 2001, 6) in identity studies due to the fact that there is not much consensus on how to define identity; nor is there consistency in the procedures used to determining the content of identity. This “undisciplined” problem makes identity not only a concept covering a wide array of various phenomena occurring simultaneously, but also a concept without a precise definition. Third, facing this problem, I shall propose a definition of identity in this study. Finally, I shall review three types of identity extracted from the existing literature, attempting to clarify the very nature of identity concerning this study in the following chapters.

2.2.1 Why Study Identity?

Why do we have to study identity? If we define identity simply as “our sense of who we are,” then we can see that the concept of identity is central to understanding many of the important issues of our time. In addressing the building blocks of social, political, and economic life, identity has been used to explain individual behavior as well as collective action. Furthermore, identity has been used to account for discrete outcomes, at both the macro and micro level, and it has also figured prominently in

studies of longer term processes of institutional development. The following are some possible applications of the notion of identity in various disciplines.³⁴

(2.2.1.a) First of all, to almost every researcher of social sciences, studying *the relationship between individuals and groups* has long been their central concern. The notion of identity, from every perspective, is a key to the relationship of the individual to the collectivity. As Baumeister (1986, 7) puts it: “The search for identity includes the question of what is the proper relationship of the individual to society as a whole.”

Preston also holds the similar opinion as follows:

The idea of political-cultural identity expresses the relationship of individual selves to the community considered as an ordered body of persons. In schematic terms, we are looking at the way in which private identity is expressed within the public world, with thereafter a broad concern for how we acquire such an identity, how it changes and at what costs. (Preston 1997, 9)

(2.2.1.b) Second, since individual’s self-conception of identity influences his or her behavior and beliefs, the notion of identity plays a critical role in our understanding of one’s *behavioral pattern*. As expressed by Johnston, Larana and Gusfield (1994, 11), “An understanding of who one is, in all its complexity, is fundamental to the formulation of goals, plans, assessments, accounts, and attributions that constitute making one’s daily way.” Furthermore, in Hite’s (2000) study of the 1960s generation of Chilean left-wing leaders, she also finds that the conceptualization of individual political identity is a

³⁴. In terms of the importance of identity in social sciences, Abdelal et al. (2001, 2-3) summarize 14 current or potential applications of identity analysis. It is notable that some of their perspectives are adopted in the following discussion in this section. However, since my major concern in this study is the relationship between identity and collective action, most of the examples are limited to this specific dimension of identity studies.

powerful explanatory framework for understanding the formulation and reformulation of political thinking and action. In particular, the behavioral pattern of these Chilean left-wing leaders, especially the way they justified their contribution to society and the political programs of which they were a part, was deeply influenced by their types of political identity.

(2.2.1.c) Third, the understanding of collective identity held by a specific group of people can account for the unexpected empirical frequency of *collective action*. As a matter of fact, many of the major issues in a conflict are linked directly to identity because they explicitly threaten it. Thus, running through conflicts are issues of identity --- defining, protecting, and strengthening the boundaries of identity. Identity is a common theme in explanations of conflict, and it is also a consistent theme in empirical studies (Searle-White 2001, 49).

In the field of social movements, many scholars, especially those affiliated with new social movement theory, have pointed out that collective behavior is motivated by the self-esteem derived from acting in ways consistent with one's self-identity or by the desire to maximize status markers from an identity group (e.g., Brewer and Silver 2000; Crane 1994; Grant and Brown 1995; Jasper 1998; Pieratt 1998). Moreover, knowledge of the distribution of identity-intensity may allow researchers to predict when social movements will reach a take-off or tipping point and when they may fizzle out (e.g. M. Bernstein 1997; Friedman and McAdam 1992; Gecas 2000; Gould 1995).

(2.2.1.d) Fourth, the notion of identity can also account for variation in the revolutionary potential among classes in a society, as part of an explanation for *macro-historical change*. For example, based upon empirical studies, historians

gradually realized that the values inherent in the moral community of the working class, such as accepted notions of dignity and honor, as well as the degree to which these conflict with prevailing elite values, are very important in our explanation of the degree of class conflict in a society (e.g., Bonnell 1980; Siegelbaum, and Suny 1994).

(2.2.1.e) Finally, in terms of the recently fashionable notions of “*contentious politics*,” the concept of identity also plays a critical role in accounting for outcomes of these events. “Contentious politics” was a concept proposed by Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly in an influential paper in 1996 (see McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 1996). Their basic argument is that different forms of “contentious politics,” such as social movements, revolutions, ethnic mobilization, nationalism, and democratization, are usually treated as the subject of different scholarly “sub-fields,” though they do have a number of causal properties in common. Accordingly, McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly propose to put “contentious politics” into a broader conceptual framework for synthesizing growing empirical studies in this interdisciplinary field.³⁵

In their new book on this topic, they treat issues of “identity” as a critical concept in the analysis of contentious politics for two profound reasons: “first, because they become matters of intense disputes among participants; second, because the answer to the question of identity affects the very explanation of contentious political processes in general” (McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001, 55-6).

³⁵. Though the notion of “contentious politics” is still new and more elaboration is needed to test the validity of this conceptual framework, there are already a few works adopting this “new” perspective to conduct empirical studies. See Hanagan, Moch, and Brake (1998) and Meyer and Tarrow (1998).

2.2.2 The Development and Problem of Identity Studies

Identity and cognate terms in other languages have a long history as jargon in Western philosophy, from the ancient Greeks through contemporary analytical philosophy. Many philosophers tend to define identity as a logical equation between two distinct entries, as in “A is identical to B.” Martin Heidegger, based upon but not completely consistent with the aforementioned lexical definition of identity, sees identity as deriving from the “Being” of things, a fundamental characteristic of which is unity within itself. As a matter of fact, widespread vernacular, psychological, as well as sociological use of “identity” is of much more recent vintage (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 2; Dittmer and Kim 1993b, 3).

The introduction of identity into social analysis and its initial diffusion in the social sciences and public discourse actually occurred in the United States in the second half of the 1950s. The serial works by Erik H. Erikson (e.g., Erikson 1956, 1958, 1980,³⁶ 1993a³⁷), a prominent developmental psychologist and psychoanalyst, are thought to be the most important and best-known applications of the notion of identity.³⁸

³⁶. Erikson’s book, *Identity and the Life Cycle* (1980), was originally published in 1959 in the form of a journal article (i.e., *Psychological Issues*).

³⁷. Erikson’s book, *Childhood and Society* (1993), was first published in 1950.

³⁸. Most of the researchers acknowledge the close relationship between the popularization of the concept “identity” and Erikson’s serial works. However, Gleason (1983, 915-8) notes that the diffusion of this concept can also be attributed to some other works as well, in addition to Erikson’s publications. First of all, through Gordon Allport’s influential book *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954), works in the field of ethnicity also pay a lot of attention on the notion of identity. Second, role theory and reference group theory in the sociological field, such as works by Nelson Foote or Robert Merton, also have something to do with the popularization of this concept. The last line of literature contributing to the dispersion of this concept is located within the field of symbolic interaction. Anselm Strauss’s *Mirrors and Masks: The Search for Identity* (1959) and Erving Goffman’s *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (1986, originally published in 1963) are two examples following this research tradition.

I shall spend more on Erikson’s concept of identity in the next chapter.

By the 1970s, the concept of identity used in this sense had acquired a highly successful life of its own in ordinary language and many social science disciplines, especially sociology. Under the influence of postmodernism and debates over multiculturalism, the late 1980s and 1990s found historians, anthropologists, and most of all humanities scholars relying ever more heavily on “identity” as they explored the cultural politics of race, class, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, citizenship, among other social categories.³⁹ Esterberg (1997, 14) concludes the matter this way: “Perhaps no term has been used so much in recent year or become so popular --- both in academic and in lay worlds --- as identity.”

³⁹. The literature on identity has proliferated to the degree that it is impossible for any individual researcher to absorb all the works in this field. In the following introduction, I can only present some of the literature I have encountered. For excellent review articles regarding the matter, see Cerulo (1997); Howard (2000); and Frable (1997).

As far as the works on identity in different academic disciplines are concerned, in the discipline of sociology, in addition to the research mentioned in previous footnote, see also Becker (1963); Calhoun (1994); Jenkins (1996); and McCall and Simmons (1978). In the field of social psychology, see Gecas and Burke (1995); Hewitt (1997); Hutnik (1991); Louw-Potgieter (1988); and Weigert (1983). In the discipline of psychology, see Adams, Gulotta, and Montemayor (1992); K. Gergen (1991); Hogg and Abrams (1988); and Josselson (1987, 1996). In the discipline of anthropology, see Carrithers, Collins, and Lukes (1985); Dominguez (1989); Eriksen (1993); Geertz (1973); Handler (1988); B. Morris (1994); and Warren (1978). In the archaeology, see Shennan (1989).

In the discipline of political science, see Hite (2000); Laitin (1986, 1998a); and Scott (1976, 1985). In the discipline of international relations, see Bloom (1990); Hopf (2002); Katzenstein (1996); Lapid and Kratochwil (1996); and Wendt (1994). In the discipline of philosophy, see Madell (1981); Moneta (1976); and Noonan (1980, 1989). In the discipline of history, see Ignatiev (1995) and Khalidi (1998). In the disciplines of literary criticism and cultural studies, see Appiah and Gates (1995); Corse (1997); Hall and du Gay (1996); Horton and Baumeister (1996); and Featherstone (1995).

As far as the works concerning different “types” of identity, for ethnic identity, see Alba (1990); Bernal and Knight (1993); Cornell and Hartmann (1998); Govers and Vermeulen (1997); Romanucci-Ross and De Vos (1995); and Waters (1990, 2001). For racial identity, see Dikotter (1997); Gurin and Epps (1975); Hauser and Kasendorf (1983); Helms (1990); and Wijeyesinghe and Jackson (2001). For national identity, see Boerner (1986); Csepeli (1997); Dittmer and Kim (1993a); Gillis (1994); Searle-White (2001); A. Smith (1991); and Wodak (1999).

For gender identity, see Block (1984); Christian (1994); Liebllich and Josselson (1994); Skevington and Baker (1989); and Whittier (1995). For sexual identity, see D'Augelli and Patterson (1995); DeCecco (1984); Esterberg (1997); Patterson and D'Augelli (1998); and Troiden (1988).

For a measure of the spread of “identity” in academic discourse, Fearon (1999, 1) charted the progress of the word “identity” in *Dissertation Abstracts* from 1981 to 1995. The number of dissertation abstracts containing the word “identity” almost tripled during this period, rising from 709 to 1,911. Inspired by Fearon’s idea, based upon Taiwan’s “Dissertation and Thesis Abstracts (*Quanguo Boshuoshi Lunwen Zixunwang* 全國博碩士論文資訊網),” I also conducted a similar frequency count of dissertations/theses in which “identity (*rentong* 認同)” appears in the titles or abstracts. The result is quite similar to the trend found by Fearon. For instance, in 1981, the number was 0; in 1990, the number was 62. However, since 1990, the number of counted dissertations/theses increased dramatically. In 1995, the number was 182; in 2000, the number was 603; and finally, in 2001, the total was 742. For the detailed numbers in this frequency count based on Taiwanese data, refer to Table 2.1.

(Table 2.1 about here)

However, tracing the proliferation of the concept “identity” in academic circles as well as in everyday life, this notion becomes, in the words of Robert Coles, “The purest of clichés” (Gillis 1994b, 3). After all, the concept of identity --- while adopted by psychologists, anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, and historians as their analytical tool --- inevitably covers a bewildering variety of phenomena. Accordingly, fierce battles over defining the term are erupting and there is virtually no consensus on how to define this concept among students of identity studies. Some scholars, under such circumstances, began to question the usefulness of this concept in academic discourse, taking the radical position that academia stop using this imprecise concept completely (e.g., Brubaker and Cooper 2000; Gleason 1983; Mackenzie 1978). For

Table 2.1
Frequency Count of the Word “Identity” in
“Dissertation and Thesis Abstracts” of Taiwan

Year	Frequency ^a
1980	0
1981	0
1982	0
1983	3
1984	22
1985	55
1986	18
1987	26
1988	35
1989	65
1990	62
1991	77
1992	84
1993	128
1994	117
1995	182
1996	189
1997	239
1998	322
1999	434
2000	603
2001	742
2002	32

Source: Compiled by author.

^a. Frequency count of dissertations/theses in which “identity (*rentong* 認同)” appears in the titles or abstracts. This search was conducted on December 26, 2002.

instance, Brubaker and Cooper (2000, 6) say that, “The term [of identity] is richly --- indeed for an analytical concept, hopelessly --- ambiguous.”

However, addressing this “undisciplined” problem, some scholars contend that we should not give up the concept. Rather, what the academicians should do is define the meaning and boundaries of this term precisely before conducting research (e.g., Abdelal et al. 2001; Fearon 1999). This is also the position I will take in this study. The following is the discussion of my definition of this term.

2.2.3 The Definition of Identity

So, what is identity, anyway? Morris Rosenberg has summarized at least ten different meanings of “identity” used by scholars, ranging from the sense of oneself as continuous, existing throughout time, to a sense of oneself as belonging to a group or having shared group membership. Some see identities as something essential, tangible, and real, inherent in the self; yet others see identities as shifting, constructed, a matter of creating meaning from social categories and coming to attach labels to oneself (quoted from Esterburg 1997, 14). However, according to Fearon (1999, 11), a simple answer to the question “what is identity?” would be this: It is how one answers the question “who are you?” Or, *my identity is how I define who I am*. When academic authors offer brief clarification of what they mean by the word, this simple definition is often the way they do it. We can see following definitions posed by scholars from different disciplines:

[Identity is] people’s concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others. (Hogg and Abrams 1988, 2)

Identity generally refers to who or what one is. (Stryker et al. 2000, 93)

[W]e define identity simply as our sense of who we are, (Searle-White 2001, 47)

The individual's identity is "who she is." (Frueh 1999, 87)

[Identity refers to] the various meanings attached to oneself by self and others. (Gecas and Burke 1995, 42)

The key question with regard to identity is "Who am I?" (Guibernau 1996, 72)

Identity is a coherent sense of self. It depends upon the awareness that one's endeavors and one's life make sense, that they are meaningful in the context in which life is lived. It depends also upon stable values, and upon the conviction that one's actions and values are harmoniously related. It is a sense of wholeness, of integration, of knowing what is right and what is wrong and of being able to choose. (Wheelis 1958, 19)

The issue of "who I am" looks like an easy question instinctively. However, it is actually not a simple question at all. Take myself as an example, I have different answers to this question in different situations. Sometimes, I would probably say "I am a Ph.D. student," while other times I would describe myself as "a student of social movements." In some contexts, I would say "I am a Taiwanese," while in other contexts, I would probably call myself "a foreign student studying in the United States." In some situations, I would state that "I am a father," whereas in other situations, I would acknowledge that "I am a son." In some places, I would say that "I am a scholar specializing in the overseas Taiwan Independence Movement," while in some other places, I would say that "I am a music lover."

Even though we exclude various social roles and personal habits and only consider

someone's "residences," the issue of "who one is" is still a complicated question. Take the example of myself again, as far as my geographical affiliations are concerned, I still have multiple roles. At the conceptual level, I am "The Hamlet Person,"⁴⁰ "Jamesville Person,"⁴¹ "Person of Zip Code 13078,"⁴² "Syracusan,"⁴³ "Person of New York State," "East Coast Person of U.S.," "Person Residing in the U.S.," "Person residing in North America," "Person Residing in the Americas," "Person of the Earth," "Person of the Solar System," and "Person of the Universe." Some points deserve our future discussion for this long list.

First of all, it is much too difficult a task --- if not impossible --- to make a comprehensive list of my geographical affiliations. In addition to the aforementioned affiliations, I can still describes myself as "Person of the Front Section of The Hamlet,"⁴⁴ "Person of Finger Lake Area,"⁴⁵ "Person of Upstate New York,"⁴⁶ "Person of North Hemisphere," "Person of the Galaxy," and etc. As a matter of fact, it is impossible for

⁴⁰. The community I am residing now is called "The Hamlet."

⁴¹. Jamesville, which is near the City of Syracuse, is the town I am residing at this moment.

⁴². Though this answer sounds awkward, it happens quite often in the everyday life. In many occasions, the only question asked by cashier at the store is the number of your zip code.

⁴³. Though my "real" residence is not located in the City of Syracuse, in terms of the degree of attachment, I identify myself as "Syracusan" much more than as "People of Jamesville." The rationale is twofold. On the one hand, I am a student of Syracuse University. On the other hand, Syracuse, the biggest city around this region, can be seen as the center of this metropolitan area, where Jamesville is a part of it.

⁴⁴. The Hamlet, the community I am residing now, can further be divided into two sections. I live in the front section.

⁴⁵. Finger Lake Area refers to several counties in central New York, due to the existence of numerous finger-shaped lakes in this area. Onondaga County, where Syracuse is located, is part of the Finger Lake Area.

⁴⁶. Upstate New York refers to all counties within New York State except those counties comprising New York City, since New York City is located in the very bottom of New York State. Basically, this term reflects the "ethnocentrism" possessed by the residents of New York City, who assume that everywhere in New York State is a country-like place except New York City.

us to complete this task at all, since there are unlimited possible ways to describe my geographically affiliations theoretically.

Second, though the list is never comprehensive in nature, many affiliations are actually meaningless in our everyday life. For instance, the so-called “Person of the Front Section of The Hamlet,” though a “real” existence physically, is almost meaningless psychologically, since nobody in our community will take the division between front section and back section as a meaningful “cleavage.” Furthermore, given that no alien has emerged yet, the label “Person of the Earth” is a nonsense term to most.

Third, in terms of geographical affiliations with areas smaller than New York State, I describe myself as a “Person of xxx” directly. Furthermore, as far as geographical affiliations larger than the Earth, I also call myself in the same way as a “Person of xxx.” However, for areas larger than New York State but smaller than the Earth, I label myself as a “Person residing in xxx.” This difference, which can be explained through the dominance of “nation-state” in the process of shaping one’s identity (see later discussion in this chapter), has serious implications. On the one hand, despite the fact that I am residing in the United States now, I am a foreign student with a Taiwanese passport. Since I do not have the U.S. passport, I cannot claim that I am American in any legal sense. Moreover, neither do I identify with the United States of America in terms of my national identity because I see myself as a Taiwanese, rather than as an American, psychologically.

However, as far as areas smaller than New York State are concerned, I have much more psychological attachment to them since I have been living in Syracuse for a long time. I do not feel uncomfortable to identify myself as a “Syracusan” or “Person of Zip

Code 13078.” Furthermore, I can also accept the term “Person of the Earth” because I identify myself as a Taiwanese as well as an Asian, and both terms are harmonious with the notion of “Person of the Earth.” Nevertheless, I do not see myself as a “Person of North America” or a “People of the Americas,” though the identification with both regions --- different from the region of “The United States” --- does not require one to hold a passport issued by authorities either.⁴⁷

2.2.4 Three Types of Identity: Individual Identity, Collective Identity, and Social Identity

Based upon my own example, it is apparent that there are too many ways that a person might define who he or she is. Accordingly, when we say that my identity is “who I am,” we mean “*who I really am*,” in some sort of essential or fundamental way (Fearon 1999, 20). To explore the issue, I shall talk about three types of identity --- personal identity, collective identity, and social identity --- in the following discussion.

As a matter of fact, it is quite difficult to classify the concept of “identity,” no matter from which perspective we choose to view it. My three-type classification is partially based upon Handler’s (1994, 28) scheme. However, Handler only uses a short paragraph to describe the matter (precisely, his major concern is “three aspects of human experience” as far as the notion of “identity” is concerned), and he does not adopt specific labels for these three “aspects of human experiences.” Accordingly, to some extent, my three-type scheme is my own synthesis of Handler’s idea as well as other

⁴⁷. In reality, there exists no such passport.

scholars' proposals about the classification of the notion of "identity"⁴⁸ (see Table 2.2 for a summary of proposed three types of identity).

(Table 2.2 about here)

(2.2.4.a) First of all, we can label the first type of identity "*personal identity*," which refers to more personal cognitive elements such as bodily attributes, ways of relating to others, intellectual concerns, feelings of competence and personal tastes. The notion of personal identity emphasizes the construction of a unique, integrated sense of self and is often associated with the works of developmental psychologists, clinical psychologists and psychoanalysts.⁴⁹

Fearon (1999, 21) uses an example to demonstrate the "uniqueness" of personal identity. For instance, consider a person who adopts an idiosyncratic (or just personal) style of dress --- say, he wears a brightly colored bow tie almost everyday. After many years of purple-bow-tie-wearing, the person might well say that this was part of his identity. "Especially in popular discourse, the 'question of identity' is frequently

⁴⁸. In the existing literature on the classification of "identity," in addition to Hander's not-so-famous scheme, we can still find some other classification systems proposed by scholars. One of the most often-cited schemes is the one based upon so-called "social identity theory" (e.g., Tajfel 1982; Tajfel and Turner 1986), which divides the concept of identity into two types: "personal identity" and "social identity" (e.g., Dolma 2001, 16; Franke 1997, 49; Gecas 2000, 105; Kuang-chun Li 1997, 14; Petersen 1995, 32). Fearon (1999) also classifies the concept of identity into "personal identity" and "social identity," though his rationale is not based on "social identity theory."

Moreover, we can still find some other classification systems. For instance, while Mennell (1994, 175) classifies identity into two types: "self identity" and "collective identity," Berezin (2001, 85) divides identity into "private identity" and "public identity." Whilst focusing on identities relevant to social movements, Johnston, Larana, and Gusfield (1994, 10-20) contend the existence of three dimensions of identity: "individual identity," "collective identity," and "public identity." Last but no least, Rothblatt (1994, 505) proposes a three-type scheme of identity: "individual identity," "group identity," and "national identity."

⁴⁹. In addition to the term "personal identity" (e.g., Kaplan and Liu 2000; Reid and Deaux 1996), other terms referring to the similar dimension of identity include, at least, "self identity" (e.g., Lapsley and Power 1988; Marcia et al. 1993) and "ego identity" (e.g., Lapsley and Power 1988; Marcia et al. 1993).

Table 2.2
A Summary of Proposed Three Types of Identity

Types	Definition	Concerned scholar	Other Similar Terms
Personal identity	The notion of personal identity refers to more personal cognitive elements such as bodily attributes, ways of relating to others, intellectual concerns, feelings of competence and personal tastes.	*Developmental psychologists *Clinical psychologists *Psychoanalysts	*Self identity *Ego identity
Collective identity	The notion of collective identity is a logical corollary to the concept of personal identity: just as the self is defined in terms of its relationship to other selves, the group is defined in terms of its relationship to other groups. In other words, collective identity is imagined to be individuated somewhat as human persons are imagined to be discrete one from another.	*Sociologists *Political scientists *Historians *Anthropologists	
Social identity	The notion of social identity refers to the ways in which human persons are imagined to assimilate elements of collective identity into their unique personal identity.	*Social psychologist	*Role identity *Group identity

Source: Made by author

interpreted to be a question about personal style --- the way a person distinguishes himself or herself by means of consciously chosen manners of dress, speech, cultural likes and dislikes, and so on” (Fearon 1999, 21).

Some scholars contend that the term “personal identity” is inherently contradictory since “all identities are social in that they are all products of social and symbolic processes” (Gecas 2000: 105). However, following the argument of social identity theory (e.g., Tajfel 1982; Tajfel and Turner 1986), I believe, at least conceptually, there is some merit to keeping the term “personal identity” while discussing identity-related phenomena. “Identity” involves both commonality and differentiation. “Personal identity” is more likely to emphasize idiosyncratic or unique characteristics, such as personal name, unique experiences, or biographies.

(2.2.4.b) Second, identity related to collectivities or groups can be called “*collective identity*.” The notion of collective identity is a logical corollary to the concept of personal identity: just as the self is defined in terms of its relationship to other selves, the group is defined in terms of its relationship to other groups. In other words, collective identity is imagined to be individuated somewhat as human persons are imagined to be discrete one from another. As pointed out by Owens and Aronson (2000, 195), “collective identity is a distinctively group-level concept referring to how a group identifies itself. Consequently, CI [collective identity] is derived from the group’s own self-identification.”⁵⁰

⁵⁰. Nonetheless, as contended by Dittmer and Kim (1993b, 5) in their discussion of the notion of “national identity,” it would be misleading to draw a direct analogy between personal identity and collective identity, due to the danger of anthropomorphizing these collective-identity-related entities. But, they also acknowledge that the concept of “national identity” should be acceptable at least at the conceptual level.

The notion of “collective identity” is associated with the works of sociologists, political scientists, historians, and anthropologists in most cases. Take the study of social movements as an example, though there is no consensual definition of collective identity in the field, examination of most conceptualizations suggest that its essence resides in “a shared sense of ‘one-ness’ or ‘we-ness’ among those individuals who compose the collectivity” (Snow and McAdam 2000, 42).⁵¹

Then, what is the concrete object (e.g., family, community, nation, and etc.) referred to by this “collectivity,” anyway? To students of social movements, this collectivity may be refer to a specific social movement organization (e.g., the National Organization for Women), or a specific social movement industry (e.g., the feminist movement). However, in contexts rather than social movements, the object of this collectivity could be understood as a sort of “social category,” a group of people designated by a label (or labels) that is commonly used either by the people designated, others, or both (Fearon 1999, 10). In this sense, all types of social categories --- no matter whether they are gender, class, religion, race, ethnic groups, nation, or sexual orientation --- could be seen as the object referred to by the notion of collective identity.

(2.2.b.c) Finally, we can label the relationship between personal identity and collective identity as “*social identity*,” which refers to the ways in which human persons are imagined to assimilate elements of collective identity into their unique personal identity. The notion of social identity is characteristic of social psychological

⁵¹. Collective identity is one of the hottest issues among students of social movements in the past fifteen years. For literature reviews about the conceptual history of the notion of collective identity in the field of social movements, see Polletta and Jasper (2001). For representative works in this regard, see Friedman and McAdam (1992); Gamson (1992b); Melucci (1989, 1995); Simon et al. (1998); V. Taylor (1989); and Taylor and Whittier (1992).

approaches emphasizing the multiplicity of identity that human persons possess by virtue of their group membership and the value attached to that membership (e.g., Burke 1996; Jenkins 1996; Thoits and Virshup 1995).⁵²

In other words, while collective identity is a collective belief, social identity is an individual belief. This is why some authors use the clumsy term “individuated social identity” to describe this type of identity (e.g., Dolma 2001, 19).

2.3 The Concept of Nation

2.3.1 The Fundamental Problem of Studying Nation and Nationalism

Many attempts have been made to define nations, and none have been successful. (Seton-Watson 1977, 3)

Nationalism is a political force which has been more powerful in shaping world history over the last two centuries than any other ideas like freedom or democracy. In the early twentieth century, before the outbreak of World War I, British publicist Norman Angell made the following striking statement, “Political nationalism has become for the European of our age, the most important thing is the world, more important than life itself” (quoted from Snyder 1990, vii).⁵³

However, there is continuous debate on the meaning and content and over the historical specificity of the terms “nation” and “nationalism.” Nationalism is a political

⁵². As far as “social identity” is concerned, some scholars adopt other relevant terms such as “role identity” (e.g., Stryker 1980) and “group identity” (e.g., Klandermans and de Weerd 2000; Kelly 1993) to refer to the very similar types of identity.

⁵³. Nonetheless, it is interesting that, as Birch (1993, 16) wittily says, if “asked to name the political doctrines that have reshaped the world, most people in the west would probably name liberalism, democracy, and socialism. In practice, however, only a minority of political regimes are liberal, democratic or socialist, while the whole world is now politically organized on nationalist principles.”

doctrine of self-determination; that much is agreed. Yet the definition of the group which is entitled to self-determination and the conditions under which these demands are structured is disputed. While attempting to define this term, Alter (1994: 1) directly states that “[Nationalism] is one of the most ambiguous concepts in the present-day vocabulary of political and analytical thought.” Kecmanovic (1996, 15) also claims that “There are no two authors, whether sociologists, historians, political scientists, or psychologists, who define nationalism in the same way.”⁵⁴

A number of reasons underlie the problem of reaching a consensus about the definition of nationalism as well as nation.

(2.3.1.a) The first problem, of course, involves the *political implications* of these terms (e.g., McKim and McMahan 1997, 156-7; A. Smith 1998, 223). “The theoretical problem,” says Gellner (1965: 151), “is to separate the quite spurious ‘national’ and ‘natural’ justification and explanations of nationalism, from the genuine, time- and context-bound roots of it.” In a similar fashion, Keating also notes that “We must distinguish between theories of nationalism, which examine nationalist *behavior* and its consequences; and on the other hand, nationalist *doctrine*, or what nationalists say about themselves and about politics” (1996, 1; emphasis original).

Keeping the reminder from both Gellner and Keating in mind, we still face the reality that the relevance of intellectual practice to political issues about nation and nationalism is almost inescapable. As contended by James (1996, 193), first, it is

⁵⁴. While facing the task of defining the terms, almost every student of nation and nationalism will express the similar feeling stating that this is in fact a tough job. In addition to Alter and Kecmanovic, we can still find this sort of statement from works like Canovan (1996, 50); Griffiths (1993, 4); Guibernau (1999, 13); J. Hall (1995, 8); A. Smith (2001, 10); and Snyder (1990, x). Walker Connor (1994, 90) even directly claims that this field is under the situation of “terminological chaos.”

integral to any reflexive study of the nation and its theorizers. Theorists of the nation are by definition engaged in intellectual practice, since writing about nation-related phenomena apparently bears back upon the lived reality of specific groups of people. Second, it is relevant because intellectuals and the intellectually trained have been at the forefront of both oppositional nationalist movements and the official nationalisms of the old and new empires and states. Third, intellectual training, via state-education systems, became after the late nineteenth century one of the central reproducers of a form of culture which was both inseparable from the practical and imagined lives of national citizens as well as indispensable to their administration by the centralized state.

(2.3.1.b) Second, as far as the empirical phenomena of nation as well as nationalism are concerned, there exists the problem of *complexity* and *multiformity*. As a matter of fact, there are so many different forms and “national” variations in space and time that are accommodated under the one roof entitled “nationalism.” Thus Breton separatism, pan-Arab nationalism and the declarations of Chinese students protesters that they were willing to die for the future of China, just to give several examples, may easily be labeled under the same category of nationalism, although each arose in different historical trajectories and from different circumstances. As a result, Alter aptly writes as follows:

It is clear that nationalism, so convenient a label and justification for many developments, conceals within itself extreme opposites and contradictions. It can mean emancipation, and it can mean oppression: nationalism, it sees, is a repository of dangers as well as opportunities. Only with reference to a concrete historical context can we say what the term actually does or should signify. An initial conclusion could run the term like this: nationalism does not exist as such, but a multitude of manifestations of nationalism do. In other words, it is more appropriate to speak of *nationalisms* in the plural than of *nationalism* in the singular. (Alter 1994, 2,

emphasis original)

Calhoun also expresses a similar opinion regarding the plethora of nation-related-phenomena in the following way:

At the level of practical activity, there are many diverse nationalisms; the idea of nation is integral to many different aspects of how we understand the world, to sharply contrasting state policies, and to widely varying social movements. Explanations of each case must draw on at least partially different variables, rooted in specific histories and other causal factors such as the politics of state elites or the dynamics of social movements. (Calhoun 1997, 21)

(2.3.1.c) Third, there is the problem of *interdisciplinarity* for studying nations and nationalism, since this subject cannot be confined to a single disciplinary perspective. Historians long dominated the field, but lately they have been joined by anthropologists, political scientists, sociologists, social psychologists, students of linguistics, international relations scholars, and many others.

In fact, Anthony D. Smith, one of the most significant as well as productive contemporary scholars in the field of nation and nationalism, contends that the phenomena of nation and nationalism engage questions about “the origins and formation of *ethnies*, the conditions of ethnocentrism, the basis of ethnic community, as well as the nature and significance of ethnic identity; the origins and formation of nations, the nature and significance of national identity, the social, cultural and political bases of nations and the modernity or otherwise of nations; the (gendered, class and cultural) character of nationalist ideologies and movements, their role in forging nations and national identities, and the contribution of nationalist intellectuals and others; and finally, the consequences for society and culture of a world of national states, the geopolitical

impact of nations and nationalism, and the chances of creating an orderly community of states” (A. Smith 1998, 222).

In a similar fashion, Hobsbawm (1992, 10) also says, “Nations and their associated phenomena must therefore be analysed in terms of political, technical, administrative, economic and other conditions and requirements.” Under the circumstance, the sheer variety of the components of nation-related phenomena has made it impossible for scholars of any one discipline to study more than a few aspects and examples of the subject.

(2.3.1.d) Finally, there are also many *methodological difficulties* associated with the study of concepts like nation and nationalism when trying to locate them into a cause-and-effect model. For example, the analysis of the genesis of nationalism is confounded by the fact that nationalism is at once the effect and cause of some occurrences. Coakley appropriately notes that “The subtlety of nationalism is such that cause-and-effect relationships are extremely difficult to determine; nationalism itself is amorphous and has a causal influence on other social phenomena as well as being their effect” (quoted from Kecmanovic 1996, 211).

So, what is a nation, anyway?⁵⁵ A nation is group of a certain kind, of course.

⁵⁵. Some scholars even challenge the very notion of the term “nation” itself. They go further to probe the appropriateness of this kind of question, since question like “what is a nation” presuppose the very existence of the entity that is to be defined. “The question itself,” writes Brubaker (1996, 14), “reflects the realist, substantialist belief that ‘a nation’ is a real entity of some kind, though perhaps one that is elusive and difficult to define.” Accordingly, “We should not ask ‘what is a nation’ but rather: how is nationhood as a political and cultural form institutionalized within and among states” (Brubaker 1996, 16)?

At least to myself, I think this kind of position is too radical. As a matter of fact, Brubaker’s statement --- “nation” is an institutionalized form produced by political and cultural discourse --- can also be applied to other social institutions (e.g., family, school, state, and etc.) as well. Nevertheless, nation is still different from family, school, and state in many regards. We cannot stop our exploration here and claim

But what kind of group? I shall try to answer this critical question in the next section.

2.3.2 Defining Nation from Objective Characteristics

Wherever a *separate language* is found, there a *separate nation* exists.
(Fichte 1922, 215; emphasis added)

The idea of the nation as a specific community striving for political autonomy was derived from the eighteenth-century writings of Johan Gottfried Herder (1744 - 1803) on the distinctiveness of linguistic and cultural groups (e.g., Herder 1969, 1992; Ergang 1966). This notion was expanded by Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762 - 1814) at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who argued that each distinctive language group constituted a separate nation and as such should have and control its own life (Fichte 1922). In addition to language, many succeeding writers (e.g., Geertz 1963; Isaacs 1975; A. Smith 1986; Stalin 1994) have proposed some other criteria about what makes for nationhood: whether it is common territory, bloodlines, ethnicity, religion, or common belief.

Harold Isaacs is one of the significant proponents affiliated with this line of thesis. In his book entitled *Idols of the Tribe* (1975), Isaacs treats ethnic and national identity as a form of what he calls “basic group identity.” This, he writes, “consists of the ready-made set of endowments and identifications that every individual shares with others from the moment of birth by the chance of the family into which he is born at that given time in that given place” (1975, 38). Isaacs goes on to elaborate eight elements

that nation is a sort of construction. Rather, we should ask what kind of characteristics make “nation” different from other types of constructed social institutions (see later discussion).

that directly contribute to a person's basic group identity: the physical body (including size, shape, skin color, and so on); a person's name (both individual and family); the history and origins of the group one is born into; one's nationality or other group affiliation; the language one first learns to speak; the religion one is born into; the culture one is born into; and the geography and topography of the place of birth (Isaacs, 1975).

In a similar fashion, Stalin also presents the characteristic features of a nation as follows:

A nation is a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture. (Stalin 1994, 20, emphasis original)⁵⁶

Some scholars (e.g., Canovan 1996; Gellner 1983; Hobsbawm 1992; Renan 1990) deny that any such objective criteria are sufficient, or even necessary, to define nationhood. For instance, Hobsbawm has neatly shown the inadequacy of any of the objective criteria if seen as definite. Taking language as an example, he contends that at the moment of Italian unification in 1860 only 2.5 percent of Italians spoke Italian. Besides, while the French Revolution occurred in 1789, only 50 percent of French people spoke French (Hobsbawm 1992, 60-1). In other words, national languages are more often the consequence of nationalistic efforts than their foundation.⁵⁷ Furthermore, it should also keep in mind that all these so-called "objective" criteria used for identifying

⁵⁶. The original was written in 1912.

⁵⁷. "National languages," says Hobsbawm (1992, 54), "are therefore almost always semi-artificial constructs and occasionally, like modern Hebrew, virtually invented." As a matter of fact, "They are the opposite of what nationalist mythology supposes them to be, namely the primordial foundations of national culture and the matrices of the national mind" (Hobsbawm 1992, 54).

nation --- language, ethnicity or whatever --- are themselves fuzzy, shifting and ambiguous. We can see Gellner's observation regarding the matter in the following way:

Nations as a natural, God-given way of classifying men, as an inherent though long-delayed political destiny, are a myth; nationalism, which sometimes takes pre-existing cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, and often obliterates pre-existing cultures: *that* is a reality. (Gellner 1983, 48-9, emphasis original)

2.3.3 Defining Nation from Subjective Consciousness

[A] nation exists when an active and fairly numerous section of its members are convinced that it exists. No external objective characteristics, but *subjective conviction* is the decisive factor. (Seton-Watson 1966, 5; emphasis added)

So, what is a nation, again? Most modern literature on nation and nationalism agrees that what makes a set of people a nation is not anything as objective as shared characteristics. Rather, the crucial factor is consciousness. Accordingly, Hobsbawm (1992, 8) defines a nation as "any sufficiently large body of people whose members regard themselves as members of a 'nation.'" Seton-Watson (1977, 5) also provides a very similar formula, "A nation exists when a significant number of people in a community consider themselves to form a nation, or behave as if they formed one." Based upon this line of argument, Gellner (1983, 48-9) not only expresses that struggle comes first and that out of struggle a nation may be created, but also contends that a nation must be composed of people who recognize each other as belonging to the same nation. He says,

... nations are the artifacts of men's conviction and loyalties and solidarities. ... It is their recognition of each other as fellows ... which turns them into a nation, and not the other shared attributes ... which separate that category from non-members. (Gellner 1983, 7)

In fact, long before the contemporary scholars show us the need for nations to be consciously created, this “subjective” line of analysis has appeared in the writings of classical writers. For instance, Weber (1978, 921-6) emphasizes the inter-subjective aspect of nationhood, observing that objective characteristics of community do not identify a nation, for the concept belongs in the “sphere of values.” The term nation suggests in the first instance that “it is proper to expect from certain groups a specific sentiment of solidarity in the face of other groups” (Weber 1978, 922).

Renan (1990) also contended as early as 1882 that none of the conditions of common geography or territory, language, race or religion meet the critical test of being either necessary or sufficient for the existence of a nation. Rather, he argued, a nation consists of two integrated components, including a common possession of a rich heritage of memories of the past and a desire to live together and pass on the heritage. Accordingly, it is critical to explore the solidarity sustained by a distinctive historical consciousness, since the nation should be understood as a form of morality.

2.3.4 The Definition of Nation

In this section, I shall attempt to synthesize both the objective and subjective approaches and propose my definition of nation in this study. In fact, despite the significance of subjective elements shown in previous section, defining nation solely in terms of them still seems partial and incomplete. Collective solidarity can exist in many

sorts of social groupings, from families to volunteer associations to business corporations. How can we differentiate nation from other kinds of social groupings? What additional characteristics should also be present for us to call a population with collective solidarity a nation? Subjective elements are minimal conditions for calling a population a nation, but far from a definition.

To me, the solution to the problem is to recognize that the subjective connection is usually rooted in objective ones. Members of nations do not see themselves as united by their collective solidarity. Rather, they always cite some other things that unite them --- a common culture, for example, or common ancestors, a common history, shared political institutions, or attachment to a particular territory.

We can borrow Anderson's (1991) famous notion of "imagined community" to elaborate the issue. To him, the nation is an artifact, an "imagined political community." However, rather than thinking of it as fabricated, one should understand national distinctiveness in terms of its style of imagination and the institutions that make that possible. Pre-eminent among the latter are "print-capitalism" and new genres of newspaper and novel that portray the nation as a sociological community moving along "homogeneous, empty time." He writes:

[A]ll communities larger than primordial village of fact-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity-genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined. (Anderson 1991, 6)

Aside from style, there still exist other ways of distinguishing communities, of course, such as their scale, extent of administrative organization, degree of internal equality, and so forth. As students of nation and nationalism, our task is indeed to get

some grasp of the distinctive form of “imaging” collective solidarity that is associated with nationalism. Calhoun provides the following list of features, which seem to serve as the foundation for the communal community to be imagined as a nation, in greater or lesser degree:

1. Boundaries, of territory, population, or both.
2. Indivisibility --- the notion that the nation is an integral unit.
3. Sovereignty, or at least the aspiration to sovereignty, and thus formal equality with other nations, usually as an autonomous and putative self-sufficient status.
4. An “ascending” notion of legitimacy --- i.e., the idea that government is just only when supported by popular will or at least when it serves the interests of “the people” or “the nation.”
5. Popular participation in collective affairs --- a population mobilized on the basis of national membership (whether for war or civic activities).
6. Direct membership, in which each individual is understood to be immediately a part of the nation and in that respect categorically equivalent to other members.
7. Culture, including some combination of language, shared beliefs and values, habitual practices.
8. Temporal depth --- a notion of the nation as such existing through time, including past and future generations, and having a history.
9. Common descent or racial characteristics.
10. Special history or even scared relations to a certain territory (Calhoun 1997, 4 -5).⁵⁸

However, Calhoun (1997, 5) reminds us that these features are the “rhetoric” of nation, claims that are commonly made in describing nations. Nations cannot be defined effectively by empirical measures of whether they are actually able to achieve

⁵⁸. Of course, the list is not the “final” list at all. We can still add some other elements, if we want. “There is no perfect list; we are identifying a common pattern, not a precise definition of nation. The

sovereignty, to maintain integrity by defending themselves against internal splits, or to enforce sharp boundaries, just to give several examples. Rather, nations are constituted largely by the claims, which are normative as well as descriptive, themselves. While each of these features may be sufficient to ground a sense of nationhood, none is absolutely necessary.⁵⁹ Different people believe that their claims to be a nation are rooted in different sorts of facts. As the researcher, we can look at all of these claims and see that the essential thread uniting them is simply the belief about group membership and not the specific basis on which this or that group rests that belief (see Figure 2.1). Accordingly, in this study, following Kellas's suggestion, I shall define the term "nation" as follows:

(Figure 2.1 about here)

[A nation is defined as] a group of people who feel themselves to be a community bound together by ties of history, culture, and common ancestry. Nations have "*objective*" characteristics which may include a territory, a language, a religion, or common descent, and "*subjective*" characteristics, essentially a people's awareness of its nationality and affection for it. (Kellas 1991, 2; emphasis added)

2.4 The Concept of National Identity

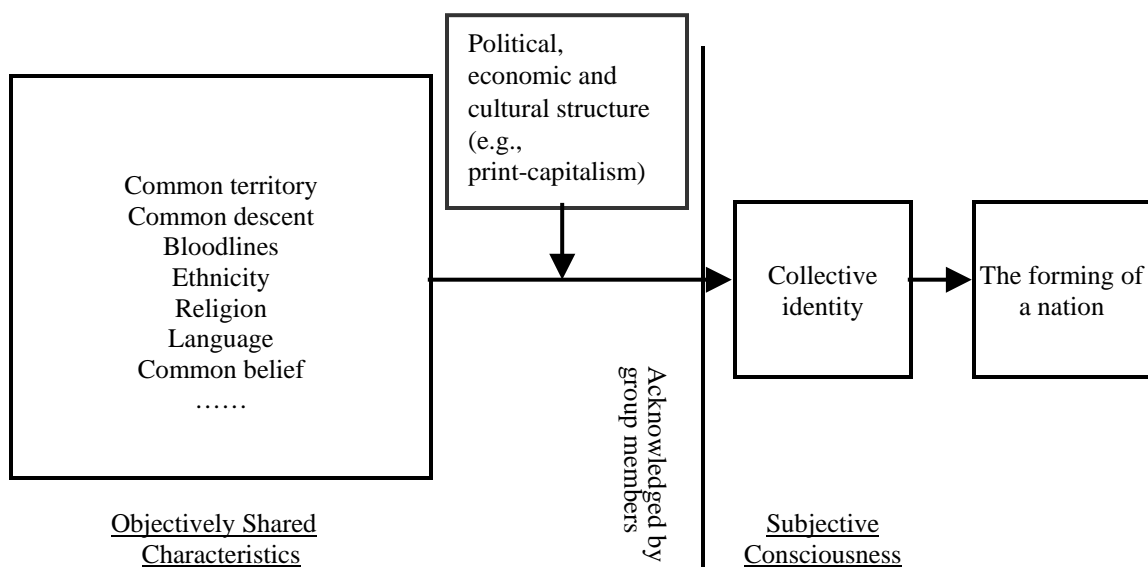
2.4.1 The Definition of National Identity

Based upon the discussion on "identity" and "nation" in the previous sections, one

points listed can help us to develop an 'ideal type,' but this is an aid to conceptualization, not an operational definition or an empirically testable description" (Calhoun 1997, 5).

⁵⁹. In this respect, the observation that as a matter of fact most nation-states in the world are not "pure nations" misses the point. In fact, the nation-state is itself an ideological construction, the product of nationalist doctrine.

Figure 2.1
A Synthesized Definition of Nation



Source: Adapted from Shih (1998c, 152)

of the simplest ways to define the term “national identity” is to refer to it as the interaction between the individual and a specific type of collectivity --- nation or nation-state. If we claim that the major concern of the concept of “identity” is the question about “how I define who I am,” then the significant consideration of the concept of national identity should be “*how I define my national affiliation.*”

Following my three-type classification system mentioned in Section 2.4 of this chapter, the concept of national identity, accordingly, can be treated as “collective identity” and “social identity” at the same time. In other words, depending on the perspective from which one is approaching this concept, at the conceptual level, we can

see national identity as a kind of “collective identity,” the identity of a specific collectivity called a nation; or we can understand national identity as a kind of “social identity,” the individual identity relevant to one’s imagination toward his or her relationship with a collectivity called the nation.

(2.4.1.a) On the one hand, we can define “national identity” from the perspective of “collective identity.” As a matter of fact, most scholars of nationalism seem to adopt this way to define national identity in their works. We can see this kind of examples as follows:

Nationalist ideology constructs not only nations but a content to nations --- specific values, characteristics, political and social attitudes --- that are held to be intrinsic to the nation. This content is the national identity. (Finlayson 1996, 11)

National identity in its distinctive modern sense is, therefore, an identity which derives from membership in a people, the fundamental characteristic of which is that it is defined as a *nation*. (Greenfeld 1992, 7; emphasis original)

In this sense, national identity is something more than a collection of individuals. As shown in previous section, nations require some level of subjective consciousness, a shared system of values over-riding other considerations when choices have to be made. We can label this kind of subjective consciousness as “national identity,” an identity of the collectivity called “nation.”

(2.4.1.b) On the other hand, we can also define “national identity” from the perspective of “social identity.” It refers to the subjective experience of the perception of shared identity that makes up the nation, a product resulting from the individual’s internalization of the aforementioned national identity at the collective level. Bloom’s

definition can be seen as a representative example in this regard:

National identity describes that condition in which a mass of people have made the same identification with national symbols --- have internalized the symbols of the nation --- so that they may act as one psychological group when there is a threat to, or the possibility of enhancement of, these symbols of national identity. (Bloom 1990, 52)

In fact, the two levels of analysis regarding national identity, the collective and the individual, are often confused and need to be kept distinct. A. Smith provides a comprehensive definition for the concept of national identity covering both levels of analysis:

[National identity can be defined as] the continuous reproduction and reinterpretation of the pattern of values, symbols, memories, myths and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the identifications of individuals with that pattern and heritage and with its cultural elements. (A. Smith 2001, 18)

While the former part of Smith's definition is related to the "collective" dimension of national identity, the latter part of this definition is about the "social" dimension of national identity. Nevertheless, in this study, my major concern is to consider national identity as a kind of social identity, though it is inevitable that this "social identity" is also influenced by national identity at the level of "collective identity."

2.4.2 The Characteristics of National Identity

In this section, I shall examine some characteristics of national identity while seeing it as a sort of social identity.

(2.4.2.a) First of all, following our definition of nation, which is seen as a group of

people who feel themselves to be a community bound together by ties of history, culture, common ancestry, or some other “objective” characteristics, the notion of national identity is a *multi-dimensional* concept by nature. Since the definition of “nation” could be based upon different “objective” characteristics according to one’s own imagination, it is quite possible that different individuals adopt different criteria to construct their national identity. As Yi-huah Jiang (1998, 15) contends, the notion of national identity includes, at the analytical level, at least three different aspects of identity --- institutional identity, ethnic identity, and cultural identity.

First of all, some people construct their national identity on the basis of institutional identity. So-called “institutional identity” refers to one’s identification with specific political, economic, or social institutions. This aspect of national identity is basically related to the specific “citizenship” offered by the sovereign state. Second, some other people adopt ethnic identity as the cornerstone on which to imagine their national identity. So-called “ethnic identity” can be referred to one’s identification with his or her imagined common ancestry or bloodlines.⁶⁰ Third, there are also those people who embrace their national identity on the foundation of cultural identity. So-called “cultural identity” refers to one’s identification with historical tradition, folklore, or the collective memory of his or her groups.⁶¹

It is notable that the three examples --- institutional identity, ethnic identity, and

⁶⁰. For more detailed discussion regarding the concept of “ethnic identity,” see Section 3.3 of Chapter Three.

⁶¹. For literature on “cultural identity,” see Bammer (1994); S. Hall (1992, 1994); R. Jackson (1999); and Siu (1993). For literature on “cultural identity” in the context of Taiwan, see CCA (1996); Ya-chung Chuang (2002); Chun-chieh Huang (2000a); and Tu (1996).

cultural identity --- cover only some of the possible dimensions of national identity. Furthermore, they are also highly interrelated and it is difficult, if not impossible, to demarcate each one in the real world. Like the feature list of nations suggested by Calhoun in the previous section, it is impossible for us to provide a comprehensive list covering all the possible dimensions of national identity. However, according to currently available literature, it seems that most people would construct their national identity on the basis of these three dimensions to greater or lesser degree.

(2.4.2.b) Second, the concept of national identity involves analysis at both the *micro-* and *macro-levels* simultaneously. Basically, I posit this study to be a micro-level research project, since the fundamental concern of this research is “social identity” at the individual level, rather than “collective identity” at the communal level. My object of analysis, as a matter of fact, is the “mind journey” of the subjects selected in this study, especially their imagination about “what their nation is.” Nevertheless, in most situations, identity at the individual level is inevitably influenced by the “external environment” beyond the individual level. As noted by Johnston et al. (1994, 13), “Individual identity is quintessentially social and its core --- if it can be apprehended at all by a reflective self --- is relativized according to interactive situations.” Josselson (1988), in her chapter on the “embedded self,” also concludes with the following statement:

A theory of the self, or of identity, must ... account for the ways in which the self remains poised between self-expression and relatedness, between the need for self-assertion and social involvement. A theory of the self must, therefore, be interwoven with a theory of relationship. (Josselson 1988, 104)

Even so, in the existing literature on national identity, it is quite common that the

researcher focuses his or her study only on one level of analysis (in most cases, the macro-level), ignoring explorations based on the other level of analysis.

(2.4.2.c) Third, because nationalism happens in the context of specific historical, cultural, economic, and political circumstances, the development of national identity is always influenced by specific *historical context*, especially the context of political history. As a matter of fact, it is impossible for any researcher to study an individual's national identity without the full consideration of the historical context which he or she encountered during his or her different life stages. We can see C. Wright Mills' often-cited reflection on the matter in *The Sociological Imagination* as follows:

The sociological imagination enables us to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society. That is its task and its promise. To recognize this task and this promise is the mark of the classic social analyst. (Mills 1959, 6)

Take "Taiwanese identity" as an example. The meaning of this term has been quite different in different historical contexts. While Taiwan was still under Japanese colonial rule, the notion of "Taiwanese identity" was based on the dichotomy between Islanders (*Bendaoren* 本島人) and Inlanders (*Neidiren* 內地人), or between Taiwanese and Japanese. After the end of World War II, the KMT took over Taiwan, and "Taiwanese identity" had to be put in the context of "People of Local Province (*Benshengren* 本省人) versus People of Outside Provinces (*Waishengren* 外省人)" or "Taiwanese versus Chinese (*Zhongguoren* 中國人)" as an explanatory framework. Finally, after the lifting of martial law in 1987 and the beginning of Taiwan's democratization process, the concept of "Taiwanese identity" has to be understood in terms of the dichotomy between "Taiwan/Republic of China and the People's Republic of

China.”

(2.4.2.d) Finally, instead of being a thing-like entity with definite properties, national identity may be better understood as *contingent, fluid, and temporal* phenomenon. As pointed out by Boyd C. Shafer, a prominent scholar of nationalism, in the following quotation:

The object of loyalty, the nation, changes; those who offer the loyalty, the nationalists, change, and the kinds and intensities of their loyalties vary. This is to say that the sentiment is different at different times, that it is different in different peoples, that is it different for each individual, and that individual views change. The nationalism in France in 1793 was different from that of 1815 or 1939. The nationalism in France in 1815 or 1939 was different from that in the Germanies or Germany of these years. (Shafer 1972, 7)

2.5 The Concept of National Identity within the Current Literature on Nationalism:

The Neglect of Subjectivity Issues

2.5.1 Overview of Current Literature on Nationalism

Although nationalism is one of the most powerful forces in the modern world, the study of this phenomenon has until recently been relatively neglected. Sustained investigation of nationalism had to wait until after the World War I by some prominent historians (e.g., Haynes 1931; Kohn 1955; Shafer 1955),⁶² and it is only after the 1970s

⁶². Following Tiryakian (1995, 230), I consciously differentiate between scholars who study nationalism as a phenomenon and those intellectuals who have been involved in the theory and practice of nationalism. From J. G. Herder and J. G. Fichte to the present, intellectuals have been closely identified with the formation of nationalist consciousness and with political leadership of nationalist parties in all parts of the world. However, in this dissertation, while discussing the general literature on nationalism, I am not dealing with activist intellectuals, only with those who study nationalism with “detached” curiosity.

that the subject has begun to be thoroughly explored by scholars from different disciplines of the social sciences (Tiryakian 1995).

This “new” interest in nationalism among academic circles was definitely related to the changing political landscape at that time. Starting from the late 1960s, there was a wave of “regional” movements for autonomy directed against the hegemony of Western states long associated with democracy, or states that had made commitments to democratization. For instance, there emerged quite visible nationalistic movements in Wales, Scotland, and North Ireland within the boundary of Great Britain;⁶³ Brittany in France;⁶⁴ Quebec in Canada;⁶⁵ as well as Catalonia and Basque in Spain.⁶⁶

In this situation, due to the invention of a variety of new conceptual tools (e.g., modernization, uneven development, internal colonialism, etc.) as well as new research methods (e.g., social surveys, participation observation, etc.), there was a marked increase in the number of sophisticated, multidisciplinary empirical studies of nationalism. For instance, Gellner’s (1983) project begins by exploring changes in social structure (e.g., industrialization and the coincident role of culture in the

⁶³. For works on the nationalist movement in Wales, see Hechter (1975); Ragin (1979, 1986); Ragin and Davies (1981); Rawkins (1979); and Thompson, Day, and Adamson (1999). For studies on the Scottish nationalist movement, see Ragin (1986); Schwarz (1970); and Trevor-Roper (1992). For research on the Irish nationalist movement, see Bell (1993); Cronin (1981); Doorley (1995); Finlayson (1996); Hanagan (2002); Hutchinson (1987); Irvin (1999); and White (1993).

⁶⁴. For studies on the Breton nationalist movement, see Meadwell (1989) and Reece (1979).

⁶⁵. For research on the Quebec nationalist movement, see Handler (1988); McRoberts (1979); Olzak (1982); Pinard and Hamilton (1986); and Schmid (1990).

⁶⁶. For studies of the Basque nationalist movement, see Davis (1997); Irvin (1999); Kauregui (1986); and Medrano (1995). For studies of the Catalan nationalist movement, see Johnston (1991) and Medrano (1995).

construction of social identity) to explain the emergence of nationalism. Breuilly's (1994) proposition can be seen as focusing on changes in the political structure or consciousness (e.g., the development of the modern "public" state) to describe the dynamics of nationalism. And Kedourie's (1960, 1971) scheme is to examine the surfacing of nationalism in the sphere of ideas and beliefs (e.g., the role of Western intellectuals in creating it).

Basically, we can label this line of literature on nationalism as "modernization theory" or "social structure theory."⁶⁷ These scholars seek to derive both nations and nationalism from the novel processes of modernization, and to show how states, nations and nationalisms, and notably elites, have mobilized and united populations in novel ways to cope with modern conditions and modern political imperatives. In other words, rather than a "persistent and recurrent" phenomenon of human history, nationalism is a "modern" phenomenon, a by-product of conditions prevailing in the modern world.

For significant comparative studies on these nationalist movements in Wales, Scotland, North Ireland, Brittany, Quebec, Catalonia and Basque, see Irvin (1999); Keating (1996); Kimmel (1989); Newman (1996); Rudolph and Thompson (1989); Tiryakian and Rogowski (1985); and Zariski (1989).

⁶⁷. Discussions of nation-related-phenomena have tended to present a number of overlapping sets of alternative explanations: as an expressive, non-rational sense of loyalty to putative kinsmen or as an instrumental rational response to socio-economic conditions; as a concern with cultural distinctiveness or as a facilitating condition for political mobilization; as a historical continuity from the past or as a product of modernization.

Analysis in the context of modernization theory in the study of nation and nationalism shows that the most significant dispute in the field should be the "perennialism-modernism debate," rather than the "primordialism-instrumentalism debate." While the former concerns the place of the nation in the history of humanity (i.e., the antiquity of the nation versus its purely modern appearance), the latter concerns the essence of the nation (i.e., the expressive dimension of nationalism versus its political aspirations and goals).

In the past, one could be sure that modernists were also instrumentalists (and vice-versa), while perennialists were always primordialists of one kind or another. But this simple dualism has given way to more variegated and complex formulations. It should take notes that "Not all modernists embrace a robust instrumentalism; and not all perennialists turn out to be primordialists" (Smith 1998, 159).

In his book *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism* (1998), Anthony D. Smith proposes that there are at least four different types of theoretical work based upon the modernization theory emerging in the 1970s and 1980s. They include the sociocultural types (e.g., Gellner 1983), the socioeconomic models (e.g., Nairn 1977; Hechter 1975), the political types (e.g., Mann 1985, 1993; Breuilly 1994), and the ideological types (e.g., Kedourie 1993) (see Table 2.3 for the summary of these versions).

(Table 2.3 about here)

Though affiliated with different versions of modernization theory, the proponents of this theoretical orientation share the following statements:

1. nations were wholly modern --- modern in the sense of being recent, i.e., since the French Revolution, and in the sense that the components of the nation were novel, i.e., part of the new age of modernity, and so modern by definition;
2. nations were the product of modernity, i.e., their elements were not only recent and novel, but also emerge, and had to emerge, through processes of “modernisation,” the rise of modern conditions and modernising policies;
3. nations were therefore not deeply rooted in history, but were inevitable consequences of the revolutions that constituted modernity and as such tied to their features and conditions, with the result that, once these features and conditions were transformed, nations would gradually wither away or be superseded; (A. Smith 1998, 21-2)

Starting roughly from the mid-1980s, there emerged another trend in much of the scholarly work on nations and nationalism to emphasize not just their wholly structural bases, but their peculiarly constructed and imagined quality (e.g., Anderson 1991, Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983, Brubaker 1996, Young 1993). This line of literature,

Table 2.3
Main Varieties of Modernization Theory in the Study of Nationalism

	Representative	Major Work	Major Argument
Sociocultural version	Ernest Gellner	<i>Nations and Nationalism</i> (1983)	This version links nations and nationalism to the needs of generating a “ <i>high culture</i> ” for modernization and industrial development.
Socioeconomic version	Michael Hechter	<i>Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536 – 1966</i> (1975)	This version derives nationalism from rational workings of the world economy and the <i>social and economic interests</i> of individuals.
Political version	John Breuilly	<i>Nationalism and the State</i> (1993)	This version looks at the relationship of nationalism to the sources of <i>power</i> , notably war, elites and the modern state.
Ideological version	Elie Kedourie	<i>Nationalism</i> (1960)	This version tends to see nationalism as a <i>belief system</i> , a form of religion surrogate or secular religion, and to link its emergence and power to changes in the sphere of ideas and beliefs.

Source: Adapted from Smith (1998)

which I label as “constructionism,”⁶⁸ attempts to reveal that there is no such thing as the national essence, and suggests that the national formation should no longer be considered as suprasubjective wholes that generate and determine human action. Instead, they

⁶⁸. Some other authors (e.g, Young 1993, Wicker 1997, Lake and Rothchild 1998) use the term “constructivism” to describe the idea of this line of argument. Based upon Vermeulen and Govers (1997) and Gergen’s (1985) rationale, I would adopt the term “constructionism” to depict this theoretical orientation in this dissertation. Gergen defends the choice of the term “constructionism” in the following way: “Although the term constructivism is also used in referring to the same movement . . . , this term is also used in reference to Piagetian theory, to a form of perceptual theory, and to a significant movement in 20th century art. The term constructionism avoids these various confusions and enables a linkage to be retained to Berger and Luckmann’s (1966) seminal volume, *The Social Construction of Reality*” (Gergen 1985, 266).

should be interpreted as the products of history, therefore as resulting from concrete acts that are motivated by people's interests. What social scientists are expected to do, according to this theoretical orientation, then, is to examine which social actors participate in generating such concepts of nation, and to locate the strategies and processes of construction that are used to make such totalities become real.

The proponents of constructionism may share the basic premise with theorists of modernism to see nation and nationalism as modern phenomena. However, attention should also be paid to the existence of different "epistemological foundations" between these two approaches.⁶⁹ On the one hand, in contrast to the modernist belief in the powerful sociological reality of nations (though not that of their own myth and self-image), constructionist scholars deny such reality to the nation outside the representations of its members and portraitists. In other words, while modernism still holds the position of "realism" to take the existence of nations for granted (Brubaker 1996, 13-5),⁷⁰ constructionism shifts this position and attempts to understand "nationness as a conceptual variable" (Brubaker 1996, 16). On the other hand, whereas the focus of modernism is still on the "organization and the mobilization" of nation-related phenomena, the concern of constructionism is basically "consciousness" itself

⁶⁹. Brubaker (1995: 292, 1996: 13) contends that this epistemological shift comes from four developments in social theory which have combined to undermine the treatment of groups as real, substantial entities: (1) the increasing use of network as an overall orienting metaphor in social theory; (2) the methodological individualism adopted by theories of rational action; (3) the emergence of the more "constructivist" theoretical stances; and (4) the appearance of postmodern theoretical sensibility focusing on the fragmentary, the ephemeral, and the erosion of fixed forms and clear boundaries.

⁷⁰. According to Brubaker's (1996: 14 -5) argument: "The treatment of nations as real entities and substantial collectivities is not confined to so-called primordialists, meaning those who emphasize the deep roots, ancient origins, and emotive power of national attachments. This view is also held by many 'modernists' and 'constructivists,' who see nations as shaped by such forces as industrialization, uneven

(Vermeulen and Govers 1997).

Scholarly works following the constructionist approach tend to conceive identity “as an idea or discourse rather than an empirically observed social ‘unit’ defined by features such as dress, language, or customs” (Tilley 1997, 511). These studies pay much attention to determining the elements, factual or otherwise, that contribute to the construction of a particular identity. They include examinations of the circumstances under which identities develop, the changes they undertake over time, and the social and political objectives for which identities may be created (e.g., Bhabha 1990; Brass 1991; Calhoun 1997; Chatterjee 1986). Those who use the constructionist approach study diverse nation-related-phenomena, yet they are united by a common understanding: “Whether ethnic divisions are built upon visible biological differences among populations or rest upon invisible cultural and ideational distinctions, the boundaries around and the meanings attached to ethnic groups are pure social constructions” (Nagel 1994, 167-8).

Under the aegis of this theoretical orientation, there is a proliferation of terms such as “identity,” “meaning,” “process,” “difference,” “fragmentation,” and “hybrid” appearing in the recent literature on nationalism. This new trend is related to the shift of academic fashion, since schools of thought like deconstructivism, postcolonial studies, and cultural studies, all started from the disciplines of the humanities, began to infiltrate the disciplines of the social sciences. Brah, Hickman, and an Ghail make the following observation regarding the recent trend in identity studies:

In what is referred to as the “cultural turn” there has been a shift away from

development, the growth of communication and transportation networks, and the powerfully integrative and homogenizing forces of the modern state.”

the study of structure as the privileged feature of social relations accompanied by an increased critical interest in language and how it is used to produce meaning in social life. It is within this context of current theoretical advances, particularly in poststructuralist and postcolonialist theory, that recent texts have argued for the need to return culture to the center of the debate on how we are to understand contemporary changing meanings of “race,” racism, and ethnicity. (Brah, Hickman, and an Ghail 1999, 1)

Basically, I agree with Brah, Hickman, and an Ghail’s observation. In the field of nation and nationalism, if we perceive the basic concern of former theoretical orientations as the exploration of “social structure factors,” then we can treat the “cultural meaning factors” as the fundamental considerations of this new theoretical approach. I shall put this research into the basic framework of constructionism, seeing nation, nationalism, and national identity as sorts of social construction, though with some minor revisions.

2.5.2 The Neglect of Subjectivity Issues within the Current Literature on Nationalism

Within the literature on nationalism, there exists a serious problem. To put it simply, the essence of national identity --- especially the elements relevant to the construction of subjective meaning --- has often been neglected, despite reminders that “it is ... the self view of one’s group, rather than the tangible characteristics, that is the essence in determining the existence or non-existence of a nation” (Connor 1994, 43). As a result, though we can find a lot of different models and terminologies invented by scholars to explain nation-related-phenomena, the subjective experiences of participants involved in the phenomena (e.g., activists of nationalistic movements) are seldom explored by researchers in the field.

Since the basic concerns of modernization theory, which is a macro approach in nature, are the social structural factors relevant to the emergence of nationalism, it is not reasonable to expect researchers affiliated with this theoretical orientation to deal with the issue of participants or actors in the nation-related-phenomena. After all, these participants or actors should be perceived from the micro level of analysis.

Nevertheless, it is surprising that scholars of constructionist theory do not take the issue seriously either, despite the fact that micro-level concepts --- such as “identity” or “consciousness” --- should be seen by many researchers as a fundamental concern.

Three possible reasons can be offered to explain this weakness. One is derived from the tendency toward “cultural objectification” within the study of nation and nationalism. The other is rooted within the concept of social construction itself. The third is related to the methodology or empirical data used in this line of research.

(2.5.2.a) First of all, while engaging in the process of reconstructing relevant concepts such as “nation,” the scholars of constructionism tend to fall into the conceptual trap of so-called “cultural objectification,” a concept proposed by anthropologist Richard Handler. In his serial studies of nationalism in Quebec, Handler invents the notion of “cultural objectification” to refer to “the imaginative embodiment of human realities in terms of a theoretical discourse based on the concept of culture” (1984, 56).

Handler contends that there exists a tendency in Western thought to imagine nonmaterial phenomena --- such as time, nation, culture, society, and group --- as embodied, physical objects. While a nationalist sees the nation as a “natural entity,” students of the social sciences as well as cultural studies, probably unconsciously, also tend to presuppose metaphors like boundedness, homogeneity, and continuity in their

discourses (Handler 1988, 8). Facing the interplay between nationalism ideology and social science theory, in his critique of the objectification of culture, Handler argues that anthropology objectifies culture just as nationalism does.

To proponents of constructionsim, the accusation of “cultural objectification” is sarcastic, since their basic concern is to “demystify” nationalism through questioning the “substantial existence” of the nation. However, while proposing to use concepts other than “nation” (because “nation” is seen as constructed by other social, political, and cultural forces with no substantiality) to investigate nation-related-phenomena, they inversely reify the notion of “nation” through other objectified concepts.

(2.5.2.b) Second, as Brubaker (2001) points out, once a challenge to the conventional wisdom, the notion of social construction has become the conventional wisdom. It is not that the notion itself is wrong; it is rather that it is too obviously right, too familiar, too readily taken for granted, to generate the friction, force and freshness needed to push arguments further and generate new insights. In other words, we cannot just claim that national identity “is” the product of social construction. Rather, in our research, we have to point out the very “process” itself through which national identity is constructed. While contending the necessity of reorienting the field of ethnicity and nationalism toward “cognitive perspectives,” Brubaker contends:

It is to specify how --- and when --- people identify themselves, perceive others, experience the world, interpret their predicaments and orient their actions in racial, ethnic or national rather than other terms. It is to specify how “groupness” can “crystallize” in some situations while remaining latent and merely potential in others. It is to link macro-level outcomes with micro-level processes. (Brubaker 2001b, 16)

(2.5.2.c) Third, due to the sound impact of structuralism and post-structuralism on the traditional fields of the social sciences, it seems that the Foucaultian notion of “discourse” (Foucault 1979, 1980) is one of the most significant metaphors among students of constructionism in the field of national identity. Accordingly, while analyzing the process of identity construction, most of the authors choose either the symbolic texts (e.g., Comaroff and Comaroff 1991; Melluci 1989) or the material social processes such as rituals, practices, and institutions (e.g., Roseberry 1994; Urban and Sherzer 1991) as their empirical data. In view of that, this line of research tends to ignore the perspective that identity must also be analyzed as practices made by individual actors whose everyday lives are the arenas in which they organize the world and transform received worldviews. While criticizing the existing literature on nationalism, Brah, Hickman, and an Ghaill make the following comment:

[Most of the existing theoretical orientations] assuming that each individual expresses a similar (rather than different) attitude towards “nationalism”: This is because theories of nationalism begin from the assumption that issues such as language, religion, territory or “culture” are relevant to the individual, and that each individual expresses a similar attitude towards them rather than examining how these issues are made relevant by individuals through processes of negotiation with others within particular sociospatial contexts. (Brah, Hickman, and an Ghaill 1999, 9)

2.5.3 Concluding Remarks

Conclusively, we can find that most of the existing literature on nationalism, even within the works of constructionists, tend to ignore the perspective that national identity must be analyzed as practices made by *individual actors* whose everyday lives are the arenas in which they organize the world and transform received worldviews. As a

matter of fact, we have no reason to ignore the significance of the individual actor in our studies of nation and nationalism.

We are reminded by Thompson and Rudolph, “Regions are not actors; their inhabitants are” (1989, 5). If a particular territory becomes nationalistic, we must explain why some of its residents find nationalism attractive, and, if the nationalism is new or suddenly much stronger politically, why they have abandoned old appeals for new ones. Facing the research tradition of current literature on nation and nationalism, we can claim that the research is accomplished at the expense of what the participants of nation-related-phenomena have to say about their own participation.

If the existing literature on nationalism does not pay enough attention to subjectivity issues, what is an alternative framework useful for our inquiry into the formative process of national identity? This will be the focus of next chapter.

Chapter Three

Analytical Framework:

A Racial/Ethnic Identity Formation Approach to National Identity

The formation of ethnic identity may be thought of as a process similar to ego identity formation that takes place over time, as peoples explore and make decisions about the role of ethnicity in their lives.

--- Jean S. Phinney, *Ethnic Identity in Adolescents and Adults: Review of Research*

3.1 Introduction

If the existing literature on nationalism does not pay enough attention to subjectivity, as shown in previous chapter, then what is an alternative framework useful for our inquiry into the formative process of national identity? I shall contend that it is probably more fruitful to bring the notion of national identity back into the tradition of social psychology and adopt identity formation theory as an alternative framework for analyzing national-identity-related issues.

In this chapter, first of all, I shall introduce the origins of identity formation theory, paying specific attention on the works by Erik H. Erikson and James Marcia. Then, I shall limit the scope of my discussion to research relevant to racial/ethnic identity, and briefly review the works adopting identity formation theory as their analytical framework. Third, William E. Cross's "Nigrescence" model will be presented, since this model will be used as the theoretical framework for analyzing the empirical data in this study. Finally, I shall argue for the appropriateness of applying identity formation theory to the

field of national identity, although no researcher has attempted to do this before.

3.2 The Origins of Identity Formation Theory

3.2.1 Identity as a Psychosocial Stage: Erik Erikson

As mentioned in previous chapter, while engaging in the discussion of the notion of identity, it is almost impossible to ignore the serial works by Erik H. Erikson. Erikson, whose own identity is interestingly ambiguous,⁷¹ develops the concept of “identity” or “identity formation”⁷² within the broad framework of psychosocial development (Erikson 1968, 1980, 1993a, 1994⁷³). Erikson’s theorizing on identity reflects the influences of Anna Freud and Heinz Hartman, with an emphasis placed on the adaptive functions of identity. Specifically, he sees the formation of a personal sense of identity (versus

⁷¹. Erik H. Erikson (1902-1994) was born in Frankfurt, Germany. There is a little mystery about his heritage. His biological father was an unnamed Danish man who abandoned Erik’s mother before he was born. His mother, Karla Abrahamsen, was a young Jewish woman who raised him alone for the first three years of his life. She then married Dr. Theodor Homberger, who was Erik’s pediatrician, when Erikson was three years old. Erikson got the surname Homberger since then. However, he improvised the surname Erikson after immigrating to the United States. Nobody seems to know where he got the name (Boeree 1997). Some biographers accuse Erikson of seeking to evade his Jewish origins (e.g., Berman 1970; Roazen 1976).

Erikson is an excellent scholar with numerous works. The two books that lay out his theoretical foundation are *Childhood and Society* (1993, originally published in 1950) and *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (1968). Both books are more like collections of essays on subjects as varied as Native American tribes, famous people like William James and Adolph Hitler, nationality, race, and gender. However, his most famous books are two empirical, rather than theoretical, studies in “psychohistory,” *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History* (1958) on Martin Luther, and *Gandhi’s Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence* (1969) on Mohandas Gandhi. Furthermore, Stephen Schlein edited an almost 800 page long anthology, *A Way of Looking at Things: Selected Papers from 1930 to 1980* (1987), for Erikson, covering most of his important works between 1930 and 1980.

For biography of and research on Erikson, see Coles (1987); Roazen (1976); and Wallerstein and Goldberger (1998).

⁷². As a matter of fact, for Erikson, “identity” should be regarded as an open and dynamic process throughout one’s entire life cycle, rather than a closed and static property inherited from birth. In this sense, Erikson’s understanding of identity has assumed the notion of “identity formation” already.

⁷³. Erikson’s book, *The Life Cycle Completed: A Review* (1994), was originally published in 1982.

identity diffusion) as one of the cornerstones of ego development, which tends to emerge during the adolescent years, or the identity-versus-role-confusion stage in his own term.

In *Identity: Youth and Crisis*, one of Erikson's important theoretical works on identity formation, he defines the concept of identity in the following way:

The wholeness to be achieved at this [adolescence] stage I have called a sense of inner identity. The young person, in order to experience wholeness, must feel a progressive continuity between that which he has come to be during the long years of childhood and that which he promises to become in the anticipated future; between that which he conceives himself to be and that which he perceives others to see in him and to expect of him. Individually speaking, identity includes, but is more than, the sum of all the successive identification of those earlier years when the child wanted to be, and often was forced to become, like the people he depended on. Identity is a unique product, which now meets a crisis to be solved only in new identifications with age mates and with leader figures outside the family. (Erikson 1968, 87).

In this quotation, four points deserve our further attention for understanding Erikson's concept of identity. First of all, the person must experience inner sameness, or integrity. Accordingly, actions and decisions are not random at all. Rather, defined values, principles, and expectations order one's behavior, and a deviation is perceived as "not me" (Patterson, Sochting, and Marcia 1992, 9). Second, the sense of inner sameness is continuous over time. As a matter of fact, a person's solution to the riddle of identity has significant implications for subsequent psychological development, because without a successful resolution, further progress is somehow stunted. In other word, actions in the past and hopes for the future are experienced as related to the self of today. However, though Erikson perceives "identity formation" as a critical task of adolescence, the process of seeking one's integrated identity does not stop at the end of

adolescence, because it is an ongoing process throughout one's life.

Third, identity is experienced within a community of important others. From this perspective, identity should not be defined as a psychological term, but as a social psychological term concerning the relationship between self and others. After all, relationships and roles serve, ideally, to support and validate an integrated, continuous identity. Fourth, in addition to important others, identity is deeply influenced by the sociocultural context as well. This is true not only in the sense that the society and culture embody the repertoire of possible identities available at any given time, but also in the sense that the particular resolution selected may sometimes, as in the "great man phenomenon," reverberate throughout the social context and cultural atmosphere. We can see much of the latter case in Erikson's psychohistorical studies of Martin Luther, Mohandas Gandhi, and Adolf Hitler (see Erikson 1958, 1969, 1993b).

Based upon his notion of identity, Erikson develops a specific theory of psychosocial development, seeing the developmental changes occurring throughout one's life as a series of eight stages of psychosocial development (see Figure 3.1 for Erikson's proposed psychosocial stages). Erikson suggests that passage through each of the stages necessitates resolution of a crisis or conflict. Accordingly, each of the eight stages is represented as a pairing of the most positive and most negative aspects of the crisis of the period. Although each crisis is never resolved entirely --- life becomes increasingly complicated as one grows older --- it needs to be resolved sufficiently so that one is equipped to deal with demands made during the following stage of psychosocial development.

(Figure 3.1 about here)

In infancy, one's central issue is "trust versus mistrust," with its corresponding ego strength of hope. Infants develop feelings of trust if their physical requirements and psychological needs of attachment are consistently met and their interactions with the world are generally positive. In addition to the issue of hope, other issues --- such as will, purpose, competence, fidelity, love, care, wisdom --- will emerge later in the life-span to dominate one's own specific stages of life. "Autonomy versus shame and doubt" will dominate the second stage of life, "initiative versus guilt" will dominate the third, "industry versus inferiority" will dominate the fourth, and so on. As the life story unfolds, the concerns of early stages fade into the subtexts of subsequent stages. Therefore, the issue of "trust versus mistrust" never truly disappears in the later stages. Instead, it fades from being of primary importance early on to secondary importance as new issues arise in the life-span. Psychosocial development, therefore, is the ebbing and flowing of particular life motifs in a storied sequence over the life-span.

However, among the eight stages, the fifth stage (i.e., adolescence) is the time-span considered by Erikson as a very, if not most, significant one, because the central concern of this stage is related to identity. According to Erikson, the life stage of adolescence provides young people with the optimal situation for defining a sense of identity. Not yet firmly tied by adult commitments, the adolescent may try out a variety of possible commitments in occupation and ideology, eventually adopting a more or less permanent sense of who he or she is. Nevertheless, confusion over the most appropriate role to follow in life can lead to lack of a stable identity, adoption of a socially unacceptable role such as that of a social deviant, or difficulty in maintaining close personal relationships

Figure 3.1
Psychosocial Stages Proposed by Erikson

		Psychosocial Stages										
Old Age	VIII									Integrity vs. Despair	WISDOM	8
Adulthood	VII									Generativity vs. Stagnation	CARE	7
Young Adulthood	VI									Intimacy vs. Isolation	LOVE	6
Adolescence	V									Identity vs. Identity Confusion	FIDELITY	5
School Age	IV									Industry vs. Inferiority	COMPETENCE	4
Play Age	III									Initiative vs. Guilt	PURPOSE	3
Early Childhood	II									Autonomy vs. Shame, Doubt	WILL	2
Infancy	I									Basic Trust vs. Basic Mistrust	HOPE	1

Source : Modified from Erikson (1968, 93)