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Prospects for Political Reform in China

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Prospects for Political Reform in China

by

Jody L. Tomlin

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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Abstract

This study is intended to analyze levels of institutional confidence in China. The purpose is to measure the relationship between changing political and cultural values with modernization and levels of institutional criticism. To analyze institutional criticism modernization and political culture theories are used. Using these theories together offers explanatory power as to what political and cultural values may change and why changes in confidence in governance may occur. These theories include socioeconomic, traditional, and political values to measure institutional confidence in 1990 and 2007. The examination of traditional versus modernization values imply that individuals possessing these opposing values display different confidence in governance levels. The findings suggest that those having higher socioeconomic standing and greater modernization values have a lower level of confidence in governance. Although modernization brought a decrease in confidence in governance, institutional criticism is lower than expected in China. In some cases the status quo is preferred. The findings suggest relatively stable levels of institutional confidence. This implies that the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has remained moderate to highly legitimate despite the rigidity of their authoritarian political structure. These findings weaken claims that substantial political reform measures will occur within China in the foreseeable future.

Chapter I:

Introduction

Over the last several decades China has undertaken sweeping economic reform policies that have led to rapid industrialized growth. Under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping economic reforms, beginning in 1978, effectively established China as a socialist market economy. To continue economic reforms, “special economic zones” (SEZs) were created beginning in 1990. These government subsidized areas, that allow tenets of capitalism, were created to expand China’s export economy. As a result, today China has the second largest gross domestic product (GDP) only preceded by the United States.

Although China has enacted extremely effective economic reform policies, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has retained a strict authoritarian political structure. There is no direct representation to hold leaders accountable to the negative externalities of industrialization caused by rapid economic growth. Societal problems from rapid economic growth include: corruption, income inequality, land disputes, pollution, and migration. However, the results of economic reform measures that have promoted economic development are concurrently responsible for changing socioeconomic demographics and cultural values across China.

Rising socioeconomic status is expected to weaken traditional values that result in a decrease in confidence in governance. Diminishing traditional values allow the

individual a greater degree of autonomy and willingness to question authority structures. Populace perception of governmental effectiveness has become more demanding in light of new pressures on the social environment. These changing values are complemented by technological advances, such as internet social networking sites, that potentially result in changing levels of institutional confidence.

The dynamic of these varying attitudinal values are associated with the influence of modernization. Components of modernization include rising levels of education, occupation, income, and urban residency.¹ As a result of increasing levels of socioeconomic standing, social restructuring and value shifts may occur. It is theorized that as modernization values increase individual traditional values will become less invasive, values of self expression will increase, and pragmatic responses from institutions will become more important. Therefore, it is suggested that the confluence of these changing values act to restructure the political and cultural environment within China, effecting individual perceptions of confidence in governance.

¹ Nathan & Chen (2004) p. 6.

Purpose

This paper focuses on the effect of varying individual values on individual perceptions of institutional confidence. In other words, the purpose of this study is to analyze levels of institutional criticism influenced by changing socioeconomic standing and political and cultural values associated with modernization. The main question of this research is: how do varying values individuals have influence confidence in governance, and whether the effects of these values have changed between 1990 and 2007?

By applying modernization and political culture theories, my hypotheses are as follows:

1) Modernization hypothesis: As socioeconomic standing gets better, the level of confidence in governance decreases. This theory provides an explanation why values change measured by an index of socioeconomic factors.

2) Political culture hypothesis: As an individual moves away from traditional values political involvement becomes more important, they are more inclined to question the actions of government.

The importance of this study is to assess the possibility of an implied demand for political reform by analyzing confidence levels of institutions. The following is an outline of the chapters. Chapter II will contain the literature review describing the approach, strengths and weaknesses of modernization theory and political culture. An alternative theory, systems theory, will also be discussed.

Chapter III will discuss conceptual definitions of political values and governance. This chapter presents specific categorical elements of political culture that will be operationalized. The categories included under political values consist of; traditional values, self-expression and emancipation values, and psycho-behavioral cognitive dimensions. The chapter also explains the importance of measuring governance from an internal perspective when examining institutional confidence.

Chapter IV presents how the independent and dependent variables are operationalized into empirical variables. This chapter includes an overview of the data set, the four categories used to measure confidence in governance including the coding, range, hypothetical direction of the relationship, and the World Values Survey (WVS) variables used in the socioeconomic and composite variables. Chapter V is a discussion of the results. This will include a bi-variate correlation, partial correlation (education controlled), regression analysis, and a summary of the findings. Chapter VI will contain an overview of the findings in the conclusion.

Chapter II:

Review of the Literature

This chapter contains theoretical approaches on value and political changes. In particular, this chapter provides a critical review on modernization, political culture, and systems theory by discussing strengths and weaknesses of each approach in explaining value and political changes.

Modernization Theory

Modernization theory is used to explain how changing socioeconomic status influences long standing political and cultural attitudes. This approach constitutes a dynamic and comprehensive analysis of changing values and its effect on confidence in governance.

Andrew J. Nathan and Tse-hsin Chen (2004) describe elements of modernization as a “Generational change, rising education and income levels, urbanization, and structural shifts in the economy....reinforced by increasing media use and increasing social capital by the more educated and urban respondents, and, in turn, by the increase in political interest and political knowledge that these engender.”² Nathan and Chen (2004)

² Nathan & Chen (2004) p. 6.

continue, "...favorable socioeconomic resources encourage participatory activities, and favorable psychological and social-capital resources give a further boost to such activities."³ Adding to the discussion on modernization values and the effects of increasing socioeconomic status Hsin-Chi and Siu-Kai (2002) state, "...as a society modernizes, a more secure socio-economic environment as well as a higher level of educational achievement tend to imbue people with more modern orientations."⁴ Welzel and Inglehart (2006) argue, "Modernization is linked with an increase in economic, intellectual, and social resources."⁵

Modernization values are correlated with economic development. Welzel and Inglehart (2006) argue that rising per-capita incomes allow individuals to invest more time and resources in both collective and individual pursuits. They state modernization values are reflected by increasing education levels, greater flow of information, and an increase in "knowledge-intensive activities."⁶ Welzel and Inglehart (2006) continue by stating modernization values are a precursor to increased cognitive ability that culminates in greater human intellectual activity that results from increasing socioeconomic conditions allowing people the access "to pursue self-chosen activities" that enable them to make their own choices, giving people the means necessary for "human agency."⁷ Dalton and Shin (2006) argue, "With modernization and rising socioeconomic standards

³ Ibid. p. 8.

⁴ Hsin-Chi & Siu-Kai (2002) p. 308.

⁵ Welzel & Inglehart (2006) p. 24.

⁶ Ibid. p. 25.

⁷ Ibid. pp. 24-25.

presumably comes a broadening of world views, a tolerance for diversity, and a more sophisticated understanding of politics and society.”⁸

Lucian W. Pye (1985) offers an Asian perspective of modernization. He states, “The aim of modernization in much of Asia has been to preserve a preferred structure of political relations while at the same time learning how to transform the concept of power into one that is more capable of achieving calculated purposes...”⁹ This reflects a divergent perspective of modernization from the Occident. Pye’s definition regarding principles of modernization includes the harmonization of political relationships and their effectiveness. According to Pye, this approach maintains the status quo through the achievement of practical collective goals.¹⁰

The strength of modernization theory is that it offers explanations as to why political and cultural values may change within a society. This theory incorporates empirical analysis using socioeconomic standing. Modernization theory used in this way provides a strong measure to understanding the varying values individuals have in confidence in governance.

Modernization theory is not without its critics. Inglehart and Welzel (2005) point out certain scenarios where modernization theory “does not hold up” citing countries such as India, a democratic nation that has a low income society, and Singapore, a rich nation that is not democratic.¹¹ It can also be argued that the effects of modernization in

⁸ Dalton & Shin (2006) p. 88.

⁹ Pye & Pye (1985) p. 53.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 53.

¹¹ See Inglehart & Welzel (2005) p.160 for further discussion regarding this argument.

China weaken this theoretical approach. China has Confucian values that are paternalistic, group orientated, and subordinate to authority. In his work *Asian Power and Politics, the Cultural Dimensions of Authority* (1985), Lucian Pye states that “Confucianism, based upon the ideal of paternalistic authority, held that the ideal government would be rule[d] by superior men who were guided by the wisdom of the classics and organized as a hierarchy of bureaucratic authority.”¹² Bruce Gilley (2008) cites Merle Goldman and Ashley Esarey (2008) to compliment this argument by adding, “...Confucian literati traditions continue to bind in China as long as countervailing modernization or institutional trends do not unbind them.”¹³ This implies that modernization in China brings slow changes in the political arena.

Political Culture

Political culture theory is used to explain what societal values exist at a certain point of time. This approach constitutes a dynamic and comprehensive analysis of political and cultural attitudes and how they influence the values individuals have in levels of confidence in governance.

The term political culture defined by scholars has several variants from specific to parsimonious aspects of socio-institutional interaction. Kuan Hsin-Chi and Lau Siu-Kai (2002) refer to political culture as “...pre-dispositions that help political actors to understand and interpret objective situations, to develop emotions that move them to act

¹² Pye & Pye (1985) p. 81.

¹³ Gilley (2008) p. 9.

and to provide goals for their actions.”¹⁴ Andrew J. Nathan and Tse-hsin Chen (2004) add that political culture is “...the distribution in a society of attitudes, values, and beliefs [norms] about politics.”¹⁵ Wang, Dalton and Shin (2006) state political culture encompasses multidimensional aspects including “...images of the government, the norms and institutions of the political regime, the role of citizens within the political process, and the political community.”¹⁶ Although these definitions offer an overview of political culture, they remain broad when attempting to quantify empirical measures of changing individual attitudinal perspectives of political culture.

In their work *The Civic Culture* (1963), Almond and Verba add a quantitative dimension to the study of political culture. This approach provides an empirical measure to this theoretical concept based on survey data and operationalization of concepts. They use the term “political culture” as it refers specifically to “political orientations.” This definition is to differentiate the term from non-political orientations in order to focus on “...attitudes toward the political system and its various parts, and attitudes toward the role of the self in the system.”¹⁷

When examining the definitions of political culture used by scholars, two main approaches are put forward. The first is culturalist theory and the second is institutionalist theory. Culturalist theory examines the dynamic of enculturation values. Chu (2008) states, “Prior learning is a basis for later learning, and therefore early learning

¹⁴ Hsin-Chi & Siu-Kai (2002) p. 298.

¹⁵ Nathan & Chen (2004) p. 1.

¹⁶ Wang, Dalton & Shin (2006) p. 152.

¹⁷ Almond & Verba (1963) p. 13.

not only conditions later learning but the beliefs learned early also are much more resistant to change.”¹⁸ This theory indicates that great forces are necessary to induce credible change in cultural orientations. Although this theory states that cultural values are resistant to change, examining political and cultural norms with the approaches of traditional and self expression-emancipation values creates a dynamic to analyze varying values individuals have in perceptions of confidence in governance. Since cultural change happens slowly, subtle yet observable variations in cultural values could potentially suggest significant findings in a move away from traditional Confucian values toward modernization values.

There are concerns when combining culturalist theory with political culture. Some scholars argue that it is difficult to separate political and cultural aspects within a society. Paul Nesbitt-Larking, in his article “Methodological Notes on the Study of Political Culture” (1992), argues “Cultural and political practices are so intimately related that it is often difficult in practice to distinguish between them.”¹⁹

The second measure utilized is the institutionalist approach to value change. Chu (2008) states, “...institutions [both formal and informal] guide political behavior in such a way that after a certain period of time they also help determine changes in attitude[s] and values.”²⁰ Behaviors are created by an institutional framework of incentives and deterrents that form habits enforced by rules and structures.²¹ Dalton (2006) states political behavior is also determined by the tolerance or suppression of social

¹⁸ Chu (2008) p. 30.

¹⁹ Nesbitt-Larking (1992) p. 81.

²⁰ Chu (2008) p. 29.

²¹ Ibid. p. 29.

organizations that contribute to the building of individual social capital as a measure of civic culture.²² The institutionalist approach provides an examination of psycho-behavioral elements within a society. Almond and Verba (1963) consider the “self” as a political actor by analyzing individual orientations to political objects as a measure of the “content and quality of norms” of “political obligation” and “personal competence” within the “political system.”²³ Primary elements in this category consist of social capital and ideals of political efficacy. These two approaches, culturalist and institutionalist theories, illustrate changing political, cultural and psychological perspectives. This aspect of political culture theory combined with modernization theory explains the changing values of confidence in governance.

The use of political culture theory is not without critics. Almond and Verba’s title *The Civic Culture* (1963) implies a Western-centric viewpoint of democratic values. Lucian W. Pye (1991) states that Almond and Verba’s “...concept of a civic culture [is] too closely modeled on the norms of Anglo-Saxon democracy and that it fail[s] to appreciate other possible forms of democracy....”²⁴ This is evident based on Almond and Verba’s classification of political cultures based on congruent relationships between societal and institutional structures. Almond and Verba (1963) provide a concise definition of congruency theory; it is “A congruent political structure [that] would be one appropriate for the culture...where political cognition in the population would tend to be

²² Dalton (2006) p. 113.

²³ Almond & Verba (1963) p. 15.

²⁴ Pye (1991) p. 499.

accurate and where affect and evaluation would tend to be favorable.”²⁵ According to their classification system, China is congruent with a subject political culture. Confucian traditional values and an authoritarian institutional structure place China into the subject category. Chilcote (1994) argues that Almond’s viewpoint of political culture “...may lead to the biased position that the ideal political culture is found in the attributes of a democratic environment...usually associated with advanced industrial societies.”²⁶

Political culture allows for an empirical measure through the examination of changing cultural values and political attitudes and how they relate to confidence in governance. Political culture theory used in this study includes an analysis of traditional values, self-expression emancipation values, and measures of political efficacy within a society. Using the concepts of culturalist and institutionalist theories within political culture, values are separated from non-political orientations. However, political culture by itself does not explain change. To provide an observable explanation for changing political and cultural values, political culture theory must be combined with modernization theory. When these two theories are used together they provide a strong measure and explanation of political cultural attitudes and changing perceptions of confidence in governance.

²⁵ Almond & Verba (1963) p. 21.

²⁶ Chilcote (1994) p. 184.

Systems Theory

Systems theory is a competing theory for political change. David Easton in his 1965 book, *A Framework for Political Analysis*, articulated systems theory. This theory analyzes the interrelatedness of components within the political system. Easton is concerned with the “differentiation” of political (public) and social (private) activity, each of which is a self-contained entity that forms a “system.” The political system interprets decisions or policies that seek stasis in “political life.”

Easton (1965) discusses various elements of systems theory including: inputs, political system, outputs, feedback, and environment. Easton (1965) states inputs is a component of the political system. Inputs are in the form of either demands or support. Inputs are converted by the process of the political system into outputs. Institutional outputs are a way of offering day to day solutions for demands. Without outputs, feedback is not possible. Feedback is the flow of information that returns to authorities as a measure of effectiveness of institutional outputs. Feedback determines if policy implementation is effective or requires change. Easton (1965) continues, stating the system itself exists in an environment. The environment is a dynamic that generates new types of inputs for the system influenced by culture and societal norms.

Although systems theory provides a strong explanatory measure for confidence in governance analyzed in the feedback value, it has several drawbacks. It could be argued that systems theory may retain elements of functionalism and therefore does not apply system level data to mass level data used in the analysis conducted in this study. Apter (1971) states that functional analysis is best used with macro-level comparisons

(historical periods or society in general) and is not compatible when analyzing detailed micro-level observations such as government or bureaucratic effectiveness.²⁷ Another drawback of functionalism discussed by Harry Eckstein (1971) is the “capability” to “viability” measure. Eckstein (1971) states that these are determinations or predictions about political changes based on extreme events such as the failure or survival of polities and may not take into account large changes in institutional structures. Eckstein (1971) continues by stating this approach could therefore offer an inaccurate account of capabilities pursued by either the desires of the rulers or subjects within a system because the degree to which all functions are performed cannot be precisely measured. Eckstein (1971) states that this leads to a second theoretical difficulty; the measure may take into account what a polity is capable of but not how effectively a particular function is carried out.²⁸

Most of all systems theory is most applicable to democratic nations; therefore this theory is not applicable in China, a nation that retains an authoritarian political structure. Inputs are not represented in the form of direct representation such as voting. Inputs could only be interpreted as “implied” modes of demands and support. Characteristics of authoritarian political culture according to Almond and Verba (1963) correlate with a “...high frequency of orientations toward a differentiated political system and toward the output aspects [downward flow] of the system, but orientations toward specifically input objects, and toward the self as an active participant, approach zero.”²⁹ Therefore,

²⁷ Apter (1971) p. 7.

²⁸ Eckstein (1971) pp. 12-13.

²⁹ Almond & Verba (1963) p. 19.

systems theory is most applicable to democratic political structures based on Occidental principles of governance.

Therefore, to analyze changing perceptions of confidence in governance in China, modernization and political culture theories are used together. These two theories offer an analysis at the mass level that systems theory does not. By combining modernization and political culture theories it is possible to evaluate how changing individual political and cultural attitudes influence confidence in governance. These two theories work in tandem to offer a two-part explanation: what political cultural values exist at a certain point of time and how changing political and cultural values bring changes in political attitudes toward governance.

Hypotheses

In order to test how different political values influence confidence in governance, five hypotheses are presented:

- 1) As socioeconomic standing gets better, confidence in governance will decrease.
- 2) As an individual moves away from traditional values, confidence in governance will decrease.
- 3) As self-expression and emancipation values increase, confidence in governance will decrease.
- 4) As life satisfaction increases, confidence in governance will increase.
- 5) As social capital and political efficacy increase, confidence in governance will decrease.

Chapter III:

Measures of Political Values and Governance

This chapter provides conceptual definitions and categorization of political values and confidence in government, which are the independent and dependent variables of the main empirical analysis, respectively.

Political Values

Political culture is a strong theory to use when evaluating changing cultural attitudes to political objects. Almond and Verba (1963) state “political culture” uses “...the conceptual frameworks and approaches of anthropology, sociology, and psychology.”³⁰ This theory allows these dimensions to be measured empirically moving away from the homogenization of the term culture by offering parsimonious observations. For our purposes, the term culture is defined as the “psychological orientation toward social objects.”³¹ Measures of political culture in this study are divided into three categories: 1) traditional values, 2) self-expression and emancipation values, and 3) psycho-behavioral cognitive dimensions. Utilizing modernization theory, these categories are analyzed to determine if confidence in governance has changed.

³⁰ Almond & Verba (1963) p. 13.

³¹ Ibid. p. 14.

Traditional values. Traditional values are a component of culturist theory. The examination of Confucian values illustrates enculturated orientations of attitudes toward political objects in China. Values act as an internal measure of the “cognitions, feelings, and evaluations” of the populace.³² In the article by Andrew J. Nathan and Tse-hsin Chen “Traditional Social Values, Democratic Values, and Political Participation” (2004), identifies three “clusters” of Confucian values. The first cluster described focuses on loyalty within “group orientation” and is considered the highest virtue. Within the order of loyalty family is the most important group, followed by friends (*guanxi* relations). Other values in this cluster include conformity, order, adherence to social norms, and needs of the individual are secondary to the group, including the government. The second cluster emulates the virtues of “conflict management.” Maintaining order is the overall central ideal. This is the belief that initiating disputes could bring extreme social disharmony. The third cluster concerns state and societal relationships. These relationships are hierarchical and therefore not reciprocal in nature. These values reinforce norms that promote subordination to authority structures.³³

Confucian cultural values place a strong emphasis on maintaining the status quo. To evaluate if there has been a change or weakening of these individual norms, four central areas of traditional values will be analyzed: 1) family, 2) interpersonal ethics, 3) work ethics, and 4) political orientations. The purpose is to evaluate if these values have changed between 1990 and 2007, and if so, to measure the effect on individual perceptions of confidence in governance.

³² Ibid. p. 14.

³³ Nathan & Chen (2004) p. 12.

Self-expression and emancipation values. The analysis of self-expression and emancipation values is a continuation of the culturalist approach to measuring political culture. These values are analyzed to determine if there has been a shift in social and attitudinal values that reflect individual diversity and social tolerance. Welzel and Inglehart (2006) argue that emancipative values move away from conformist norms and allow people to pursue personal objectives that emphasize self-expression values encouraging individuals to operate independently and are part of the core value dimensions within the modernization process.³⁴ It is theorized that as the level of socioeconomic standing increases, so does self-expression and emancipation values. In their empirical research, Welzel and Inglehart (2006) claim by “Knowing how widespread individual resources are in a society, [they] can explain 79 percent of the cross-national variance in emancipative values.”³⁵ This measure links the citizen to civic cultural elements within society that promote post-materialist values.

Inglehart and Welzel (2005) examine the differences between “materialist” and “post-materialist” values and how these perspectives affect cultural attitudes and social morays. Inglehart and Welzel (2005) argue this dynamic is created by an increase in individual security that allows people to move away from cultural taboos that bind them to strict collective beliefs toward values that encompass social empathy culminating in increasing awareness of long term and environmental risks as well as “humanistic risk perceptions.”³⁶ Inglehart (1990) argues that those having post-materialist values have a

³⁴ Welzel & Inglehart (2006) p. 25.

³⁵ Ibid. p. 36.

³⁶ Inglehart & Welzel (2005) p. 33.

higher level of “cognitive mobilization” and “...are more likely to engage in unconventional political protest than are materialists.”³⁷ These values are analyzed here to discern how effective the CCP has been at implementing political reform measures in the “rule of law” as a central tenet in their claim of legitimacy. If the rule of law is followed individual security should increase that promotes diversity.

To place specific values to this category, Bruce Gilley (2006) uses legitimacy indicators in the form of social variables that measure “national happiness,” and “social trust.”³⁸ Welzel and Inglehart (2006) use an index of emancipative values that include: “valuing human diversity”, “life satisfaction” and “social trust.”³⁹ Wang and Tan (2006) evaluate variables that include “interpersonal trust,” and “tolerance of out-groups” to analyze self-expression values.⁴⁰ To measure if this category of political and cultural values have changed, three areas of self-expression and emancipation values are analyzed in this study: 1) social tolerance, 2) life satisfaction, and 3) social trust. Following modernization theory, the analysis of this category is to determine if political and cultural values have changed between 1990 and 2007, and if so, to measure the effect on individual perceptions of confidence in governance.

Psycho-behavioral cognitive dimensions. The psycho-behavioral category analyzes: the level of political knowledge individuals have, how the populace obtains that knowledge, individual values of political efficacy, and the perception individuals have to

³⁷ Inglehart (1990) pp. 361-362.

³⁸ Gilley (2006) p. 55.

³⁹ Welzel & Inglehart (2006) p. 27.

⁴⁰ Wang & Tan (2006) p. 53.

influence political outcomes. This is to evaluate if levels of confidence in governance change as knowledge of political structures increase. This category utilizes the institutionalist approach of political culture. Almond and Verba (1963) argue the importance of separating political psychology “from other kinds of psychological orientations” and is intended to identify “the relationship between political and other attitudes,” as well as the behavioral attitudes toward the political structure.⁴¹ The psycho-cultural approach using political psychology concentrates on the importance of learning orientations to political structure that go beyond childhood associations and cognitive learning to include political feelings, expectations, and the evaluations of political experiences.⁴²

To illustrate the psycho-behavioral category, Almond and Verba (1963) identify the “self” as a political actor. This includes understanding the roles of “self” as an individual participant in the political process. Almond and Verba continue, values used to measure this category include his or her knowledge about rights, powers, obligations, strategies of access to influence, feelings about capabilities, norms of participation or performance, and the methods he or she employs in formulating political judgments that result in conclusive opinions.⁴³ Nathan and Chen (2004) add that as these values increase, so do elements of psycho-behavioral capital characterized by a demographic of society that has higher values of political efficacy and civic engagement.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Almond & Verba (1963) p. 33.

⁴² Ibid. p. 34.

⁴³ Ibid. pp. 15, 17.

⁴⁴ Nathan & Chen (2004) p. 5.

The first measure in this category is civic engagement. Chu (2008) states civic engagement is a means by which individuals gain knowledge and form attitudes toward the political structure.⁴⁵ Nathan and Chen (2004) define “social capital” to describe the level of membership participation an individual has in terms of the “number of organizations belonged to.”⁴⁶ Dalton (2006) states civic organizations can range from “fraternal organizations” to “professional associations.”⁴⁷ It is within these types of civic organizations that feelings, judgments, and attitudes of efficacy evolve and are influenced.

Political efficacy is the second measure in this category. Yang Zhong (2006) states elements of political efficacy include the belief that an individual can have an influence on the institutional decision making process.⁴⁸ Hsin-Chi & Siu-Kai (2002) in their study examine traditional orientations that pertain to political values state, “...cognitive-psychological resources that have elsewhere been found to have positively affected the level of political participation....A prime candidate in this category is the sense of political efficacy.”⁴⁹

To measure if these political cultural values have changed, two areas of psycho-behavioral cognitive dimensions are analyzed: 1) social capital, and 2) political efficacy. Following modernization theory, the purpose is to analyze if this category of political and

⁴⁵ Chu (2008) p. 29.

⁴⁶ Nathan & Chen (2004), p. 23.

⁴⁷ Dalton (2006) p. 117.

⁴⁸ Zhong (2006) p. 111.

⁴⁹ Hsin-Chi & Siu-Kai (2002) p. 310.

cultural values have changed between 1990 and 2007, and if so, to measure the effect on individual perceptions of confidence in governance.

Governance

The term governance in this study is intended to analyze confidence in governance examined from an internalized measure of “satisfaction”; therefore, this measure is “subjective” and is designed to analyze how the populace “perceives” governmental effectiveness.⁵⁰ The intent is to examine if China’s institutional structures have come under greater criticism between 1990 and 2007 from changing socioeconomic standing and political and cultural values associated with modernization. External measures of governance from Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs) or Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are not used. This allows for an “on the ground” perspective by those who live under the governmental rule of the CCP.

There are multiple approaches to examining confidence in governance. In his article “The Determinants of State Legitimacy: Results for 72 Countries” (2006), Bruce Gilley identifies two general areas of study. The first is based on stability. This is defined simply as “...the ability of a state to continue functioning....or remain dominant over rival social organizations in the face of socioeconomic change....”⁵¹ The second approach examines the “quality” of governance. This focuses on the effectiveness of political institutions as measured in the (but not limited to) “control of corruption,” “rule

⁵⁰ See Wang, Dalton, & Shin (2006) p. 146 for further discussion regarding this approach.

⁵¹ Gilley (2006) p. 51.

of law” and “bureaucratic efficiency.”⁵² Examining the second approach Max Weber (1958), articulates that an effective governing body is composed of a “rational” legal structure based on a professional bureaucracy that is impersonal, operates under standardized procedures, and promotes equitable policies of economic expansion. Since the CCP is the clear dominant and only official political party having no competitors, this study will focus on “quality of governance.”

Jude Howell offers an internal and qualitative definition of governance. In his edited edition *Governance in China* (2004), he defines governance as:

*“...the totality of processes and arrangements, both formal and informal, by which power and public authority are distributed and regulated. The study of governance therefore encompasses the analysis of formal political institutions such as the government, the military, and the judiciary at national and local levels, as well as informal processes of rule such as patron-clientelism and networks. It embraces not only the study of states but also the arrangements and processes within political and civil society, the relations between these, and in turn their linkages with the state.”*⁵³

Howell (2004) explains that such a broad definition is necessary that, “Understanding governance processes in China inevitably takes us beyond a narrow focus on political elites, the party system, or the military to a broader discussion of how state-society relations are shaped, how power and authority are distributed and maintained...”⁵⁴

Internal measures of institutional confidence are not without its critics. Harry Eckstein (1971) points out that measuring political performance is inherently evaluative and that determining if a polity is doing well or badly is subjective in comparison to other

⁵² Ibid. p. 51.

⁵³ Howell (2004) p. 2.

⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 2.

cases.⁵⁵ Since confidence in governance is analyzed from an internal source, the results should remove externally biased conclusions. The analysis of the results will focus exclusively on China and cross country comparisons will not be made.

Governance analyzed from an internal perspective is in sharp contrast to methodologies and results from institutions such as the World Bank (WB) International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the United Nations (UN). These organizations primarily focus on structural and economic resources for development and the institutionalizing processes for achieving effective, efficient, transparent, and accountable government. NGOs such as Freedom House and Western governments (through IGOs) interpret the term more broadly to include democratization, human rights, and socioeconomic equality. However relevant these definitions, observations, and findings are, they are from external sources. Results from such institutions may simply not mean anything to the Chinese populace, and in fact, they may disagree with external conclusions.

Governance scores for China issued by such organizations are extremely low. Freedom House has maintained a low score due to issues of human rights abuses and the absence of competitive elections. However, Inglehart and Welzel (2005) argue that these rankings do not reflect how "...economic, administrative, and local political reforms have increased people's autonomy and choice in shaping their lives. Political liberties at the local level and civil liberties in the socioeconomic and cultural sphere have been significantly widened in China."⁵⁶ These are examples why a study focusing on internal levels of institutional satisfaction is applicable. The only high governance ranking of the

⁵⁵ Eckstein (1971) p. 8.

⁵⁶ See Inglehart & Welzel (2005) p. 191 – f/n 14 for further discussion.

organizations examined is issued from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in its assessment of China's progress in meeting Millennium Development Goals (MDG's). China has met and surpassed a majority of MDG's indicating a strong governance measure.

The internal analysis of governance focuses on individual political and cultural values measured by: changing socioeconomic standing, traditional values, self-expression and emancipation values, and psycho-behavioral cognitive dimensions. Increasing levels of socioeconomic standing give rise to what Wang, Dalton, and Shin (2006) term the "critical citizens" theory. They state, "...trust in government is decreasing in advanced industrial societies because citizens are learning to be more critical of government and less deferential to political elites."⁵⁷ Although China may not be an "advanced" industrialized society it is undergoing rapid industrial growth. Wang, Dalton, and Shin (2006) cite Inglehart and Welzel (2005) that argue "social and economic modernization" creates a new political culture that augments "the rise of critical citizens."⁵⁸ Although China has a subject political culture Wang, Dalton, and Shin (2006) state, "As citizens develop more participatory roles, they also may develop the autonomy to question the actions of government."⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Wang, Dalton, & Shin (2006) p. 146.

⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 146.

⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 146.

Chapter IV:

Research Design

This chapter discusses measurements of variables and methods. The first section provides a general overview of the data set, model outline, and methodology. The second section discusses operationalizing modernization and political values. Category I contains a measure of six socioeconomic variables. Political culture contains three categories of multiple independent composite variables: 1) traditional values, 2) self-expression emancipation values, and 3) psycho-behavioral cognitive dimensions. The dependent variable, confidence in governance, is an average of seven scores in the World Values Survey. A positive relationship indicates less confidence. These variables are analyzed to measure varying political and cultural attitudes and how they change individual perceptions of confidence in governance. Each categorical section will contain a definition, operationalization, and hypothetical direction.

Overview of Data Set

To analyze the relationship between political values and confidence in governance, I use World Values Survey (WVS). In particular, the analysis is based on Waves 2 and 5,⁶⁰ which includes surveys in China, the country of interest in this thesis. World Values Survey, the data set this thesis uses, contains ideal elements to test the proposed hypotheses. First, the data set contained similar variables in 1990 and 2007.⁶¹ Second, data collection was scientific, comprehensive, standardized, and utilized scientific sampling procedures. Third the data sets were empirical and accessible.

⁶⁰ World Values Survey data set *Bibliographic Citation: WORLD VALUES SURVEY 1981-2008 OFFICIAL AGGREGATE v.20090901, 2009. World Values Survey Association (www.worldvaluessurvey.org). Aggregate File Producer: ASEP/JDS, Madrid.* Available from <http://www.wvsevsdb.com/wvs/WVSDData.jsp>

⁶¹ 2007AR model. The variable “profession” has an added value in the 2007 data set that the 1990 data set does not contain. The value is “agricultural worker.” The N of this value is 1092, 54% of the total N and is therefore a significant part of the 2007 data set. To evaluate the effects of this added value on the model, a second 2007 data set was created. The name of the data set is **2007AR** (AR=agriculture removed). As a result, this study contains three models, one in 1990, and two in 2007 (one full data set: N=2015, and one data set with agriculture removed: N=923). The 2007AR data set has an N more comparable in size with the 1990 data set having an N of 1000.

Methodology of Correlation and Regression Models

To determine the relationship between political and cultural values and confidence in governance and its changes between 1990 and 2007, bi-variate correlation,⁶² partial correlation⁶³ (education controlled), and ordinary least squares (OLS) multiple regression are used.⁶⁴ Since the dependent variable is interval level, correlation and regression analysis could be used.

Bi-variate correlation is used to measure the magnitude of the association between the independent and dependent variables. Partial correlation is used as an indicator of the presence of modernization values in the suppression of traditional values. Bi-variate and partial correlation analysis are used together to measure the effect of education as a measure of the influence of modernization values. This analysis compares modernization values with other variables in the model as a measure of varying values individuals have in confidence in governance between 1990 and 2007. The analysis is conducted by using the mean (average) of education as a measure for the influence of modernization values. By holding education constant in the partial correlation model, modernization values can be compared with the bi-variate correlation coefficients. If the coefficient values

⁶² Bi-variate correlation uses Pearson's R (two-tail level of significance) correlation coefficient to measure the strength and direction of the relationship (i.e. relation of change in one variable associated to change in another variable).

⁶³ Education is predicted to be the highest correlated value with modernization. This variable is controlled for in the partial correlation analysis to attenuate the effects on other variables. This study uses two correlation model types (bi-variate and partial) to measure the comparative effects "education" has on the other variables.

⁶⁴ OLS multiple regression is based on prediction by estimating averages: generates regression coefficients (B – unstandardized/partial, analyzed in this model) to determine change in dependent variable for one unit change in independent variable: produces adjusted R square ratio that includes penalty when measuring percent (after ratio multiplied by 100) of variation of dependent variable explained by independent variables.

decrease when holding education constant, it would suggest a decrease of modernization values.

Regression is used to provide an analysis of the full relationship between the independent and dependent variables. Coefficient values are interpreted as the influence of political values on confidence in governance. Different sizes of coefficients in 1990 and 2007 suggest that the effects of political values have changed between 1990 and 2007.

Variables within the model are coded that a low value (i.e. 1) will signify a traditional value and a high value (i.e. 5) signifies a modernization value. A positive relationship indicates less confidence in governance, while a negative relationship indicates a preference for maintaining the status quo. These predictions are stated directionally in each of the proposed hypotheses. PASW Statistics GradPack 18 statistical analysis program was used for analysis.

Reliability Concerns

Some scholars suggest that since China is a communist country there is a potential for respondents to answer more favorably about institutional confidence than respondents living in representative democracies. Yasheng Huang and Tarun Khanna in their article “Indigenous versus Foreign Business Models” (2005), address reliability concerns of survey data when researching the business environment within China. In their article they cite a disclaimer the World Business Environment Survey (WBES) issued with the

distribution of its data set concerning the potential for measurement errors regarding China.⁶⁵

To address reliability issues, World Values Survey (WVS) is used in the modeling of this research. WVS is considered a superior source when collecting data from China. WVS is coordinated by a central body that is comprised of a global network of social scientists that survey the basic values and beliefs of the public they study. Beginning in 1981, WVS has conducted survey research in China. Currently, WVS is working on completion of a 30 year time series for the analysis of cultural and political change.⁶⁶ To counter reliability issues members of this organization implement field training, conduct face to face interviews, employ quality control measures,⁶⁷ and use culturally sensitive language in survey instruments to clarify the meaning of the questions. For these reasons that address reliability issues, WVS data was used in the modeling of this research.

⁶⁵ Huang & Khanna (2005) p. 170

⁶⁶ Available from <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.com/>

⁶⁷ See China_WVS_2007_2.pdf. Available from <http://www.wvsevsdb.com/wvs/WVSDocumentation.jsp?Idioma=I>

Operationalization: Category I - Socioeconomic Values

The purpose of the inclusion and scrutinizing of socioeconomic variables is to analyze its effects on individual levels of confidence in governance. These variables are converted into dichotomous variables. A discussion regarding the selection of dichotomous coding values (value=1) is included. **Table 1**, “Category One – Socioeconomic Coding Table,” displays the dichotomous variables of socioeconomic indicators. The table includes the variable names, descriptions, and values.

Table 1:
Category I - Socioeconomic Coding Table

Variable and Description	Values: Dichotomous Coding
Male	Female = 0 Male = 1
Younger	30 - 49/>50 = 0 15 - 29 = 1
Higher Education	Lower edu. (1-3) = 0 Higher edu. = 1
White Collar	Oth./Agr./Blue = 0 White Collar = 1 <u>*2007 AGR RMVD:</u> Oth./Blue = 0 White Collar = 1
Higher Income	First = 0 Higher Income (2-6) = 1
SEZ	Non SEZ = 0 SEZ = 1

Notes:

*No agricultural cases in 2007 AR Model

(Other = 0/Blue collar = 1/White collar = 2).

The first socioeconomic variable **Sex**, men are generally perceived to have a higher degree of modernization and efficacy values than women who tend to be more traditional. In a study specific to China Zhong (2006), cites that women in China tend to remain in traditional roles, have never attained equal status with men, tend to be more obedient to authorities, and that the CCP has been ineffective in enforcing “gender equality” laws.⁶⁸ For these reasons, “**Male**” has been selected as the identifier value for this variable.

For the second socioeconomic variable **Age**, it is generally presumed that younger members of the populace possess a higher degree of modernization values. This evidence is corroborated in empirical studies. Inglehart and Welzel (2005), measure materialist and post-materialist values contrasted between older and younger populations. They found that for every 10 year gradation in age that younger people (15-24 yrs.) had the highest level of post-materialist values, while older people (65+ yrs.) had the highest level of materialist values.⁶⁹ I propose that the younger demographic has a higher prevalence toward modernization values that suggest a decrease in institutional confidence. Therefore, “**Younger**” is selected as the identifier value for this variable.

The third socioeconomic variable **Education**, is claimed by many scholars to be the strongest of all socioeconomic indicators for the presence of modernization values. Inglehart and Welzel (2005), associate higher education with increased self-expression and emancipation values. They state, “In virtually every society that has been surveyed, people with a university education place stronger emphasis on self-expression than the

⁶⁸ Zhong. (2006) pp. 114-115.

⁶⁹ Inglehart & Welzel (2005) p. 100

public in general.”⁷⁰ Nathan and Chen (2004) argue, “Of all the variables investigated, education shows the strongest correlation with values...As education increases, belief in traditional values declines steadily...”⁷¹ Citing the strong scholastic conclusions that education level is a strong indicator of modernization values in the suppression of traditional values and employing the modernization hypothesis presented in this thesis, I propose that as the level of education increases, confidence in governance decreases. Therefore, “**Higher Education**” is selected as the identifier value for this variable.

Occupation and Income are the fourth and fifth socioeconomic variables examined in this thesis. Because of the high correlation between them, they will be analyzed together. These variables can also be understood as an extension of the variable, “education.” It would be presumed that as the level of education increases, so does occupation and income levels. It could also be presumed that as occupation and income levels increase, so does the satisfaction with socioeconomic standing.⁷² Wang, Dalton, and Shin (2006), present the “performance hypothesis” that theorizes as individual economic performance increases, so does trust in government.⁷³ Zhong (2006) corroborates this when he states, “...those people living in any society who are more satisfied with their personal socioeconomic conditions are less supportive of social change and more prone to maintaining the status quo.”⁷⁴ Therefore, it could be

⁷⁰ Inglehart & Welzel (2005) p. 37.

⁷¹ Nathan & Chen (2004) p. 5.

⁷² Happiness is measured in category III under the composite variable, “Life Satisfaction.”

⁷³ Wang, Dalton & Shin (2006) p. 147.

⁷⁴ Zhong (2006) p. 103.

hypothesized that as occupation and income levels increase, confidence in governance will increase running counter to the modernization hypothesis presented in this thesis. However, for the purposes of this study and keeping in the direction of the modernization hypothesis presented here that states, “as socioeconomic standing gets better, the level of confidence in governance decreases,” it is hypothesized that as occupation and income levels increase, confidence in governance will decrease. Therefore, the identifier values for these variables are “**White Collar**” and “**Higher Income**” respectively.

Region, the sixth socioeconomic variable, is used to measure the differences in values between urban and rural populations. It may be considered that in China the rural demographic has stronger traditional values than urban city dwellers. People living in cities tend to have higher education, income and occupation levels than their agrarian counterparts. Although many industries in China consist of factory orientated migrant manual laborers, entrepreneurial opportunities mainly exist in urban areas, primarily in Special Economic Zones (SEZs)⁷⁵ where China’s “new rich” have thrived. These areas are coordinated with global information systems and international accounting standards that generate endogenous influences on this demographic. Baogang Guo (2006) cites “convergence theory” when examining this phenomena stating, “...the process of industrialization and urbanization will gradually weaken and eventually break down the traditional social and political institutions and values that are customary to an agrarian and traditional society...”⁷⁶ Based on the observations of these scholars, it is hypothesized that urban dwellers are more prone to the influences of modernization

⁷⁵ Here, SEZ is an attempt to measure rural or urban demographics.

⁷⁶ Guo (2006) p. 87.

values and therefore will have decreasing levels of confidence in governance. Therefore, “SEZ” is selected as the identifier value for this variable.

Operationalization: Category II - Traditional Values

The focus of traditional values is Confucian traditional values associated with patterns of family relations, societal values and political dispositions. To operationalize traditional values,⁷⁷ four sub-categories will be used: 1) traditional family values, 2) interpersonal ethics (importance of social associations and measure of fairness values), 3) work ethics, and 4) political orientations (as a measure of authority relations). To create a scale for traditional values, the sub-categories are added up.

Traditional family values⁷⁸ are measured by four indicators: important in life family; respect and love for parents (1990); make parents proud (2007); future changes more emphasis on family life; and justifiable: divorce. Traditional family values range from 1 to 18. A higher score indicates a higher modernization value.

Interpersonal ethics are measured by three indicators: important in life friends; fairness one secretary is paid more; and justifiable someone accepting a bribe.

Interpersonal ethics range from 0 to 15. A higher score indicates a higher modernization value.

⁷⁷ Chu (2008) pp. 33-34, uses similar sub-categories when examining traditional cultural values.

⁷⁸ Variable d054 was not available in 1990 survey, therefore a similar variable with comparable measure and range, a025 was used when creating composite variable. Variable a025 was not available in 2007 survey, therefore a similar variable with comparable measure and range, d054 was used when creating composite variable.

Work ethics are measured by five indicators: important in life work; important child qualities hard work; how much freedom of choice and control; jobs scarce men should have more right to job than women; and hard work brings success. Work ethics range from 1 to 28. A higher score indicates a higher modernization value.

Political Orientations (authoritarian attitudes) are measured by two indicators: future changes greater respect for authority; and government responsibility. Political Orientations range from 1 to 13. A higher score indicates a higher modernization value.

Hypothetical direction of the relationship:

As an individual moves away from traditional Confucian values, confidence in governance decreases.

Operationalization: Category III – Self-Expression and Emancipation Values

Self-expression and emancipation values are operationalized into three independent composite variables: 1) social tolerance, 2) life satisfaction, and 3) social trust. To create a scale for self-expression emancipation values, the sub-categories are added up.

Social Tolerance is measured by three indicators: justifiable homosexuality; justifiable prostitution; and justifiable abortion. Social tolerance ranges from 1 to 30. A higher score indicates a higher self-expression value.

Life satisfaction is measured by three indicators: feeling of happiness; state of health (subjective); and satisfaction with your life. Life satisfaction ranges from 2 to 19. A higher score indicates a higher self-expression value.

Social Trust is measured by three indicators: Most people can be trusted; competition good or harmful; and wealth accumulation. Social trust ranges from 1 to 22. A higher score indicates a higher self-expression value.

Hypothetical direction of the relationship:

As social tolerance increases, confidence in governance decreases.

As life satisfaction increases, confidence in governance increases.

As social trust increases, confidence in governance decreases.

Operationalization: Category IV – Psycho-behavioral Cognitive Dimensions of Political Culture

Psycho-behavioral cognitive dimension values are operationalized into two independent composite variables: 1) social capital, and 2) political efficacy. Social capital is defined as civil society engagement measured by the number of memberships in social organizations. Political efficacy is defined by an individual's perception and knowledge to access and influence the political process. To create a scale for psycho-behavioral cognitive dimension, the sub-categories are added up.

Social capital⁷⁹ is measured by four indicators: belong to education, arts, music or cultural activities; labor unions; political parties; and professional associations. Social capital ranges from 0 to 4. A higher score indicates a higher social capital value.

Political efficacy is measured by two indicators: Important in life politics; and interest in politics. Political efficacy ranges from 1 to 8. A higher score indicates a higher political efficacy value.

Hypothetical direction of the relationship:

As the levels of social capital increase, confidence in governance decreases.

As the levels of political efficacy increase, confidence in governance decreases.

⁷⁹ Composite variable includes WVS variables a66, a67, a68, and a72. Each variable has a range of two. Variables not available in 2007 WVS survey data set. Composite variable includes WVS variables a100, a101, a102, and a104. Each variable recoded from range of three to two in order to maintain similar coding values between the two time periods analyzed. Included values of "inactive" and "active membership" in civic organization as "active." It is perceived that even if a member is currently inactive, they have had experience with civic engagement practices. Variables not available in 1990 WVS survey data set.

Operationalization: Dependent Variable – Confidence in Governance

Confidence in governance is the dependent variable. The purpose of this variable is to measure the effect varying values individuals have that influence individual perceptions of confidence in governance, and whether the effects of these values have changed between 1990 and 2007. The aggregate of the averages⁸⁰ and the standard error⁸¹ of the dependent variable are similar in all three models suggesting stable levels of confidence in governance between 1990 and 2007. However, the intent of the study is to analyze which socioeconomic and political and cultural values have an increased or decreased in influence on varying values individuals have on changing attitudinal perceptions of confidence in governance associated with modernization between 1990 and 2007.

Using mass level data, “confidence in governance” is measured from an internal perspective. In keeping with the scale of modernization values used in the independent variables, a positive relationship represents a modernization value indicating less institutional confidence.

The survey instrument used by World Values Survey (WVS) contained “unidiomatic language” that when translated from English into Chinese may not have effectively conveyed the particular meaning of the survey questions into Chinese. To correct for this and account for cultural sensitivities, WVS interpreted “have confidence in” into “believe.” Also, when WVS aggregated their data sets, they may have used

⁸⁰ Mean of the dependent variable, “Confidence in Governance” in 1990, 2007 and 2007AR models are; 13.24, 11.28, and 12.47 respectively.

⁸¹ Standard error of the dependent variable, “Confidence in Governance” in 1990, 2007 and 2007AR models are; .131, .091, .135 respectively.

generic variable descriptions. The variable “parliament,” when referring to China in the data set, is presumed to be the equivalent of “The National People’s Congress.”

“Political parties” is another variable that may have been generically described. When referring to China, “political parties” is presumed to be the equivalent of “political system.”⁸²

Confidence in governance is measured by seven indicators: have confidence in: armed forces; labor unions; police; parliament; civil services; political parties; and justice system. Confidence in governance ranges from 1 to 28. A higher score indicates less confidence in governance.

⁸² See China_WVS_1990_1.pdf. Available from <http://www.wvsevsdb.com/wvs/WVSDocumentation.jsp>

Chapter V:

Results and Description of Findings

This chapter presents the findings of the bi-variate correlation between each independent and the dependent variable as well as partial-correlation controlling for education as a measure of modernization. This chapter also provides OLS regression analysis including all sociodemographic factors and three different types of values. 1990, 2007, and 2007AR are specific references to the models used in the analysis of this study.

Correlation

The bi-variate correlation coefficients presented in **Table 2** are Pearson's r , two-tailed level of significance. Each correlation coefficient illustrates the strength and direction of the relationship between each independent variable and dependent variable, confidence in government. There are two correlational analyses for comparison. One is the bi-variate correlation, and the other (represented in brackets) are the correlation coefficients when education is controlled. The magnitude of correlations range from very weak ($<.25$) to weak (.25-.34) in all models, but those correlations are significant at .05 level. The following sections discuss correlational analyses in detail.

Table 2: Correlates of Confidence in Governance.

	1990	2007	2007AR
CATEGORY I			
Male	.040 [.020]	.118*** [.047]	.066* [.057]
Younger	.139*** [.110**]	.096*** [.036]	.048 [.010]
Higher Education	.048	.127***	.098**
White Collar	.190*** [.124**]	.187*** [.113***]	.104** [.044]
Higher Income	.122*** [.110**]	.108*** [-.009]	.021 [-.037]
SEZ	-.008 [-.011]	.085*** [.080**]	.008 [.047]
CATEGORY II			
Family	.213*** [.173***]	.262*** [.173***]	.247*** [.225***]
Interpersonal Ethics	(-).093** [-.129***]	.104*** [.058]	.065 [.040]
Work Ethics	(-).265*** [-.279***]	.133*** [-.015]	-.003 [-.080*]
Political Orientations	.005 [-.053]	-.004 [-.032]	-.059 [-.060]
CATEGORY III			
Social Tolerance	.202*** [.195***]	.170*** [.113***]	.241*** [.223***]
Life Satisfaction	(-).232*** [-.217***]	.018 [-.103***]	(-).092** [-.177***]
Social Trust	.058 [.012]	.174*** [.038]	.074* [-.003]
CATEGORY IV			
Social Capital	.135*** [.110**]	.108*** [.023]	.004 [-.082*]
Political Efficacy	(-).150*** [-.217***]	-.003 [-.127***]	-.053 [-.151***]

Notes: 1. Source: Wave 2 (1990) and Wave 5 (2007) World Values Survey
2. The statistic is Pearson's r or [in brackets] partial correlation coefficient, with education controlled. The dependent variable is governance measure.
3. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Category I, socioeconomic demographics. In category one (socioeconomic factors) the overall correlation coefficients are very weak, all statistically significant variables are in the positive direction, and when education is controlled, there are no statistically significant variables in the 2007AR model. Surprisingly, education used as an indicator of modernization is not the most highly correlated variable with confidence in governance. In fact, in 1990 level of education is not statistically significant. This finding would corroborate the conclusions drawn by Kuan Hsin-Chi and Lau Siu-Kai (2002) that, "...education in the Mainland [China] has failed to contribute as much as it should to the cultural modernization of its citizens."⁸³ While those with higher levels of education have lower confidence in governance in 2007 and 2007AR, white collar has a higher association than education with less confidence in government. When education is controlled the white collar variable still has the highest magnitude of association among all socioeconomic variables. Male remains statistically significant in the two 2007 models. Males tend to have less confidence in governance. However, gender is not statistically significant anymore when education is controlled. In other words, at the same level of modernization, males and females have not much difference in confidence in government. The variable, higher income, is statistically significant only in 1990 and in 2007. When controlling for education, the significance of higher income drops out in the 2007 model. Those with higher incomes tend to have less confidence in governance. Younger is statistically significant in 1990 and 2007, but its significance drops out in 2007 when education is controlled. However this is still surprising in that it remains a weak indicator of less confidence in governance since this demographic is commonly

⁸³ Hsin-Chi & Siu-Kai (2002) p. 308.

associated with modernization values and social activism in the internet age. SEZ also is statistically significant, but only in the 2007 model and remains significant when education is controlled. People living in SEZ's tend to have less confidence in government. These SEZ regions were specifically instituted by the government so that China would remain competitive, which is expected to result in a greater confidence in government. However, people in SEZ regions tend to have less confidence in 2007. This finding could suggest inadequate policies concerning migration, income inequality, pollution, and poor working conditions found in SEZs.

Category II, traditional values. The correlation coefficients between traditional values and confidence in government range from very weak to weak displaying slightly stronger correlations than the previous category. Family is positive and statistically significant across all models and remains statistically significant when education is controlled. This means respondents with less traditional family values have less confidence in government. Family value shows a relatively higher correlation with less confidence in government compared with other traditional values. This represents a slight departure from a paternalistic view of government. Interpersonal ethics displays negative (1990) and positive (2007) coefficients. When education is controlled, interpersonal ethics is only statistically significant in 1990. This reflects a decrease in the importance of interpersonal ethics on confidence in governance in 2007. Work ethics follows the same pattern as interpersonal ethics, but when education is controlled in the 2007AR model, it regresses back in a negative direction, again illustrating a value change and the importance of education from 1990 to 2007. Work ethics is associated with a

lower confidence in governance. The political orientation variable is not statistically significant in any model.

Category III, self-expression and emancipation values. In category three the overall correlation coefficients are slightly weaker than in category II. All correlation coefficients in this category are in the expected direction. Social tolerance is statistically significant in the positive direction (also when education is controlled) suggesting the gradual weakening of Confucian values suggested by a shift away from conformist norms toward individualistic pursuits. This suggests that respondents with higher levels of social tolerance have less confidence in governance. Perhaps the most interesting, but predictable finding about this variable is that it has its strongest coefficient in the 2007AR model with the agricultural workers dimension removed. Social tolerance has a stronger association with confidence in government among the urban populace. Life satisfaction is statistically significant and negative across all models except in 2007 (without education controlled). This suggests that those respondents having higher levels of life satisfaction have greater confidence in governance. This reflects the fact the government remains effective in supplying effective policies promoting feelings of happiness, good health, and life satisfaction. What is more interesting is that when education is controlled the association with life satisfaction changes in 2007 becoming statistically significant, and doubles in the 2007AR model. This is the only instance in the entire model of all the categories that the “education controlled” coefficient increases significantly. Social trust is expectably positive but is statistically significant in 2007 and 2007AR. This suggests that as social trust measures improve, confidence in governance decreases. When education is controlled, social trust is not statistically significant in any model.

Category IV, psycho-behavioral cognitive dimensions. In category four, the overall correlation coefficients remain weak. This category, focusing on the psycho-behavioral cognitive dimension, yields the most unexpected findings. The strength of the correlation between social capital, a measure of civic involvement, and confidence in government diminishes from 1990 to 2007. In 1990 this value is statistically significant and positive with and without education controlled. In 2007 it is positive, but no longer statistically significant when education is controlled, and in 2007AR it is statistically significant and negative when education is controlled (although the correlation coefficient is extremely small). This illustrates how the removal of education can alter the statistical significance of the variable as well as the direction of the variable. Overall, it is shown over time, the magnitude of association between social capital and confidence in government decreases. Political efficacy, a measure of importance and interest in politics, is unexpectedly in the negative direction in all three models. However, it is statistically significant only in 1990 when education is not controlled. When education is controlled, the correlation between political efficacy and confidence in government increases and is statistically significant in all three models. This observation suggests that those individuals having higher levels of political efficacy maintain confidence in governance and prefer the status quo.

Regression

Table 3 shows the results⁸⁴ of the three cross sectional ordinary least squares regression analyses. All independent variables in all three models have been evaluated for multicollinearity and have a VIF well below 3, which indicates no serious multicollinearity problem. The low adjusted R-squares in all three models reflect that other variables not included in this study explain a bulk of the variance in the dependent variable, confidence in governance. In the 1990 model, only eight independent variables were statistically significant while only seven were statistically significant in both 2007 and 2007AR models. This is reflected in the decline of the goodness of fit of the latter two models from .17 to .08 and .11 respectively. Although the models are weak, the independent variables explain their influence on the dependent variable. Each independent variable is expected to explain some variation in the dependent variable, “confidence in governance,” in which a higher coefficient indicates less confidence in governmental institutions. In other words, a positive relationship indicates less confidence, while a negative relationship indicates greater confidence as stated directionally in the proposed hypotheses. The adjusted R squares for categories I-IV are presented separately to measure the explanatory power of each category on the dependent variable.

⁸⁴ Unstandardized coefficients are evaluated: B and std. error; as well as the t values and level of significance. Standardized coefficients were not analyzed; all variables had the same unit of measure, however each did not possess the same scale and range. To note, all standardized coefficients, Beta's, are in the same direction and level of significance as the unstandardized coefficients, but with a reduced slope.

Table 3: Cross Section Multiple Regression Analysis.

Independent Variables	1990			2007			2007AR		
	Unstandardized Coefficients			Unstandardized Coefficients			Unstandardized Coefficients		
	B	Std. Err.	t	B	Std. Err.	t	B	Std. Err.	t
(Constant)	18.330	1.767	10.374	11.080	.947	11.697	12.468	1.378	9.046
CATEGORY I									
Male	.115	.302	.382	.556*	.230	2.423	.738*	.309	2.387
Younger	.655*	.327	2.002	.254	.288	.882	.185	.351	.526
Higher Education	.319	.342	.933	.673*	.287	2.349	.733*	.340	2.156
White Collar	.464	.332	1.398	.951***	.294	3.231	.471	.326	1.445
Higher Income	.602	.328	1.838	.034	.303	.113	(-)0.079	.473	(-)1.167
SEZ	(-)453	.311	(-)1.454	.356	.230	1.543	(-)0.034	.322	(-)1.106
CATEGORY II									
Family	.124	.068	1.826	.171***	.045	3.803	.136*	.057	2.397
Interpersonal Ethics	(-)222*	.105	(-) 2.116	.121**	.045	2.698	.182**	.067	2.708
Work Ethics	(-)189***	.040	(-) 4.720	.013	.029	.436	(-)0.016	.038	(-)0.422
Political Orientations	.052	.048	1.078	(-)0.029	.036	(-)0.824	(-)0.037	.049	(-)0.752
CATEGORY III									
Social Tolerance	.146*	.064	2.297	.037	.031	1.206	.131***	.040	3.283
Life Satisfaction	(-)160**	.058	(-) 2.745	(-)0.111**	.038	(-) 2.907	(-)0.138*	.055	(-) 2.497
Social Trust	.102*	.041	2.502	.023	.024	.980	.008	.037	.207
CATEGORY IV									
Social Capital	.635**	.231	2.749	.135	.114	1.187	(-)0.088	.140	(-)0.629
Political Efficacy	(-)382***	.102	(-) 3.756	(-)0.301***	.068	(-) 4.403	(-)0.338***	.097	(-) 3.473
Adjusted R2:	0.171			0.082			0.109		

Notes: 1. Source: Wave 2 (1990) and Wave 5 (2007) World Values Survey

2. *p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Category I, socioeconomic demographics. In category one (socioeconomic factors) only one variable is statistically significant in 1990 (younger) while three are statistically significant in 2007 (male, higher education, and white collar), and two in 2007AR (male and higher education). All statistically significant coefficients are in the positive direction, reflecting less confidence in these socioeconomic dimensions. For example, compared with females and the less educated, male and highly educated respondents are less confident in government in both 2007 and 2007AR models. This finding might imply a value change from the 1990 and 2007 models since higher education is directly related to modernization and is statistically significant not in 1990 but in both 2007 models. Furthermore, white collar as a measure of the middle class is statistically significant not in 1990 but in the 2007 model. This finding may imply a value change between 1990 and 2007 that suggests a decrease in confidence in governance among white collar workers when compared to non-white collar workers. Younger drops out as being statistically significant in 2007 suggesting that age is not as important in 2007 as in 1990 compared to other factors. This is surprising since younger is associated with retaining the least amount of traditional values. An observation about Category I in relation to the values of the categorical R-squares indicates that in all three models, the adjusted R-squares are very low (see **Table 4** for categorical adjusted R-square values). This suggests that the socioeconomic category constitutes an extremely low, if nil, overall explanatory value on confidence in governance.

Table 4: Categorical Adjusted R-square.

	1990	2007	2007AR
Category I:	0.030	0.038	0.010
Category II:	0.107	0.062	0.057
Category III:	0.092	0.042	0.069
Category IV:	0.049	0.007	0
SUM:	0.278	0.149	0.136

Category II, traditional values. Category two (traditional values) has a higher categorical adjusted R-square than category one, suggesting that traditional values explain a greater degree of variation in the dependent variable. The categorical adjusted R-square remains low and follows the same pattern as when the model is run as a whole. Two out of four coefficients are statistically significant in this category. Family is statistically significant in 2007. The positive coefficient suggests that a weakening of traditional values causes a decreasing level of confidence in governance. Interpersonal ethics is statistically significant in all three models. In the latter timeframe this value becomes positive suggesting that those individuals with higher interpersonal ethics possess decreasing confidence in governance in 2007. Work ethics is only statistically significant in 1990 in the negative direction. This finding suggests that work ethics are not as important in 2007 as in 1990 compared to other factors. Surprisingly, political orientations as a measure of authoritarian attitudes, is not statistically significant in any of the models. However, in general, these findings suggest that a decrease in traditional cultural values bring a decrease in confidence in governance.

Category III, self-expression and emancipation values. Category three (self expression emancipation values) has predictable results with similar, but slightly weaker categorical adjusted R-squares. In 1990 all three variables, social tolerance, life satisfaction, and social trust, are statistically significant. The statistically significant and positive coefficient of social tolerance in both the 1990 and 2007AR models suggests that as social tolerance increases, confidence in governance decreases. This finding could be directly linked to the influences of modernization on changing values of political culture. This illustrates a greater level of tolerance and empathy of others while moving away from institutional directives of norms. Life satisfaction remains statistically significant in all three models, but in the negative direction. This reflects that as life satisfaction increases, confidence in governmental institutions increases. In this measure, the forces of modernization are negated by the overall “life satisfaction” that institutions provide, signifying how the CCP has managed, at least to some degree, fulfill these particular governmental demands. This finding concurs with the observations made by Bruce Gilley (2006) in his study on legitimacy. He states, “...there is growing evidence that national levels of happiness are closely correlated to political factors such as democratic rights and governance....”⁸⁵ Social trust is statistically significant in the positive direction in 1990 but is no longer statistically significant in 2007. This finding suggests that social trust is not as important in 2007 as in 1990 compared to other factors.

Category IV, psycho-behavioral cognitive dimensions. In Category four (psycho-behavioral cognitive dimension), like category one, the categorical adjusted R-square is low and zero in the 2007AR model suggesting little to no explanation of this

⁸⁵ Gilley (2006) p. 55.

category on confidence in governance. However, this model does reveal statistically significant results, although perplexing. Social capital is only statistically significant in 1990 in the positive direction. This finding suggests that individuals associated with civic organizations have decreasing levels of confidence in governance. This finding also suggests that the CCP has been effective in perpetuating political goals through civic organizations and effective economic reform policies since this variable becomes less important in 2007 than in 1990 when compared to other factors. Political efficacy is statistically significant in all models in the negative direction. This finding suggests that as political efficacy increases confidence in governance increases. Values of political efficacy remain stable between 1990 and 2007. This finding suggests that those individuals with higher values of political efficacy prefer to maintain the institutional status quo.

Summary of Findings

This summary discusses the general findings of the regression analysis and identifies differences of statistically significant relationships from the bi-variate correlation analysis. The regression coefficients provide an analysis of the full relationship between the independent and dependent variables. The correlation analysis provides the measure of association (magnitude) between particular independent and dependent variables. The correlation analysis contains a higher number of statistically significant relationships than the regression analysis. 1990, 2007, and 2007AR are specific references to the models used in the analysis of this study.

In category I, socioeconomic demographics, males, higher educated and white collar workers have decreasing levels of confidence in governance. The regression analysis reveals that male, and higher education are statically significant 2007 and 2007AR. White collar becomes a more important indicator of less confidence in governance in 2007 while younger becomes a less important in 2007 and 2007AR. The bi-variate correlation analysis differs from the regression analysis in that younger and SEZ are statistically significant in 2007. White collar is statically significant in all three models. Higher income is statically significant in 1990 and 2007.

In category II, traditional values, family and interpersonal ethics are statistically significant in the 2007 and 2007AR regression models suggesting decreasing confidence in governance. In 1990, interpersonal ethics and work ethics are statistically significant, but in the negative direction. The correlation analysis differs from the regression analysis

in that family is statistically significant in 1990, interpersonal ethics is not statistically significant in 2007AR, and work ethics is statistically significant in 2007.

In category III, self-expression and emancipation values, the regression analysis reveals that social tolerance suggests decreasing confidence in governance in 1990 and 2007AR. Life satisfaction is statically significant in all models in the negative direction suggesting the preference for the status quo. Social trust becomes less important in 2007 as in 1990 compared to other factors. The correlation analysis differs from the regression analysis in that social tolerance becomes statically significant in 2007, life satisfaction is not statically significant in 2007, and social trust is statically significant in 2007 and 2007AR.

In category IV, the regression analysis reveals that social capital becomes less important in 2007 than in 1990 when compared to other factors. Political efficacy is statically significant across all models in the negative direction suggesting a preference for the institutional status quo. The correlation analysis differs from the regression analysis in that social capital becomes statically significant in the 2007 model, and political efficacy is no longer statistical significance in the 2007 and 2007AR models.

Chapter VI:

Conclusion

This study examines how varying values that individuals have in China influence confidence in governance and whether the effects of these values have changed between 1990 and 2007. The purpose is to examine if increasing socioeconomic status, brought about by economic reform policies, has changed political and cultural attitudes associated with modernization that result in increasing institutional criticism. It is theorized that individuals having opposing values of traditional versus modernization values will have different confidence in governance levels.

To examine differences between 1990 and 2007, modernization and political culture theories are used. Modernization theory examines changes in socioeconomic status that could suggest why values may change. Political culture theory is used to examine what political and cultural attitudes exist at a certain point of time. Political culture theory also provides an empirical measure to observable phenomena by employing culturalist and institutionalist theories. Culturalist theory provides a measure of traditional and self expression-emancipation values. Institutional theory provides a measure of political efficacy by examining membership in civic organizations and level of interest in politics. Combining modernization and political culture theories in this way offers a two-part explanation as to why and how political and cultural values may bring changes in political attitudes toward governance.

In the regression analysis, the findings suggest that those having higher socioeconomic standings and greater modernization values have a lower level of confidence in governance. Traditional and self-expression and emancipation values provide the greatest explanation of varying values individuals have on individual perceptions of institutional confidence between 1990 and 2007. Individuals having less traditional values have less confidence in governance. This suggests a loosening of family and paternalistic cultural values. Those having higher levels of self-expression values have also showed decreasing confidence in governance between 1990 and 2007, suggesting an increase in post-materialist values. Socioeconomic standing and values of political efficacy explain to a lesser degree the variance of confidence in governance; however, these categories still yield statistically significant findings. White collar has the highest association with less confidence followed by education. Social capital becomes less important in 2007 as an indicator of less confidence in governance. Values of political efficacy suggest consistent confidence levels of governance and a desire to maintain the status quo between 1990 and 2007.

In the bi-variate correlation results, education as an indicator for suppressing traditional values and as a measure of the influence of modernization values was controlled in the partial correlation analysis. The purpose is to analyze varying values individuals have in confidence in governance when modernization values are held constant among all respondents. The general finding suggests that when education is controlled as a measure of modernization's influences, confidence in institutions increase.

In 2007, the rural and urban populaces display varying values of confidence in governance. There is a higher association in all statistically significant variables

(excluding social tolerance) in the 2007 model, suggesting a higher level of institutional scrutiny among the rural demographic. Institutional scrutiny is lower among the urban demographic but is still observable. These findings could suggest that the urban demographic benefits the most from China's economic reform policies, while the rural populace bears a majority of the negative effects of rapid industrialization.

The findings of this study suggest that, despite the multitude of problems facing China created by the negative effects associated with rapid industrialized growth such as pollution, migration, illegal land acquisitions, increasing property values, inflation, corruption, cronyism, income inequality, human rights, activist imprisonment, and censorship, (among others), the CCP has managed to maintain moderate to high levels of legitimacy. This is demonstrated by the weak coefficient values associated with a decrease in institutional confidence between 1990 and 2007 and the weak goodness of fit (low adjusted R-square) in this study. This implies that confidence in governance is explained largely by "other factors." In his study, "The Determinants of State Legitimacy: Results for 72 Countries," Bruce Gilley (2006) argues that China is well above the regression line measuring at modest to high levels of legitimacy, nearly on par with the UK. He argues, "Some countries...find additional means to generate legitimacy...."⁸⁶

The CCP has primarily achieved legitimacy through the implementation of successful economic reform policies that improve lives at the micro level. Until recently, China has maintained a near 10% gross domestic product (GDP) growth rate and is currently implementing economic policies to increase GDP per capita in order to boost

⁸⁶ Gilley (2006) p. 60.

domestic consumption. The CCP has also implemented pragmatic reform measures in the easing of migration policies, promotion of economic stimulus packages, subsidized food prices, implementing the rule of law, controlling corruption, promoting technocracy to impede cronyism, cracking down on unofficial enterprises highly connected with pollution and graft, and the implementation of village elections. These are expectations of the populace that the CCP is attempting to meet in order to prevent a decline in legitimacy. It would appear that as political cultural values have incrementally changed, the CCP has made necessary adaptations to reduce levels of institutional scrutiny.

Although modernization brought a decrease in institutional confidence, criticism is lower than expected. Successful economic reform policies and the ability of the CCP to influence civic organizational practices perpetuate the status quo; the CCP will most likely remain legitimate despite the disparities that result from an authoritarian political structure and the negative effects of rapid industrial growth. Despite varying political and cultural values influenced by increasing socioeconomic standings associated with modernization and changing individual perceptions of confidence in governance between 1990 and 2007, this study suggests that traditional values persist to reduce institutional scrutiny. This implies that the CCP has retained a moderate to high level of legitimacy. These findings may weaken the prospects that large scale political reform will occur within China in the foreseeable future.

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