



A Comparative Survey of

*DEMOCRACY, GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT*

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Regime Performance, Value Change and Authoritarian  
Detachment in East Asia

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# Asian Barometer

A Comparative Survey of Democracy, Governance and Development

## Working Paper Series

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# **Regime Performance, Value Change and Authoritarian Detachment in East Asia**

## I. Introduction: The Sway of Authoritarianism in East Asian Context

Authoritarianism remains a fierce competitor to democracy in East Asia. The region has defied the global movement toward democracy in many important ways. First, there was hardly a region-wide movement toward democratic changes. Twenty five years after the start of the “third wave of democratization” (Huntington 1991), the bulk of the region still is as it has been governed by various forms of authoritarian and semi-democratic regimes. In 2002, measured in term of political rights and civil liberty developed by the Freedom House, among the eighteen sovereign states and autonomous territories, only seven are ranked “free”. Among the seven, only five, namely the Philippines, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand and Mongolia, became democratized within the time span typically referred to as the third wave of democratization.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, there is no imminent new candidate for entering the rank of liberal democracy at present. The transition from authoritarianism in Indonesia is still fraught with uncertainty and instability (Bambang 1999). Most of the region’s non-democratic regimes, while all have the potential to make a transition to more democratic systems in the long run, are well-positioned to hang on for a while and they appear no more fragile than many of their newly democratized neighbors (Chu 2003).

Second, in the ideological arena, East Asia and Islamic World remain the two notable exceptions to the general observation that “the democratic ideal has become the ‘spirit of the times’ (*zeitgeist*)” (Linz and Stepan 1993: 77-81). Liberal democracy has yet established itself as “the only game in town”, i.e., the predominant mode of legitimation, in the region. The ideological contestants to liberal democracy in the region come from many different social corners and pose serious challenge to some fundamental principles of liberal democracy from the universality of human rights norms to the conception of rule of law. While the most widely publicized justification for the curtailment of “Western-style” civil and political freedoms in the name of economic development and social harmony in the Western media has been the pronouncements of senior Asian leaders, notably Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore and Mahathir Mohamad of Malaysia, and their supporters, the sustained interest in the Asian values debate among scholars, political activists, leaders of NGOs and social

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<sup>1</sup> Freedom House, *Freedom in the World: The Annual Survey of Political Rights and Civil Liberties*, 2001-2002 (New York: Freedom House, 2002)

movements in the region suggest that this is no passing intellectual fad nor simply propaganda warfare waged by the region's autocratic rulers to ward off international scrutiny on their human rights record. The debate involves the criticism that liberal orientation privileges individual autonomy and rights over duties and obligations to others, the interests of society, and social solidarity and harmony. It involves the neo-authoritarian discourse (that once flourished in China's intellectual circle) over whether democratic or authoritarian regimes are more likely to ensure social stability and economic growth (Edward 2003). It also taps into post-colonial discourses and conflicts between developed and developing states, and within states between the haves and have-nots over issues of distributive justice (Peerenboom 2003).<sup>2</sup>

One should not underestimate the persuasive power of these intellectual (counter) currents because some of the region's past and present authoritarian regimes did enjoy (at least in the eyes of their citizens) an impressive track record in providing social order and economic security, maintaining the core commitment of the state as a self-conscious institutional actor for articulating and pursuing the public interests, delivering extensive social and economic empowerment, and upholding (limited) rule of law, while some East Asian new democracies are fraught with lingering political malaise. The authoritarian eras under Park Chung Hee of South Korea and that under Chiang Ching-kuo of Taiwan were still cherished by many. This means some new democracies in East Asian tigers are burdened with authoritarian nostalgia, generating unreasonable high expectation about the performance of new democratic regimes. The deplorable contrast between pro-development and efficacious non-democratic states, notably Singapore, Malaysia, and China, and struggling democracies (the Philippines and Indonesia in particular) simply makes the argument that democracy is always preferable under all circumstances less appealing in the eyes of many East Asian citizens.

The adaptability as well as resiliency of China's communist regime has also made the region's overall environment much more hospitable for non-democratic regimes. Over the last two decades, China has exemplified a viable path for growing out of plan economy (Naughton 1998) and has proved (thus far) sequencing political and economic change is possible for transition from communism. In East Asia, China's model was widely viewed as superior to the shock treatment that Russia experimented under Yeltsin and carefully studied by its socialist siblings such as Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar, and to some extent, North Korea. Thus, in much the same way that China had exported its revolutionary ideas and model to its neighbors during

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<sup>2</sup> Most empiricist political scientists are ignorant of the fact these claims have been met by receptive audiences throughout the region and already begun to have profound impact on the international human rights discourse, notably in the areas of group rights, and economic, social and cultural rights (Bauer and Bell 1999: 4-6; Barr 2002: 56-59).

the Cold War, since the early 1980s China initiated its own wave of decommunization in the region and facilitated its neighbors to make a smooth transition from a revolutionary regime to a reconstituted authoritarian regime.

Our survey found that the level of popular commitment to democracy in some East Asian newly democratized countries are surprisingly low, as compared with other third wave democracies (Diamond, Chu and Shin 2001). In Spain, Portugal, and Greece more than three-quarters of the mass public say democracy is always preferable under all circumstances, and these overwhelming levels of public support are sustained in survey after survey. In East Asian, only Thailand has reached that threshold. In stark contrast, during the first-round East Asian Barometer survey (2001-2003) only 49.4 percent of the public in South Korea and 43.7% in Taiwan thought that democracy is the best form of government, whatever the circumstance, while more than half of the disenchanted citizens in the two socio-economically highly developed countries either support for a possible authoritarian option or indicate difference to democratic vs. non-democratic form of government (see Chart 1).<sup>3</sup> The extraordinary large number of general public who embraced a possible authoritarian option pushed up the region's average among emerging democracies (excluding Japan) to 21.3 percent, significantly above the averages of three other clusters of third wave democracy (in Latin America, Eastern Europe and Africa respectively).

[Chart 1 about here]

To tap into East Asian citizens' antipathy for authoritarian alternatives in a more systematic way, the East Asia Barometer survey asked a set of four questions each of which focuses on a different type of authoritarian political system. Anti-authoritarian responses to this set of questions are considered, individually and jointly, to estimate the specific and general levels of antipathy for authoritarianism. The EAB survey asked respondents whether or not they would favor the return to any of the following four authoritarian regimes: civilian dictatorship, military dictatorship, single-party dictatorship, and technocratic dictatorship.<sup>4</sup>

On average, a vast majority (72.6%) of East Asian citizens expressed opposition to civilian dictatorship, disagreeing with the statement, "We should get rid of parliament and elections and have a strong leader decide things." A larger majority

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<sup>3</sup> One should register one caveat about the data. The timing of the two surveys coincided with a sagging approval rating of Kim Dae-jung due to his son's involvement in an illicit business kickback and with Taiwan's worst economic performance for three decades.

<sup>4</sup> We designed a very different set of questions for China to measure citizens' antipathy for alternatives to one-party authoritarianism. For this reason, China is excluded in much of the statistical analyses here.

(82.4%) rejected the option to restore military rule, disagreeing with the statement, “The military should come in to govern the country.” More than two-third majority (70%) turned down the option of single-party dictatorship, disagreeing with the statement, “No opposition party should be allowed to compete for power.” Slightly more (76%) rejected the option of technocratic rule, disagreeing with the statement, “We should get rid of parliament and elections and have the experts decide everything.” So, one might argue that, on the whole, the new democratic regimes in East Asia are not deemed vulnerable to collapse.<sup>5</sup>

However, the distribution of support for non-democratic alternatives varies significant among items and across countries. In Mongolia, the yearning for a return to strongman rule remains quite strong with only 56.5% of the respondents opposing civilian dictatorship. In the Philippines, antipathy for political intervention by the military remains formidable with less than two third (62.7%) of the people rejecting this alternative. Also, there are considerable potential supporters for single-party rule in Hong Kong and Thailand (and to some lesser extent in Japan).

When all four measures are considered jointly, the picture is not very assuring. As Table 1 indicates, in most East Asian countries, less than half of the people rejected all four alternatives. In both Mongolia and the Philippines, the figure is alarmingly low. Only about one third of the respondents in the two countries rejected all four authoritarian options. The seven-country average (47.4%) is as low as the comparable figure (48%) reported by the New Europe Barometer that covered nine Central and Eastern European new democracies (Rose, Mishler and Haerpfer 1999: 116). This is not a very reassuring sign given the fact that most post-Communist countries have suffered much more severe and more protracted economic turmoil during the transition than East Asian countries during the recent financial crisis.

[Table 1 about here]

This suggests that a systematic understanding of the sources of authoritarian detachment is of critical importance to the understanding the prospect of democratic consolidation in East Asia. This is especially true in light of the Churchillian argument about the competitive justification of democratic regime. Democracy persists when and only when there is no viable authoritarian option. On the other hand, democracy won't be accepted as a lesser evil when a plurality of non-democratic alternatives is yet fully discredited.

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<sup>5</sup> The four-item battery was preceded with the following opening statement: "As you know, there are some people in our country who would like to change the way in which our country is governed. We would like to know what you think of their views. For each statement, would you say you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree."

## II. Exploring the Sources of Authoritarian Detachment

We know much less about what cause people to detach themselves from authoritarian options than what induce people to develop favorable orientations toward democracy. Most of the recent theoretical and comparative contributions were devoted to identifying the levels and determinants of favorable orientations toward democratic regime. A variety of measures was designed to measure the attachment to democratic regime, i.e., overtly favorable orientation toward democratic ideals and practices, and address its various attitudinal components: such as the desirability of democracy, the suitability of democracy, the preference for democracy, the efficacy of democracy, and the priority of democracy.<sup>6</sup> Also, there are burgeoning efforts to apply sophisticated statistical model to cross-national survey data for winnowing out competing explanatory sources for the acquisition of overtly favorable orientations toward democracy (Rose and Mishler 2003; Bratton and Mattes 2003). Despite of the exemplified works by Richard Rose, William Mishler and Christian Haerpfer (1998), students of democratization have not pursued the issue of authoritarian detachment with the same degree of intellectual vigilance as the detachment to democratic regime.

It is open to question that what we have learned so far about what cause (and what inhibit) the growth in overt support for democracy is readily transferable to the question of what cause people to detach themselves from authoritarian arrangements. The two approaches to popular commitment to democratic legitimacy are conceptually distinguishable. Empirically, they do not correlate with each other in many cases (Rose, Mishler and Haerpfer 1998; Shin 1999; Shin and Shyu 1997). As Doh Chull Shin explicated the issue in the Korean context, to citizens with little experience and limited sophistication in democratic politics either democracy or dictatorship may fail to provide satisfying solutions to the many problems facing the people. Confronting such uncertainty, citizens with little democratic experience, more often than not, embrace both democratic and authoritarian political propensities concurrently. Therefore, growth in their pro-democratic orientations does not necessarily bring about a corresponding decline in their antiauthoritarian orientations (Shin and Park 2003).

The EAB survey simply confirms this observation. In Chart 1, we juxtapose a summary measure of rejecting authoritarian options with one of the most widely-used question for measuring the preferability of democratic regime. The level of unconditional support for democracy, i.e., agreeing with the statement, “Democracy is

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<sup>6</sup> For a survey of the full array of widely-used questions for measuring detachment toward democratic regime, please refer to Larry Diamond (2000) and Doh Chull Shin (2001).

always preferable to any other form of government” is a poor predictor of the proportion of the people rejecting all four authoritarian options, and vice versa. As a matter of fact, in most cases the two measures move in opposite directions. While Thailand registers the highest level of unconditional support for democracy (84.3%), its comparatively low level of authoritarian detachment (43.5%) made its citizens’ extraordinarily strong overt commitment to democracy look very shallow. The way the Japanese citizens responded to the two measures is in stark contrast with that of the Korean. The Japanese respondents registered a very high level of unconditional support for democracy (78.5%) but didn’t reject all non-democratic options in overwhelming numbers (only 55.2%). The Korean citizens responded the two measures in diagonally different way. They registered the highest level of authoritarian detachment (65.1%) but depressingly low level of unconditional support for democracy (only 49.4%). This perplexing misalignment suggests that both the dynamics of the two orientations and their determinants might be substantially different.

In their initial efforts to tackle the question why people differ in their orientations toward non-democratic alternatives, Richard Rose, William Mishler and Christian Haerpfer identified two competing theoretical perspective: performance theories vs. socialization theories (1998: 116-119). According to Rose, Mishler and Haerpfer, socialization theories stress fundamental political values and beliefs formed through a lengthy process of socialization begun in childhood (Almond and Verba, 1963). Performance theories by contrast (Rogowski 1974) hypothesize that individuals will support a form of government if they believe that they deliver more satisfactory outcomes than others. The performance criteria are oftentimes defined in materialist terms, e.g., the ability to distribute economic benefits. Yet, performance can also refer to the delivery of political goods, such as absence of political oppression, equal treatment, protection of political rights, and the responsiveness of the leaders. They cautioned us, however, the distinction between the two theoretical perspectives can be overdrawn. Both approaches conceive support for democracy vs. non-democratic forms of government as a product of experience. They differ principally in the time-frames and in the types of experiences that they regard as most relevant.

They used multiple regression analysis to determine the influence of social structure (as a surrogate measure of the influence of socialization) on detachment from authoritarian alternatives (1998: 138-139). They found out that notwithstanding a plenitude of social structural explanation of political orientations, the six variables -- education, age, gender, embracing national tradition, churchgoing and urbanization -- explain only 5.4% of the total variance in the support for nondemocratic alternatives

in the nine post-Communist countries.<sup>7</sup> The one social structural variable with consistently significant influence is education. In contrast, the performance theories demonstrate a much powerful explanatory strength. For rejection of authoritarian alternatives, a set of nine objective and subjective economic measures by themselves accounted for about 14.3% of the variance. A battery of eight political evaluations or affiliations in block-wise regression analysis explains substantially more (19.3%). When this measure of authoritarian detachment is regressed on all these 17 measures simultaneously, five of the political variables and four of the economic prove significant. The two most powerful determinants of support for democracy are political: first, a negative evaluation of the former Communist regime, and next the perception of greater political freedom in the current regime. A third political variable, patience, has about as strong an effect as any economic variable. The patient, who believe it will take years for government to deal with the problems inherited from communist rule, are twice as likely to support democracy as those who are definitely impatient. This pattern of causation holds when objective measures of a country's political context as well as social structure variables are included in a single cross-level regression with 27 variables. Political variables remain the most powerful factors (accounting altogether for more than half of the total variance explained), and of the four objective country variables, the three political measures are each more powerful than the economic one (change in GDP). Social structure shows limited importance. Education and urbanization and two other measures do have a significant impact on the rejection of authoritarian alternatives. However, they argued, the total educative effect of contextual influences, such as experiencing a big increase in freedom with collapse of Communism, is greater than what is learned in school.

Notwithstanding of the heuristic value of their exemplified work to a systematic understanding of the sources for support for non-democratic alternatives, their findings may not be readily transportable to other regional contexts. As a matter of fact, a casual glance at the juxtaposition of a widely-used measure of satisfaction with the way democracy works with the rejection of four authoritarian alternatives makes one wonder to what extent their findings that regime performance exerted much stronger influence than socialization holds up in the East Asian context. As Chart 2 indicates, across the seven cases the two measures hardly correspond to each other. In the cases of Thailand and Mongolia, high levels of satisfaction with democracy co-exist with comparatively low level of popular detachment from authoritarianism. In the case of Japan, a depressingly low level of satisfaction with democracy does not seem to have much attenuating influence on the level of popular rejection of

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<sup>7</sup> This summary measure is scaled from +8 to -8 registering strength of reject of or support for four nondemocratic alternatives – abolish parliament, return to Communist rule, army takeover, strong-man rule. See Rose, Mishler, Haerpfer (1998: Appendix A) for details.

authoritarian alternative. Alternatively, a composite index of democratic vs. authoritarian values, functioning as a key causal link between the influence of life-long socialization process and orientation toward non-democratic alternatives, turns out to be a much better predictor of the rejection of authoritarian options at least at the aggregate level (see Chart 3).

[Chart 2 and Chart 3 about here]

While the two charts provide little direct evidence to befuddle their theoretical claims observed at the individual level, they at least call for a careful scrutiny of existing theoretical formulations. We should at least be open to the possibility that both the direction and strength of certain explanatory variables in explaining the support for non-democratic alternatives may be context-dependent. What one finds in post-Communist societies may be readily transportable to other regional contexts. To begin with, the causal paths to democratic outcomes in most other third-wave democracies are very different from transition from Communist. Few new democracies in East Asia grew out of a sudden collapse of the old regime. Instead, the process of authoritarian demise and democratic transition typically unfolded over a long period, stretching over a decade in the cases of Taiwan and South Korea. Next, the life experiences under the authoritarian regime in most East Asian countries were very different from living under Communist rule. Most East Asian emerging democracies were preceded with a pro-growth, market-conforming soft-authoritarian regime and this means that the past authoritarian equilibrium depended mainly, in the words of Adam Przeworski, on prosperity and efficiency, rather than “lies and fears” (1990: ). Also, during the authoritarian years most East Asian emerging democracies had experienced limited pluralism, allowing some forms of electoral contestation as well as the existence of the opposition. As a result, citizens in many East Asian countries may hold a much higher benchmark than citizens in post-Communist societies for evaluating the policy performance of the new democracy while their perceived increase in the area of political rights and freedom is not likely to be as big or dramatic as what Eastern Europeans experienced.

Next, because the great majority of East Asian citizens have experienced extraordinarily rapid socio-economic transformation within their lifetime, the theoretical meaning of some socio-economic background variables may be recast in totally different lights. For instance, in the East Asian context, it could be partially misleading to treat education, age, income and urbanization simply as surrogate measures of the influence of values and attitudes acquired early in life as a consequence of parental influence and pre-adult schooling. Rather they should also be interpreted as surrogate measures of the social conditions that shape one’s

susceptibility or exposure to the forces of modernization and globalization as a result of one's social mobility and cognitive adaptability in coping with rapid socio-economic changes.

Furthermore, their formulation of the dichotomy between performance perspective and socialization perspective is not inclusive enough to cover a broad range of competing theoretical perspectives in comparative politics and at the same time leaves a huge room for theoretical refinement. Emanating from existing literature, relevant hypotheses about what cause East Asian relate to authoritarian politics can be grouped into at least five theoretical categories: *modernization/postmodernization, institution, rationality, political culture, and rational expectation*. We briefly review these different approaches and argue that Asians' orientation toward authoritarian politics can be best understood through a lens of political learning perspective combined with the rational expectation perspective and a variant of political culture approach that privileges value changes as the key causal link between structural and institutional transformation and support for non-democratic options.

#### *Modernization and Postmodernization*

Modernization theory has been developing over a century. The central claim of Modernization theory from Karl Marx, Max Weber to Daniel Bell is that economic, cultural and political change go together in coherent patterns that are changing in the world in predictable ways (Inglehart 1997: 7). Modernization theory was understood by some as a variant of structural explanation (Bratton and Mattes 2003) because many Modernization theorists emphasized social mobility and location in modern parts of the social structure as the leading cause of cultural change (Inkeles and Smith, 1974; Pye, 1990). Recent Modernization theorists such as Bell (1973) viewed changes in the structure of workforce as the key factor. He argued that the crucial milestone in the coming of "Postindustrial society" is reached when a majority of the workforce is in the tertiary sector of the economy. While there has been continuing debate over the causal linkages, many empirical findings do support the claim that socioeconomic development generates more modern attitudes and values -- greater tolerance and valuing of freedom, higher levels of political efficacy, greater capacity to participate in politics and civic life (Diamond 1999). The Postmodernization theory developed by Ronald Inglehart and his colleagues agree with the Modernization theorists on their central claim but differ from most Modernization theorists on four essential points: change is not linear; economic determinism is oversimplified; the rise of the West is not the only version of Modernization; democracy is not inherent in the Modernization phase but democracy does become increasingly likely as societies move beyond the Modernization phase into Postmodernization (Inglehart 1997: 10-25). Inglehart and his colleagues have accumulated three decades of time-series

data to demonstrate an intergenerational shift toward Postmaterialist values, linked with rising levels of economic development (Inglehart 1977, 1997; Inglehart and Abramson 1999). As economic development brings rising levels of tolerance, trust, political activism, and greater emphasis on freedom of speech (the components of what they defined as “Self-expression values”), it leads to growing mass demands for liberalization in authoritarian societies, and to rising levels of direct mass participation in societies that are already democratic. In so far as Postmaterialists give high priority to protecting freedom of speech and to participation in making important government decisions, this trend should bring growing mass demands for democratization and dwindling demand for authoritarian order. Adherent to the Modernization/Postmodernization perspective, one would predict that intergenerational shift toward greater detachment from authoritarianism comes with fast expansion in education, vast improvement in economic wellbeing and rapid urbanization. People of different generations have undergone radically different life conditions. In this sense, East Asia provides a fertile social soil for testing the Modernization/Postmodernization theories as most East Asian societies have undergone rapid industrialization over the last three decades and some of the more advanced economies, such as Japan, Hong Kong, South Korea and Taiwan, are leapfrogging into post-industrial phase within a compressed time span. For an empirical testing of the Modernization/Postmodernization theses in our multivariate analyses, we focus on the impact of three socio-economic background variables, ***education, age and income***, on authoritarian detachment at the micro-level. At the macro-level, i.e., country, we focus on the impact of ***per capita GDP*** on the level of support for authoritarian alternatives.<sup>8</sup>

### *Institution*

A standard theoretical argument based on Neo-institutionalist perspective would posit that people develop certain orientations toward democracy as well as non-democratic regimes as a *consequence* of the organizing principles of formal and informal institutions: specifically, the incentives, disincentives and habits created by the rules embedded in differing forms of political institutions (Steinmo, Thelen and Longstreth, 1992; Hall and Taylor, 1996; Muller and Seligson, 1994, Norris, 1999; Bratton and Mattes, 2003). Participation in formal procedures like voting, working for parties or candidates, attending election rallies, attending community meetings, joining with others to raise issues or contacting elected leaders can have an educative effect increasing interest and efficacy (Finkel 1987) as well as building support for

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<sup>8</sup> Because the per capita GDP has a very skewed distribution within East Asia, we perform logarithms transformation before entering the variable into cross-national multivariate analysis.

democracy (Bratton et al, 1999; Finkel, Sabatine and Bevis, 2000). Also, membership in civic organizations may shape build up social capital and cooperative practices and organizational and communicative skills that individuals apply in other and larger political arenas (Nie, Powell and Prewitt, 1969; Putnam 1993; Brady, Verba and Schlozman, 1995; McDonough, Shin and Moises, 1998; Shin, 1999). The historical institutionalist perspective, in particular, emphasize the socializing effects of institutions in shaping citizens' preference or even identity over time (Steinmo, Thelen and Longstreth, 1992). Practicing democracy over time would help citizens develop a new and longer term perspective on judging democracy, based on an appreciation of the intrinsic nature of democracy rather than its consequences.

Since in many East Asian countries institutional channels for voting and other forms of democratic participation in a context of multi-party competition had been in place for a long while even before they became full democratized), their behavioral as well as attitudinal consequences in East Asia should be comparatively more salient than other newly democratized countries, e.g., African and post-Communist countries, where these institutional fixtures are relatively novel. On the other hand, it is not entirely clear if and to what extent the neo-institutionalist arguments about the attitudinal consequence of practicing democracy can be applied to explaining popular detachment from authoritarianism, which empirically may not always come together with the favorable orientations toward democracy. While the inducement of democratic institutions for the development of favorable orientations toward democratic regime has been demonstrated (Bratton et al, 1999; Finkel, Sabatine and Bevis, 2000; Bratton and Mattes 2003), it remains to be seen if participation in formal procedures and civic organizations made possible by liberal democracy also exerts a visible attenuating effect on citizens' antipathy toward authoritarian regime. We would predict that its attenuating effect if exists at all won't be as strong as its augmenting effect on positive orientation toward democratic regime. For an empirical testing of the Institutionalists theses in multivariate analyses, we focus on the impact of the following variables: index of *electoral participation*, index of *non-electoral participation* (primarily citizen-initiated contact and unconventional participation), *membership in civic organizations*, and *psychological involvement in politics* (political interests and media attention) on authoritarian detachment.

### *Rationality*

Rational choice theory claims that people develop democratic norms because democracy works (Evans and Whitefield, 1995: 489). Rational choice theory argues that individual behavior is purposive and based on logic of utility-maximization. People compare the costs and benefits associated with different regimes and align themselves with arrangements that best serve their interests. There are two variants of

performance-based explanation for the growth of democratic legitimacy. The neo-classical rational choice theorists privilege “economic goods” while the second variant (the so-called soft-core) rational theorists identify a much broader range of performance criteria. Also, there is a distinction between theorists who emphasize short-term performance and those who highlight the importance of the cumulative experiences of comparing the performances of the political system under different regimes and over time.

### Provision of Economic Goods

Typically, rational choice theory anchored on the neo-classical assumptions defines “interests” in materialist terms, i.e., economic benefits. So, if citizens feel that elected governments fulfill campaign promises of net improvement in economic welfare, support will increase, not only for the government of the day, but also for democracy. If, however, they suffer inflation or unemployment, support will decrease (Bratton and Mattes 2003). In general, rational approaches have focused on people’s short term economic evaluations, including their present, past, and future evaluations of micro and macro economic trends (Kitschelt, 1992; Dalton, 1994; Anderson, 1995; Mattes & Christie, 1997; and Norris, 1999).

In the past, most of the above economic evaluative indicators carried little explanatory weight in the East Asian context because in most countries the distribution of these indicators was quite skewed, heavily concentrating on the optimistic end. However, the timing of our comparative survey provides us with a unique opportunity to examine the strength of popular commitment to democratic norms and procedures under crisis situation. Our survey covers some East Asian economies, e.g., South Korea and Thailand, that were worst affected by the 1997-98 regional economic crisis. It also covers economies, such as Japan and Hong Kong, which have suffered protracted economic downturn and deflation. Incidentally, our survey in Taiwan was synchronized with the island’s worst recession (in 2001) in recent memory. We are positioned to examine how the impact of economic crisis felt at the personal level and the perception of the effectiveness and responsiveness of government response to the crisis affect people’s overall support for democratic regime and their orientations toward non-democratic alternatives in particular. For an empirical testing of the ration-choice theses emphasizing economic goods, we focus on the impact of the following variables: evaluation of current and past (last five years) ***national economic condition*** and of current and past ***individual economic condition***, on authoritarian detachment.

### The Provision of Political Goods

While the rational choice approach following the neo-classical tradition focuses

on the materialist goods political system delivers, a variant of rational choice approach underscores that citizens in new democracies will use a broader range of performance criteria, factoring in their immediate political conditions as well. Linz and Stepan have shown with regard to Spain and then for other third wave democracies, citizens of a new democracy are able to distinguish between the political and economic dimensions of regime performance. They may come to value democracy for the political goods it produces even when its economic performance is perceived to be poor and costly in the short term (1996: 443). Part of this is owing to the fact that citizens of postcommunist Europe have proven to be more patient and realistic in their time horizons for economic improvement than many observers expected. But much of it owes as well to the real improvements they perceive in what Linz and Stepan call the political basket of goods. For an empirical testing of the utilitarian theses based on the short-term provision of political goods, we focus on the impact of the following variables: *satisfied with the way democracy works, perceived level of political corruption, index on of trust in democratic institutions, responsiveness of government leaders*, on authoritarian detachment in the context of multivariate analyses. In addition, at the macro-level, we include an objective indicator of political freedom based on the 2002 Free House rating.

#### Regime Comparison

Also, as Rose, Mishler and Haerpfer (1998) suggested voters in emerging democracies will draw on a more medium-term calculation comparing relative regime performance of old and new. This is what they call the “Churchill Hypotheses”: regardless of what people think about the performance of the current democratic regime, they will support it if it performs better than its predecessor. Parallel to the earlier discussion of the two variants of rational choice perspective, when people compare regimes they might have different baskets of goods in mind. Some people might compare the performance of the current regime with that of the old regime on the basis of public policy output, such as economic development, law and order, and narrowing the gap between rich and poor. Others might do this on the basis of the provision of political goods, such as responsiveness of government officials, opportunities for political participation, freedom of speech, association and religion, etc. For an empirical testing of the utilitarian theses based on the medium-term comparison of regime performances, we focus on the impact of the following variables: *perceived democratic progress between now and the old regime, perceived improvement in the political characteristics of the political system between current regime and the old regime, perceived improvement in the policy performances of the political system between current regime and the old regime*, on authoritarian detachment.

### *Political Culture*

With the surge in the 1990s of theoretical and empirical attention to the process of democratic consolidation -- and to the growth of mass belief in democratic legitimacy as the core element of this process -- political culture has recovered a central place in the comparative study of democracy (Diamond 1999: 161-162). Like its predecessor of the 1960s, the new generation of political culture approach treats *political culture* as: “a people's predominant beliefs, attitudes, values, ideals, sentiments, and evaluations about the political system of their country, and the role of the self in that system.” These components of political culture - which may be summarized simply as distinctive predispositions or "orientations to action" (Eckstein 1988; Diamond 1993) -- have been classified into three types of orientations: a *cognitive* orientation, involving knowledge of and beliefs about the political system; an *affective* orientation, consisting of identification with and feelings about the political system; and an *evaluational* orientation, including commitments to political values and judgments (making use of information and feelings) about the legitimacy and performance of the political system relative to those values (Almond and Verba 1963: 15).

However, the new generation of political culture approach differs from some earlier culturalists on two essential points: First, it does away with the notion of “national character”. It does not assume that all social groups in a political system share the same political culture, or that values and beliefs are evenly distributed throughout the population. Elites typically have distinctive values and norms (and invariably, more information about the system), and they often lead the way in large-scale value change. In addition, distinctive types of beliefs and norms may prevail in different institutional settings and different social, regional and ethnic groups within a single country might have different value systems and worldviews. The existence of these *political subcultures* compels us to disaggregate, and to tread with great caution in speaking of *the* political culture of a nation, except as a distinctive mixture or balance of orientations within a country (Diamond 1999: 163). Second, it does away with cultural determinism which suggests that political culture more or less predetermines both political structures and political behavior, and that the elements of political culture are resistant to change over time.<sup>9</sup> The new generation of political approach argues that the degree of culture plasticity is an empirical question.

In the context of rapid socio-economic changes, cognitive, attitudinal, and evaluational dimensions of political culture could be fairly "plastic" and can change

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<sup>9</sup> It is worth noting that Gabriel Almond argues that the cultural determinism stereotype is a distortion of his and other theories about the relationship between political culture and democracy (1983).

quite dramatically in response to regime performance, historical experience, and political socialization. Deeper value and normative commitments have been shown to be more enduring and to change only slowly, in response to profound historical experiences and institutional changes. In the face of enduring shifts in socio-economic conditions, even central parts of culture may be transformed, but they are more likely to change through intergenerational population replacement than by the conversion of already socialized adults (Inglehart 1997: 15).

Thus, the causal linkage among political institution, socio-economic structure and culture should be conceived as reciprocal. Political culture shapes citizens' orientations toward political objects and constraints the way political institutions function. But political culture, in turn, can be shaped and reshaped by a variety of factors over time, including not only political learning from historical experience, institutional change, political socialization but also by broad changes in economic and social structure, international factors (including colonialism and cultural diffusion), and, of course, the functioning and habitual practice of the political system itself. In this sense, the new generation of political culture approach has a strong affinity with the Postmodernization perspective mentioned before and its views on the mechanism of value changes are compatible with historical institutionalism (Steinmo, Thelen and Longstreth 1992) as well as what Mike Bratton and Bob Mattes characterized as "political learning approach" (2003).

The new generation of political culture approach has advanced our understanding of how political culture change and democratic development relate to one another. At the macro-level, Inglehart showed that life satisfaction, interpersonal trust, and rejection of revolutionary change are highly correlated not only with economic development but with stable democracy, and that "political culture may be a crucial link between economic development and democracy." (2003) At the individual level, internalized political and social values may be the key causal link between structural and institutional changes on the one hand and the formation of particular evaluative judgment on the legitimacy, characters and performance of political regime on the other.

Students of democracy have long identified certain elements of political culture that were conceived necessary, at least highly functional, for the development and maintenance of democracy. It was argued that democracy requires a distinctive set of political values and dispositions from its citizens and in particular political elites: *moderation, tolerance, civility, bargaining, accommodation* and an *overriding commitment to democratic proceduralism*. These values are believed necessary to cope with one of the central dilemmas of democracy, to balance cleavage and conflict with the need for consensus (Almond and Verba 1963: 489-493; Diamond 1990: 56-58). Also essential to a working democracy are an individualist as well as

equalitarian disposition toward fellow members of the political community believing in the inalienable rights and "intrinsic worth or dignity" of "every individual," and a disposition toward authority that is neither "blindly submissive" nor "hostilely rejecting" but rather "responsible... even though always watchful." (Inkeles 1961: 198) An intelligent distrust of its leadership places great emphasis on the need for institutional constraints on the exercise of power, in particular the mechanisms of vertical (popular) and horizontal accountability (separation of power).

In the Asian context, Lucian Pye sees traditional Asian political cultures as generally lacking these orientations of individualism and suspicion of authority. Pye identifies (within the considerable political cultural variation in Asia) common tendencies to emphasize loyalty to the collectivity over individual freedom and needs; to favor paternalistic authority relations and to personalize political power, shun adversary relations, favor order over conflict, mute criticism of authority, and neglect institutional constraints on the exercise of power (1985: 18-19, 22-29, and 326-341). Therefore he views the prospects for liberal, competitive democracy in Asia as limited. While Pye may impute more staying power to political culture orientations than is warranted, he offers a particularly lucid theoretical expression of the compatibility between democracy and core elements of political culture, and of the way institutional forms like democracy may operate differently in different cultural contexts (Diamond 1999).

Identifying five key dimensions of authoritarian (or anti-democratic) dispositions toward fellow citizens and authority, Fu Hu, Yun-han Chu, Huo-yan Shyu and their colleagues has tracked down the evolution of political culture over more than two decades, covering the entire span of Taiwan's regime transition, from the weakening of authoritarianism to the completion of democratic transition (Hu and Chu 1994; Shin and Shyu 1998; Chu and Chang 2002). They found that the acquisition of pro-democratic value orientations along the five dimensions – *political equality, popular accountability (or popular sovereignty), political liberalism, political pluralism and separation of power (or horizontal accountability)* -- has been uneven suggesting the lingering influence of traditional values. Support for political equality was high from the beginning, and endorsement of popular sovereignty rose dramatically from 1984 to 1993 (as did belief in political pluralism, even though it remained rather low). Their data also show that by late 1990s substantial segments of Taiwan's public still manifest the fear of disorder and the preference for communal harmony over individual freedom that Pye takes to be generally characteristic of Asian attitudes toward power and authority. Yet, they also note that the generally steady increase since democratization began in the mid-1980s in the proportions of the public expressing pro-democratic value orientations - and rejecting the paternalistic, collectivist, illiberal norms associated with the Asian values perspective.

Doh Shin applied a smaller set of the same battery of authoritarian vs. democratic values. He also found positive signs of democratic value change in Korea. At the same time, the ambivalence in Koreans' support for democracy is underscored by their responses to several questions to assess public attitudes toward political pluralism and horizontal accountability (Shin 1999; Shin and Shyu 1998). Overall speaking, their research confirm that in Taiwan and South Korea the steady growth, albeit unevenly, in liberal democratic value orientations – was driven over time both by modernization and by political liberalization. Their findings contradict earlier culturalist notions of a stable political culture rooted in traditional values and reproduced through early socialization experience.

If social and political values do function as the crucial causal link between structural and institutional changes on the one hand and the citizens' orientation toward authoritarian alternatives on the other, we would expect that the observed effects of demographical variables on the rejection of authoritarian alternatives would attenuate if not disappear once we control for social and political values. For an empirical testing the political culture theses, we designed a three sets of battery measuring *traditionalism*, *democratic vs. authoritarian value orientation*, and *belief in procedural norms of liberal democracy*. The first battery tapping into the prevailing traditional social values in East Asia societies that stressed filial piety, familism, gender-based deference, fatalism, avoidance of open conflict and conformity with group norms.<sup>10</sup> The EBA battery for measuring democratic vs. authoritarian value orientation is based on Fu Hu's original formulation of the five dimensions. For the sake of space, we elaborate the conceptual formulation of the five dimensions, please refer to *Appendix A*. The battery for beliefs in procedural norms tapping into the four dispositions -- *tolerance, bargaining, accommodation and an overriding commitment to democratic proceduralism* – that are believed to be necessary or functional for democracy.

### *Rational Expectation*

In recent years, political scientists began to apply the insights of the theory of rational expectation in macroeconomics to the analysis of political phenomenon (Goldstein, Freedman, and Granato *forthcoming*; Granato and Wong 2003). They illuminated how learning from the expectations of others might shape individual actors' choice under bounded rationality. From rational expectation perspective, one would predict that the perceived probability of the occurrence of non-democratic alternatives at the macro-level can affect citizens' judgment on the credibility of these

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<sup>10</sup> For an elaboration of this measurement, please refer to Andrew Nathan's paper presented at this conference.

alternatives. From this perspective, people are less likely to support non-democratic alternatives if they learn that these alternatives are simply out of realm of possibility. They form their probability judgment by learning from others, including the cues from political elite, mass media and fellow citizens and this information is likely to be widely shared in a political community. This probability judgment may exert influence (independent of the influence their normative preference) over their orientation toward authoritarian options. In many emerging democracies. In the context of East Asian democracies, many authoritarian alternatives might be widely judged as empirically implausible choice on the basis of the recognition that no political actors in sight could deliver effective authoritarian order (due to the fact that the military has become thoroughly depoliticized, the formal dominant party was disintegrated, or no charismatic leaders are on the horizon), or there is no tangible social support for them, or few authoritarian options might survive the crippling influence of anticipated international sanction, etc. For empirical testing of the rational expectation argument, for each country we calculate *a probability of democratic setback* based on the percentage of the respondents who predict that the country will move to a lower location on a 10-point scale (from complete dictatorship to complete democracy) five year from now than where it is located today. We take this percentage as a surrogate measure of the perceived probability of the occurrence of democratic setback shared by the members of a particular political community.

### III. Determinants of Popular Detachment from Authoritarian Alternatives

Based on the foregoing discussion, we identify a cluster of indicators that correspond to the key concepts identified by each of five theoretical perspectives. In most cases, we calculate the arithmetic sum of component indicators to create multi-item indices based on the simple rule of equal weight. Please refer to *Appendix B* for details.

In order to confirm the explanatory power of the five competing perspectives, we perform the multivariate analysis in four steps. As the first step, we regressed the level of objection to authoritarian alternatives on different clusters of explanatory variables using block-wise ordinary least squared multiple regression. We did this for each of the seven countries under investigation.<sup>11</sup> Table 2 reports cumulative Adjusted R<sup>2</sup> for

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<sup>11</sup> It should be noted here that the cumulative effects of the large number of variables and significant proportions of “don’t know” responses across most attitudinal questions meant that typical list wise deletion methods would result in loss of an unacceptably large number of cases from the analysis. Moreover, recent analyses have demonstrated that such procedures produce biased estimates (King et al, 2001). In general, we recoded “don’t know” responses to theoretically defensible places on the response scale wherever possible. Please refer to *Appendix C* for details.

the block of variables representing each theoretical approach. From this table, we can draw two quick conclusions: First, socio-economic background has some significant impact on our dependent variables, especially in the case of Hong Kong and Taiwan (Adjusted  $R^2$  are .174 and .118, respectively). Among socio-economic background variables, education has the greatest impact (Beta=.346 and .272 in Hong Kong and Taiwan, respectively), and income has the second largest impact (Beta=.094 and .119, respectively). Objections to the authoritarian alternatives decline when the levels of education rise. This relationship holds up also in the Philippines, Mongolia and Japan. Also, detachment from authoritarianism becomes more likely with rising income. These findings are basically consistent with the theoretical prediction of the Modernization/Postmodernization perspective. However, the Adjusted  $R^2$  values for the other samples are disappointingly low (Japan 0.28, Korea .008, Mongolia .011, The Philippines .031, and Thailand .004).

Second, democratic practices (participation) or social engagements, evaluations of democratic government performance, national or personal economic conditions and regime comparisons have only a slight impact on our dependent variable across all seven samples. Even the strongest of these variables cannot account for more than 8 percent of the variance in the dependent variable. The dependent variable appears to be best accounted for by social and political values. In our seven samples, social and political values explain 12 to 30 percent of the variance in authoritarian detachment. These findings are very different from studies of Eastern Europe and Africa (Bratton and Mattes, 2003; Whitefield and Evans, 1999). They found political culture a weaker predictor for the demand for democracy. However, despite of the relative weak explanatory power of most performance-based variables, there are some important details in the outcomes of block-wise regressions. First, the indicators under the auspices of regime comparison constitute the third most important predictor of authoritarian detachment after political culture and socio-economic background clusters. The perceived improvement in political rights has a consistently positive impact on authoritarian detachment. However, the influence of the perceived improvement in the public policy performance is quite perplexingly. It is in the negatively, albeit weaker than the improvement in the provision of political goods. Parallel to this perplexing inhibiting effect of perceived improvement in public policy performance on authoritarian detachment is the negative impact of trust in democratic institution. We will come back to this puzzle later.

[Table 2 about here]

Table 3 reports the result of the regression including all blocks of variables except social and political values. There are considerable differences in how well the

model fits each sample. In Hong Kong and Taiwan, our models work remarkably well. We can explain more than 20 and 17 percent of the variance in objection to authoritarian alternatives, respectively. In Japan and Mongolia, the fit is reasonably good (adjusted  $R^2$  are .127 and .110, respectively). However, in Korea, the Philippines and Thailand the fit is less than ideal (adjusted  $R^2$  are .085, .061 and .069, respectively).

Second, we can also see that dependent variables have different roots. In Hong Kong, the most significant independent variables are education, perceived increase in political rights, and the level of political corruption (Beta=.266, .148 and .106, respectively). A slightly different picture emerges in Japan, with increases in political rights, responsiveness of government leaders, and education being the strongest independent variables (Beta=.195, .143 and .103, respectively). With respect to Korea, improved policy performance, trust in democratic institutions, and perceived democratic progress proved to be the strongest factors (Beta=-.166, .114 and .109, respectively). For Mongolia, improved policy performance, increases in political rights, and national economic conditions had the greatest power to explain our dependent variable (Beta=-.230, .192 and -.142, respectively). For the Philippines, improved policy performance, responsiveness of government leaders, and age had the greatest power to explain our dependent variable (Beta=-.128, .115 and .109, respectively). In Taiwan, increases in political rights, education, and trust in democratic institutions had the greatest power to explain our dependent variable (Beta=.242, .208 and -.114, respectively). For Thailand, improved policy performance, increases in political rights, and trust in democratic institutions had the greatest power to explain our dependent variable (Beta=-.137, .137 and -.127, respectively).

In the context of multivariate analysis, the two perplexing results mentioned earlier persist. Across East Asia, respondents who judge policy performance to have improved are less likely to object to authoritarian alternatives. That is, the more the democratic government's policy performance improves, the more likely respondents are to favor authoritarian alternatives. Also, the less trust they have for democratic institutions, the less likely that they will favor authoritarian alternative. A possible explanation is that the observed causal relation is spurious in the sense that the three variables are the epiphenomena of the same syndrome, the syndrome of disaffected citizens. People who reject authoritarian alternative are also the people who are distrustful of political institutions and very critical of the policy performance of the democratic regime. The policy performance of the new regime and the functioning of democratic institutions simply cannot keep up with the high expectations of the democrat. The stronger they believe in democratic legitimacy, the more demanding,

articulate as well as critical they become. It could be that, like in Western Europe, there is a gap between government performance and citizens' satisfaction. However, in Europe this gap has not been linked to a desire for authoritarian alternatives (Norris, 1999; Pharr and Putnam, 2000). Citizens disaffected in advanced democracy is result of governments' poor capacity, decline in institution performance, in combination with new public expectations and use of information that have altered the criteria by which people judge their government.

[Table 3 about here]

Table 4 adds social and political values to the previous model. The adjusted  $R^2$  jumps significantly in all seven samples, ranging from an increase of .084 in the Philippines to an increase of .142 in Korea. The entry of social and political values diminishes the effect of many variables that proved important in Table 3. The most noticeable attenuating effect is on education, suggesting that political culture function as an important intervening variable between demographic variables and rejecting alternative alternatives. Social and political values variable also suppress the predictive power of indicators of regime comparison, although the impact is not as great.

Among the three cultural variables, in Hong Kong, Japan Korea, Mongolia, and Taiwan, the most significant social and political value is democratic vs. authoritarian values (Beta=.302, .284, .215, .277, .239 respectively). For the Philippines, the most significant social and political values is Detachment from Traditionalism (Beta=.180). For Thailand, the most significant social and political values is belief in procedural norms of democracy (Beta=.180). However, all three variables are positive in every country and are significant in all but two cases.

Because round one of the East Asia Barometer was conducted at roughly the same time in each country using a standardized survey instrument, we can pool the data. Table 4 also reports the results of the same regression model run on this pooled data set. The adjusted  $R^2$  for this model is .206. The most important factors to objection to authoritarian alternatives are democratic vs. authoritarian values, belief in procedural norms of democracy, and improved political rights (Beta=.237, .168 and .137, respectively). The model is at least as powerful as those in other studies of regime support and democratization in Eastern Europe and sub-Saharan Africa (Rose, 1998; Mattes et al., 2003).

[Table 4 about here]

Before we move to a conclusion of these results, we examine the impact of adding country-specific variables to the equation. In other words, does “country” have an impact over and above the total influence of the individual level variables we have reviewed? We address this by creating two additional block variables. First, we create an additional block consisting of six dummy variables measuring national citizenship (with Japan as the excluded category). Alternatively, we add in three country-specific variables: an evaluation of the country’s probability of a democratic setback (that is, the percentage of respondents projecting a democratic setback within five years), second, the country’s freedom rating by the Freedom House (as an objective measure of the democratic ness of the current regime, and the per capita GDP (after logarithms transformation) as a crude measure of the level of economic development.

Table 5 shows that the cross national difference in objection to authoritarian alternatives is not simply a result of country differences across the independent variables. With the addition of the country dummy variables, the adjusted  $R^2$  increases from .206 to .225. However, the meaning of the country dummy is subject to a variety of explanation and it is oftentimes treated as a residual variable. Therefore we favor the second approach, i.e., adding country-specific variables with clearly-defined characteristics theoretical implications. Adding the three country-specific variables causes the adjusted  $R^2$  to increase from .206 to .217. The perceived probability (at the aggregate level) of democratic setback does have a significant impact on the level of rejecting authoritarian alternative, suggesting that citizens’ orientation toward authoritarianism has factored into a rational expectation component. The impact of the overall level of economic development is statistically significant but almost negligible in the presence of the social and political values variables. Moreover, the entry of the country specific variables hardly diminishes the explanatory power of previously important variables, indicating the robustness of the OLS estimates based on variables measured at the individual level.

[Table 5 about here]

Overall speaking, our statistical results lend a strong support to the view that political culture is an indispensable source of explanation for popular detachment from authoritarianism. It also functions as the main causal conduit through which forces of modernization shape citizen’s orientation toward non-democratic regimes. Next to political culture variables, come the regime comparison dimension. Citizens do learn to pass judgment on non-democratic regime based on medium to long-term evaluation about the performance of different regimes. The perceived increases in political rights under democratic regime tend to dissuade people from accepting authoritarian alternatives. However, most the theoretical predictions based on a

narrow conception of “utility-maximization” turn out to be irrelevant, both in the short run and over the medium term. The institutional factors matter a little bit, but much less than what neo-institutionalists might want us to believe.

## V. Conclusion

Popular support for democracy in emerging democracies depends on a majority of their citizenry who not only accept it but also reject its authoritarian and other non-democratic alternatives. The extraordinary large number of general public who embraced a possible authoritarian option in some East Asian new democracy suggests that authoritarianism remains a fierce competitor to democracy in the region. A systematic understanding of the sources of authoritarian detachment is of critical importance to the understanding the prospect of democratic consolidation. This is probably true everywhere but more so in East Asia. Democracy persists when and only when there is no viable authoritarian option.

The transformation of both orientations was driven over time both by modernization and by political liberalization. But what we have learned so far about what cause (and what inhibit) the growth in overt support for democracy is not readily transferable to the question of what cause people to detach themselves from authoritarian arrangements. Growth in their pro-democratic orientations does not necessarily bring about a corresponding decline in their antiauthoritarian orientations. The determinants favorable orientations toward democratic regime are not identical with the explanatory sources of authoritarian detachment. While our analysis does not support the earlier culturalist notions of a stable political culture rooted in traditional values and reproduced through early socialization experience, it does lent support to the theoretical claims made by the new generation of political culture theorists.

Looking beyond the newly democratized regime in East Asia, the region presents a series of unique intellectual challenge to students of democratization. In the midst of a global resurgence of democracy there was hardly a region-wide movement toward democratic changes while there should have been more promising candidates for entry into the democratic zone than African and South Asian societies considering its level of socio-economic development (Pei 1988: 57-58). More interestingly, the region presents a perplexing juxtaposition for the modernization theory. On the one hand, it delivers the most compelling cases, notably Taiwan and South Korea, in support of the thinking that democratization is a coherent process that produces a certain uniformity of economic and political institutions across different regions and cultures (Fukuyama 1998: 224-225). On the other, the region contains some of the most ostensible “recalcitrant cases”, outstandingly Malaysia and Singapore, in

defiance of Adam Przeworski and his co-authors' statistical generalization about development and democracy (2000).

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Chart 1: Preferability of Democracy vs. Detachment from Authoritarianism

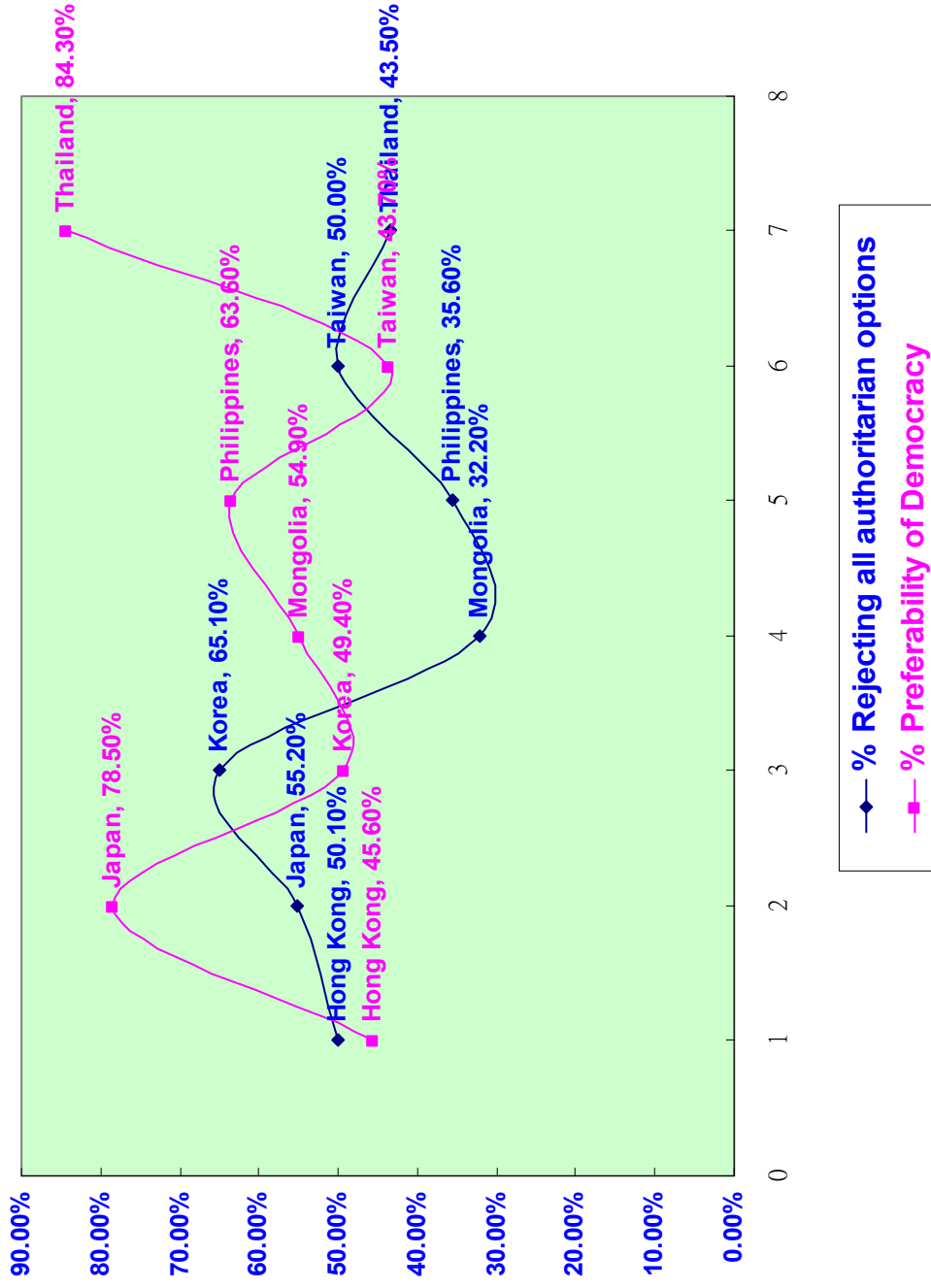


Chart 2: Satisfaction with Democracy and Detachment from Authoritarianism

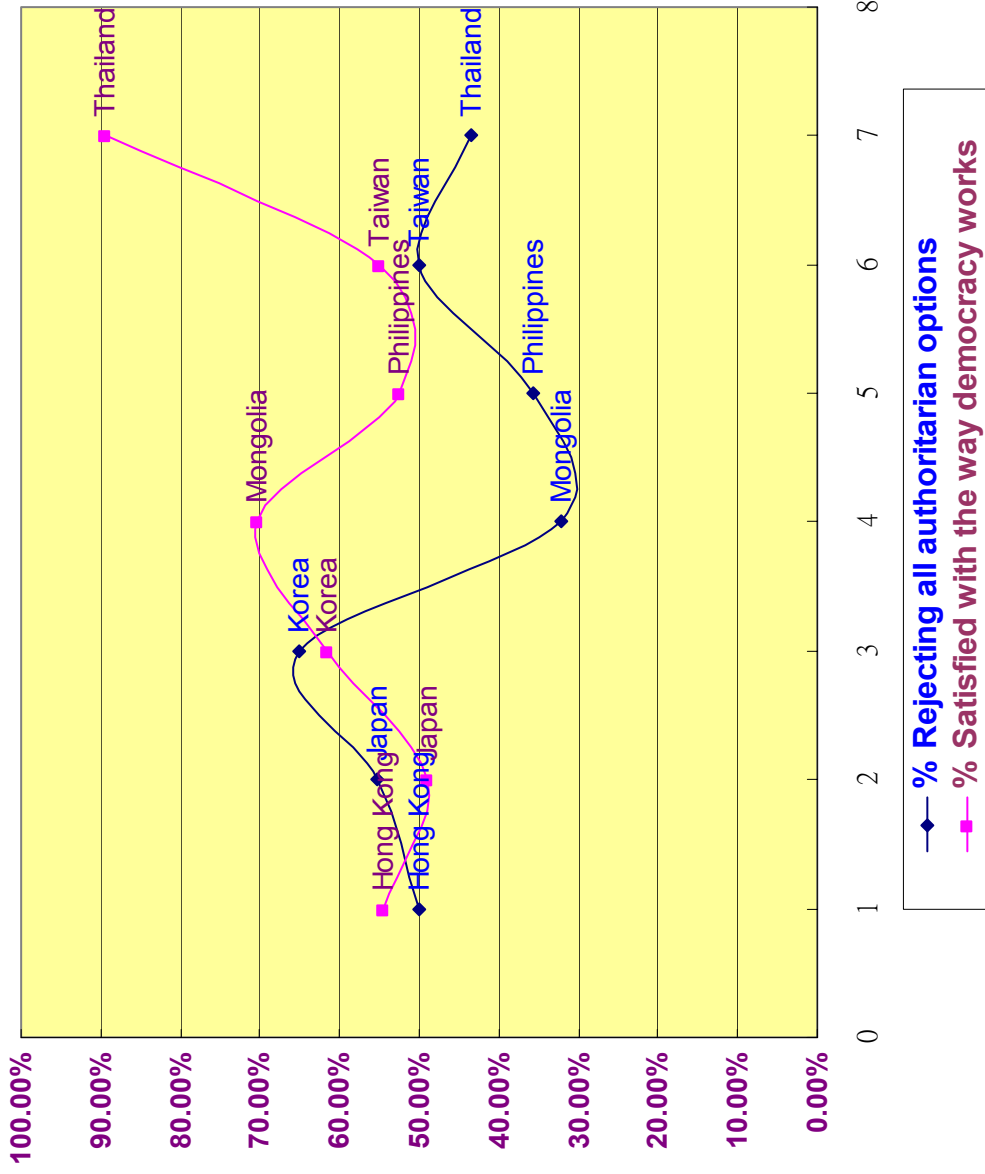
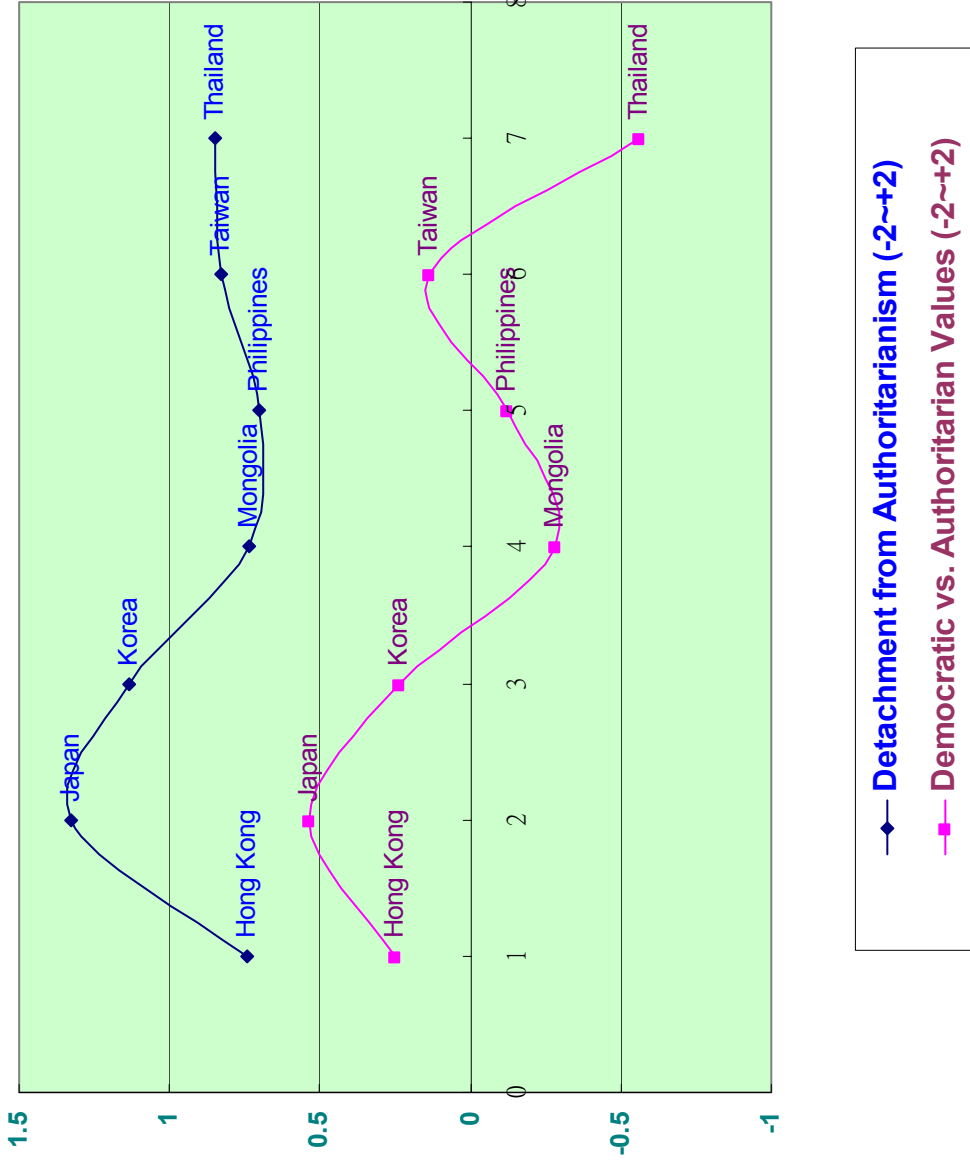


Chart 3: Democratic Values and Detachment from Authoritarianism



**Table 1: Distribution of Authoritarian Detachment Across Seven East Asian Societies**

Question Items **	Percentage Rejecting Authoritarian Options (%)							seven country Average
	Hong Kong	Japan	Korea	Mongolia	Philippines	Taiwan	Thailand	
1. We should get rid of parliament and elections and have a strong leader decide things.	72.40	80.00	84.40	<b>56.50</b>	69.40	<b>68.30</b>	77.00	72.57
2. The military should come in to govern the country.	85.90	94.60	89.80	81.90	<b>62.70</b>	81.60	80.60	82.44
3. No opposition party should be allowed to compete for power.	<b>62.90</b>	<b>67.10</b>	86.70	71.00	69.60	70.30	<b>62.20</b>	69.97
4. We should get rid of parliament and elections and have the experts decide everything.	74.00	86.40	<b>82.30</b>	60.50	76.80	71.30	78.20	75.64
Reject all authoritarian options	50.10	55.20	65.10	32.20	35.60	50.00	43.50	47.39
Accept only one option	16.20	21.50	12.90	20.30	24.00	16.40	26.50	19.69
Reject none of above	1.00	0.30	0.90	3.10	4.10	1.10	4.70	2.17
Mean score (-8 to +8)*	2.97	5.31	4.53	2.94	2.82	3.31	3.40	3.61
	(2.39)	(2.51)	(2.92)	(3.74)	(3.73)	(2.76)	(3.72)	(3.11)

\*Each item is scored as follows: strongly support the authoritarian option= -2; somewhat support, -1; somewhat oppose, +1; strongly oppose +2.

**Table 2 Explanatory Sources of Objection to Authoritarian Alternatives (Blockwise Regression)**

	Hong Kong (Beta)	Japan (Beta)	Korea (Beta)	Mongolia (Beta)	Philippines (Beta)	Taiwan (Beta)	Thailand (Beta)
<b>Socio-Economic Background</b>							
Education	0.346 **	0.185 **	0.024	0.109 **	0.156 **	0.272 **	-0.004
Income	0.094 *	0.027	0.071 *	0.025	0.044	0.119 **	0.080 **
Age	-0.032	0.081 *	-0.034	-0.004	0.124 **	-0.017	0.025
Adjusted R Square	0.174	0.028	0.008	0.011	0.031	0.118	0.004
<b>N</b>	667	1004	1476	1084	1200	1167	1395
<b>Institution Influences</b>							
Electoral Participation	0.082 *	-0.026	-0.073 **	0.031	-0.012	0.088 **	-0.011
Non-electoral Participation	0.111 **	0.000	-0.076 **	0.015	-0.093 **	0.062 *	0.070 **
Membership in Organizations	0.028	0.005	0.060 *	0.028	0.055	0.073 *	0.031
Psychological Involvement in Politics	0.079 *	0.207 **	0.000	0.070 *	0.040	0.037	0.092 **
Adjusted R Square	0.032	0.038	0.012	0.006	0.008	0.024	0.014
<b>N</b>	746	1296	1464	1035	1192	1303	1470
<b>Performance of Democratic Regime</b>							
Overall Satisfaction with Democratic Regime	-0.081 *	0.106 **	-0.051	-0.028	-0.014	-0.007	0.066 *
Trust in democratic institutions	-0.134 **	-0.055 *	-0.177 **	-0.017	-0.132 **	-0.187 **	-0.118 **
Level of political corruption (low to high)	0.184 **	0.007	0.046	0.032	-0.009	0.051	0.030
Government leaders are responsive	0.060	0.208 **	0.030	0.088 **	0.114 **	0.122 **	0.075 **
Adjusted R Square	0.055	0.053	0.033	0.010	0.028	0.042	0.017
<b>N</b>	725	1379	1478	1022	1198	1263	1261

### Economic Conditions

National economic condition-today	-0.119 **	-0.073 *	-0.144 **	-0.089 **	-0.058	-0.083 **	0.097 **
National economic condition-past five years	-0.079 *	-0.045	0.071 *	-0.101 **	-0.007	-0.049	0.052
Personal economic condition-today	0.087 *	0.021	-0.059	-0.003	0.020	0.201 **	0.010
Personal economic condition-past five years	0.138 **	0.012	0.002	0.071 *	0.031	0.030	-0.035
Adjusted R Square	0.041	0.006	0.019	0.019	0.000	0.042	0.011
N	764	1379	1497	1128	1200	1330	1526

### Regime Comparison

Perceived democratic progress	0.078	0.126 **	0.128 **	0.047	0.043	0.042	0.078 **
Increased in political rights	-0.291 **	0.250 **	0.060 *	0.162 **	0.086 *	0.294 **	0.132 **
Improved policy performance	0.050	-0.108 **	-0.168 **	-0.209 **	-0.183 **	-0.143 **	-0.140 **
Adjusted R Square	0.061	0.072	0.034	0.047	0.019	0.073	0.016
N	722	1379	1498	1059	1199	1278	1278

### Social and Political Values

Detachment from Traditionalism	0.191 **	0.036	0.141 **	0.079 *	0.202 **	0.165 **	0.088 **
Democratic vs Authoritarian Values	0.404 **	0.363 **	0.205 **	0.305 **	0.119 **	0.302 **	0.057 *
Belief in procedural norms of Democracy	0.051	0.032	0.236 **	0.129 **	0.192 **	0.169 **	0.350 **
Adjusted R Square	0.292	0.146	0.180	0.154	0.126	0.224	0.155
N	728	1295	1479	1010	1199	1219	1490

\* Standardized Beta coefficients = / > .050

\*\* Standardized Beta coefficients = / > .010

**Table 3 OLS Estimates of Explanatory Sources of Objection to Authoritarian Alternatives**

	Hong Kong	Japan	Korea	Mongolia	Philippines	Taiwan	Thailand
	(Beta)	(Beta)	(Beta)	(Beta)	(Beta)	(Beta)	(Beta)
<b>Socio-Economic Background</b>							
Education	0.266 **	0.103 **	-0.006	0.058	0.108 **	0.208 **	-0.030
Income	0.047	0.001	0.063 *	0.080 *	0.048	0.067 *	0.078 *
Age	-0.064	-0.017	-0.042	-0.060	0.109 **	-0.061	-0.006
<b>Institution Influences</b>							
Electoral Participation	0.080 *	-0.026	-0.065 *	0.053	-0.028	0.035	0.005
Non-electoral Participation	0.056	-0.023	-0.078 **	0.025	-0.075 *	-0.001	0.041
Membership in Organizations	0.003	-0.030	0.055 *	0.021	0.012	0.033	0.068 *
Psychological Involvement in Politics	0.019	0.102 **	0.017	0.015	0.019	0.050	0.067 *
<b>Performance of Democratic Regime</b>							
Overall Satisfaction with Democratic Regime	-0.029	0.058	-0.044	0.029	-0.015	-0.015	0.056
Trust in democratic institutions	-0.015	-0.009	-0.114 **	-0.059	-0.097 **	-0.114 **	-0.127 **
Level of political corruption (low to high)	0.106 **	-0.007	0.077 **	0.053	-0.005	0.055	0.045
Government leaders are responsive	0.039	0.143 **	0.050	0.119 **	0.115 **	0.063 *	0.081 *
<b>Economic Conditions</b>							
National economic condition-today	-0.046	-0.070 *	-0.100 **	-0.037	-0.011	-0.040	0.085 *
National economic condition-past five years	0.014	-0.019	0.063 *	-0.142 **	0.031	-0.012	0.072 *
Personal economic condition-today	-0.017	-0.021	-0.055	-0.007	0.031	0.021	0.048
Personal economic condition-past five years	0.062	0.013	0.013	0.043	0.024	0.014	-0.038
<b>Regime Comparison</b>							
Perceived democratic progress	0.018	0.104 **	0.109 **	0.071 *	0.033	0.008	0.074 *
Increased in political rights	-0.148 **	0.195 **	0.092 **	0.192 **	0.095 *	0.242 **	0.137 **
Improved policy performance	0.007	-0.078 *	-0.166 **	-0.230 **	-0.128 **	-0.112 **	-0.137 **
R Square	0.225	0.144	0.097	0.129	0.075	0.187	0.086
Adjusted R Square	0.200	0.127	0.085	0.110	0.061	0.173	0.069
<b>N</b>	<b>585</b>	<b>962</b>	<b>1418</b>	<b>848</b>	<b>1189</b>	<b>1060</b>	<b>980</b>

**Table 4 Adding Social and Political Values to the Equation**

	Hong Kong (Beta)	Japan (Beta)	Korea (Beta)	Monqolia (Beta)	Philippines (Beta)	Taiwan (Beta)	Thailand (Beta)	Seven Countries (Beta)
<b>Socio-Economic Background</b>								
Education	0.148 **	0.071 *	0.001	0.027	0.073 *	0.140 **	-0.010	-0.029 **
Income	0.036	-0.004	0.020	0.053	0.048	0.041	0.029	0.021 *
Age	0.011	0.042	0.018	-0.042	0.097 **	-0.030	0.014	0.022
<b>Institution Influences</b>								
Electoral Participation	0.037	-0.024	-0.060 *	0.060	-0.008	0.046	-0.007	-0.005
Non-electoral Participation	0.056	-0.032	-0.095 **	0.020	-0.055	0.003	0.046	-0.001
Membership in Organizations	-0.005	-0.037	0.070 **	0.019	-0.015	0.029	0.065 *	0.040 **
Psychological Involment in Politics	0.004	0.078 *	0.032	-0.001	0.011	0.047	0.053	0.061 **
<b>Performance of Democratic Regime</b>								
Overall Satisfaction with Democratic Regime	0.037	0.076 *	0.025	0.010	-0.007	0.009	0.061	0.032 **
Trust in democratic institutions	0.037	0.034	-0.047	-0.023	-0.038	-0.046	-0.099 **	-0.075 **
Level of political corruption (low to high)	0.053	-0.002	0.054	0.066	0.008	0.055	0.044	0.057 **
Government leaders are responsive	0.024	0.060	-0.035	0.015	0.047	-0.001	0.024	0.017
<b>Economic Conditions</b>								
National economic condition-today	-0.030	-0.085 *	-0.066 *	-0.015	-0.024	-0.034	0.063	-0.039 **
National economic condition-past five years	0.042	-0.014	0.028	-0.101 **	0.033	-0.010	0.072 *	-0.013
Personal economic condition-today	-0.023	-0.030	-0.028	-0.019	0.019	0.039	0.022	-0.024
Personal economic condition-past five years	0.045	0.000	0.000	0.061	0.026	-0.006	-0.018	0.026 *
<b>Regime Comparison</b>								
Perceived democratic progress	-0.020	0.074 *	0.084 **	0.051	0.033	0.008	0.086 **	0.084 **
Increased in political rights	-0.095 *	0.143 **	0.084 **	0.220 **	0.092 *	0.198 **	0.125 **	0.137 **
Improved policy performance	0.002	-0.038	-0.133 **	-0.196 **	-0.090 *	-0.078 *	-0.123 **	-0.100 **
<b>Social and Political Values</b>								
Detachment from Traditionalism	0.139 **	0.064 *	0.139 **	0.050	0.180 **	0.086 **	0.073 *	0.123 **
Democratic vs Authoritarian Values	0.302 **	0.284 **	0.215 **	0.277 **	0.107 **	0.239 **	0.051	0.237 **
Belief in procedural norms of Democracy	0.098 **	0.076 *	0.212 **	0.093 **	0.168 **	0.166 **	0.288 **	0.168 **
R Square	0.338	0.230	0.238	0.234	0.160	0.287	0.191	0.208
Adjusted R Square	0.313	0.212	0.227	0.213	0.145	0.272	0.173	0.206
<b>N</b>	570	923	1400	776	1188	1011	957	6998

\* Standardized Beta coefficients = / > .050

\*\* Standardized Beta coefficients = / > .010

**Table 5 Adding Country-Specific Variables to the Equation**

	Seven Countries adding country dummy (Beta)	Seven Countries adding country-specific probability (Beta)
<b>Socio-Economic Background</b>		
Education	-0.013	-0.024 *
Income	0.033 **	0.034 **
Age	0.009	0.004
<b>Institution Influences</b>		
Electoral Participation	0.004	0.000
Non-electoral Participation	-0.006	-0.014
Membership in Organizations	0.030 **	0.051 **
Psychological Involment in Politics	0.040 **	0.060 **
<b>Performance of Democratic Regime</b>		
Overall Satisfaction with Democratic Regime	-0.040 **	-0.037 **
Trust in democratic institutions	-0.049 **	-0.053 **
Level of political corruption (low to high)	0.038 **	0.038 **
Government leaders are responsive	0.022	0.024 *
<b>Economic Conditions</b>		
National economic condition-today	-0.025	-0.032 *
National economic condition-past five years	0.005	-0.006
Personal economic condition-today	0.016	0.004
Personal economic condition-past five years	0.020	0.026 *
<b>Regime Comparison</b>		
Perceived democratic progress	0.077 **	0.088 **
Increased in political rights	0.139 **	0.143 **
Improved policy performance	-0.104 **	-0.092 **
<b>Social and Political Values</b>		
Detachment from Traditionalism	0.133 **	0.121 **
Democratic vs Authoritarian Values	0.209 **	0.225 **
Belief in procedural norms of Democracy	0.180 **	0.162 **
<b>Country Dummy</b>		
Hong Kong	-0.076 **	- - -
Korea	-0.050 **	- - -
Mongolia	-0.083 **	- - -
Philippines	-0.164 **	- - -
Taiwan	-0.175 **	- - -
Thailand	-0.058 **	- - -
<b>Country Specific Charateristics</b>		
% Projecting democratic setback five years from now	- - -	-0.113 **
Log (per capital GDP)	- - -	0.050 **
Freedom House Ratings	- - -	-0.008
R Square	0.228	0.219
Adjusted R Square	0.225	0.217
<b>N</b>	6999	6999

## **Appendix A**

According to Fu Hu's original formulation (1998), the organizing principle of a political regime consists of three basic dimensions: 1) The legitimate power relationship among members of the political community. 2) The legitimate power relationship between the authorities and citizens. 3) The legitimate power relationship among the government authorities themselves. The value orientation toward **political equality** corresponds to the first dimension. It is a set of belief that all member of the political community should be equal and entitled to the same citizen rights regardless race, gender, education, religion, class, social-economic background, political affiliation, and etc. In contrast, in some society a majority of people believe in a hierarchical and/or exclusionary order than an equalitarian/inclusionary political order, and it is widely accepted as legitimate that certain groups are privileged and others should and can be disfranchised or discriminated against. The value orientation toward **separation of power** corresponds to the third dimension. It is a set of belief that governing authority should be divided among various branches of government and a good-order polity is achieved through a design of check-and-balance (horizontal accountability). In contrast, in many societies people may believe in the necessity and the desirability of the supremacy of executive power or the fusion of legislative, executive and judicial authority. The value orientation toward **political liberty**, **pluralism** and **popular sovereignty** corresponds to the second dimension. The second dimension should be tapped by more than one set of belief because conceptually it can be subdivided into three subdimensions: 1) The value orientation toward political liberty is a set of belief that there are certain legitimate realm of individual liberty which should be free from state intrusion and regulation; 2) The value orientation toward pluralism is a set of belief that there should be a legitimate realm of civil society in which the civic organizations can freely constitute and congregate themselves in an ensemble of arrangements for expressing themselves and advancing their interests without state interference, and lastly, 3) The value orientation toward popular accountability refers to a set belief that government authority should be accountable to the people and that there should be some effective means for popular control and consent. In contrast, in some societies people might belief that the realm of individual liberty should be suppressed to the minimum, civil society must be subject to state guidance and control, and the assertion of popular control over authority is unacceptable and even dangerous. Thus, we build our measures of legitimacy orientation toward regime around five essential elements of democratic norms, in Professor Hu Fu's original formulation (1998) the five dimensions of

democratic value-orientation towards power<sup>12</sup>:

1. Political equality
2. Popular accountability
3. Political liberty
4. Political pluralism
5. Separation of power (horizontal accountability)

What distinguish our approach from others (Booth and Seligson, 1986; Dalton, 1991) is that we don't think the best measurement strategy is to state these principles in an abstract and straight-forward way. Because indicators constructed this way won't be very discerning, and one tends to get uniform positive answer. In this sense, legitimacy orientation is not a set of political ideals, and the belief in democratic legitimacy becomes conceptually separable from support for democratic ideal.

We recognize that most modern authoritarian regimes don't challenge (or repudiate) these democratic norms in principle; rather, the lines of defense for an authoritarian arrangement (or the lines of subtle offense against democratic norms) typically fall into one of the two camps:

1) The *Desirability Argument*. The country should develops a different form of democracy (people's democracy, Chinese democracy, socialist democracy, guided democracy) which best suits herself and which might be superior to Western democracy.

2) The *Feasibility Argument*. The country is not ready for a full democracy (because lack of a civic culture; low level of socio-economic modernization; in conflict with other national development priorities, and/or imminent external threat). If the country had acquired Western democracy before its time, the society would pay a high price in terms of inefficiency, insecurity, and disorder.

To construct a valid scale, essentially we combine two analytical tasks in one. Our scale enables us not only to measure the popular commitment to democratic norms but to identify a cluster of mass belief and attitudes that are typically nurtured under authoritarian or anti-democratic regimes. They are more compatible with the authoritarian arrangements and are inimical to the development of democratic values and institutions. In short, it serves as a multi-dimensional scale for the measurement of pro-authoritarian legitimacy orientations and conversely pro-democratic values at the same time.

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<sup>12</sup> The principle of majority rule is not explicitly included in our conceptual formulation. If Arend Lijphart (1984) is correct, then the majoritarian rule is not a first-order principle of Western democracy, or at least it is always qualified by the respect for minority and requirement of consensus.

## Appendix B

Variables	Questionnaire	Items	Recode
<b>1.Socio-Economic Background</b>	se005a	How many years of formal education you have received?	
	se003b	Actual age	
	se009	Household monthly income	
<b>2.Institution Influences</b>			
Electoral participation		<i>Index is the sum of q027, q029, and q030. Values range from 0 (no participation) to +3 (full participation)</i>	
		In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they were away from home, they were sick or they just didn't have time. How about you?	
	q027	Did you vote in the election [the most recent national election, parliamentary or presidential] held in [year]?	1="Yes" 0="No"
	q029	<i>Thinking about the national election in [year], did you ... attend a campaign meeting or rally</i>	
Non-electoral participation	q030	try to persuade others to vote for a certain candidate or party?	

*Index is the sum of q056 and q057.  
Values range from 0 (no participation) to +4 (full participation)*

	<b>participation)</b>		
	<i>In the past three (3) years, have you NEVER, ONCE, or MORE THAN ONCE done the following because of personal, family, or neighborhood problems, or problems with government officials and policies?</i>		
q073	Contacted any government official		1="Once" or "More than once"
q075	Contacted elected legislative representatives		0="Never"
q076	Contacted political parties		
q078	Contacted media		
	<b>Membership in Organizations</b>		
	Are you a member of any organization or formal groups?		0="None" 1="One" 2="Two" 3="Three"
	<b>Psychological involvement in politics</b>		
	<i>Index is the sum of q056 and q057. Values range from -4 (not involved) to +4 (very involved)</i>		
q056	How interested would you say you are in politics?		2="very interested" 1="somewhat interested" 0="Don't know" -1="Not very interested" -2="Not at all interested"
q057	How often do you follow news about politics? (Taiwan and Hong Kong use q057a)		2="Everyday" 1="several times a week"

	q057a	How often do you follow politics in the news on the newspaper, television, or radio?	0="Once or twice a week" 0="Don't know" -1="Not even once a week" -2="Practically never"
<b>3.Performance of Democratic Regime</b>			
Overall Satisfaction with Democratic Regime	q098	On the whole, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way democracy works in our country. Are you ...?	2="Very satisfied" 1="Fairly satisfied" 0="Don't know" -1="Not very satisfied" -2="Not at all satisfied"
Trust in democratic institutions		<i>Index is the sum of q008, q009, q010, q014, and q016. Values range from -10 (distrust) to +10 (trust)</i>	
		<i>I'M GOING TO NAME A NUMBER OF INSTITUTIONS. FOR EACH ONE, PLEASE TELL ME HOW MUCH TRUST YOU HAVE IN THEM. IS IT A GREAT DEAL OF TRUST, QUITE A LOT OF TRUST, NOT VERY MUCH TRUST, OR NONE AT ALL?</i>	
	q008	The national government [in capital city]	2="A great deal of trust"
	q009	Political parties [not any specific party]	1="Quiet a lot of trust"
	q010	Parliament	0="Don't know"
	q014	Local government	-1="Not very much trust"
	q016	Television	-2="Not at all"

<b>Level of political Corruption</b>		<b>Index is the sum of q115 and q114. Values range from -4 (very widespread) to +4 (not widespread) ( Hong Kong uses only q114)</b>		
	q115	How widespread do you think corruption and bribe taking are in the national government [in capital city]? Would you say...?		2="Hardly anyone is" 1="Not a lot of officials" 0="Don't know" -1="Most officials are" -2="Almost everyone is"
	q114	Have you or anyone you know personally witnessed an act of corruption or bribe taking by a politician or government official in the past year?		
<b>Government leaders are responsive</b>		<b>Index is the sum of q128 and q129. Values range from -4 (not responsive) to +4 (very responsive )</b>		
	q128	The nation is run by a powerful few and ordinary citizens cannot do much about it.		2="Strongly Disagree" 1="Disagree" 0="Don't know" -1="Agree" -2="Strongly Agree"
	q129	People like me don't have any influence over what the government does.		
<b>4.Economic Conditions</b>				
<b>National economic condition-today</b>	q001	How would you rate the overall economic condition of our country today?		2="Very good" 1="Good" 0="Not good nor bad" 0="Don't know" -1="Bad"
	q002	How would you describe the change in the economic condition of our country over the past five years?		
<b>Personal economic condition-today</b>	q004	As for your own family, how do you rate your economic situation		

		today?		-2="Very Bad"
<b>Personal economic condition—past five years</b>	q005	How would you compare the current economic condition of your family with what it was five years ago?		
<b>5.Regime Comparison</b>				
<b>Perceived democratic progress</b>		<b>Index is the difference in perception between current regime and past regime.</b>		
	q099	<b>Values range from -9 (much worse) to +9 (much better)</b> Where would you place our country on this scale during the period of [name of the most recent government under authoritarian rule], where 1 stands for complete dictatorship and 10 stands for complete democracy?		1="1" "2="2" 3 or 2.5="3" 4 or 3.5="4" 5 or 4.5="5" 5.5="Don't know" 6 or 5.5="6" 7 or 6.5="7" 8 or 7.5="8" 9 or 8.5="9" 10 or 9.5="10"
	q100	Where would you place our country under the present government?		
<b>Increased in political rights</b>		<b>Index is the sum of q105, q106, q107, q112, q113.</b>		
		<b>Values range from -10 (much worse) to +10 (much better)</b>		
	q105	Everyone is free to say what he or she think.		2="Much better than before"
	q106	Everyone is treated equally by the government.		1="Somewhat better"
	q107	People like me can have an influence on government.		0="Much the same"
	q112	Judges and courts are free from political interference.		0="Don't know"
q113	You can join any organization you like.		-1="Somewhat worse" -2="Much worse"	

<b>Improved policy performance</b>		<b>Index is the sum of q128 and q129. Values range from -8 (much worse) to +8 (much better)</b>		
	q111	Economic development.	2="Much better than before"	
	q109	The gap between the rich and the poor has narrowed.	1="Somewhat better"	
	q110	Preventing crime and maintaining order.	0="Much the same"	
	q108	Corruption in politics and government is under control.	0="Don't know" -1="Somewhat worse" -2="Much worse"	
<b>6.Social and Political Value</b>				
<b>Detachment from traditionalism</b>		<b>Index is the sum from q064 to q071. Values range from -16 (traditional) to +16 (modern)</b>		
	q064	Even if parents' demands are unreasonable, children still should do what they ask.	2="Strongly Disagree" 1="Disagree"	
	q065	When hiring someone, even if a stranger is more qualified, the opportunity should still be given to relatives and friends.	0="Don't know" -1="Agree" -2="Strongly Agree"	
	q066	When one has a conflict with a neighbor, the best way to deal with it is to accommodate the other person		
	q067	Wealth and poverty, success and failure are all determined by fate.		
	q068	A person should not insist on his own opinion if his co-workers disagree with him.		
	q069			

For the sake of the family, the individual should put his personal

	interests second.		
q070	A man will lose face if he works under a female supervisor.		
q071	If there is a quarrel, we should ask an elder to resolve the dispute.		
	<b>Index is the sum of q128 and q129.</b> <b>Values range from -8 (much worse) to +8 (much better)</b>		
q132	People with little or no education should have as much say in politics as highly educated people.		2="Strongly Agree" 1="Agree" 0="Don't know" -1="Disagree" -2="Strongly Disagree"
q133	Government leaders are like the head of a family; we should all follow their decisions.		2="Strongly Disagree" 1="Disagree" 0="Don't know" -1="Agree" -2="Strongly Agree"
q134	The government should decide whether certain ideas should be allowed to be discussed in society.		
q135	Harmony of the community will be disrupted if people organize lots of groups.		
q136	When judges decide important cases, they should accept the view of the executive branch		
q137	If the government is constantly checked [i.e. monitored and supervised] by the legislature, it cannot possibly accomplish great things.		

	q138	If we have political leaders who are morally upright, we can let them decide everything.	
	q139	If people have too many different ways of thinking, society will be chaotic.	
<b>Belief in procedural norms of Democracy</b>		<b>Index is the sum of q145, q146, q147, and q148.</b> <b>Values range from -8 (non-democratic) to +8 (democratic)</b>	
	q145	The most important thing for a political leader is to accomplish his goals even if he has to ignore the established procedure.	2="Strongly Disagree" 1="Disagree"
	q146	If a political leader really believes in his position, he should refuse to compromise regardless of how many people disagree.	0="Don't know" -1="Agree"
	q148	As long as a political leader enjoys majority support, he should implement his own agenda and disregard the view of the minority.	-2="Strongly Agree"
	q147	A political leader should tolerate the views of those who challenge his political ideals.	2="Strongly Agree" 1="Agree" 0="Don't know" -1="Disagree" -2="Strongly Disagree"

## **Appendix C**

### Treating “Don’t Know”

In some of our country survey data, the frequency of “Don’t Know” response is fairly high especially for questions dealing with political values and regime evaluation. When reporting frequency distributions, “Don’t Know” responses present no particular difficulty: we simply report the proportion of respondents who chose this option along with the proportions choosing other responses as proportions of all valid responses. However, when conducting statistical analysis (such as calculating means, or correlation coefficients), the “Don’t Know” category can present special problem. One possible solution is to set all “Don’t Know” responses as “missing” so as to make them invisible to statistical analysis. One drawback to this option is that it reduces the number of effective cases on which any analysis is based, and thus limits our confidence that the results apply across the entire sample, and thus the entire population that the sample represents. The second problem is that “don’t know” is usually a legitimate answer and should somehow be taken into account, rather than discarded (King et al, 2001: 50). Our preferred alternative is, wherever possible, to recode “Don’t Know” responses to theoretically defensible spots on the response scale. For example, for many of the questions about political participation, we assumed that those who did not know whether they ever took a specific course of action, have in fact never done so. In other cases, where response scales were already symmetric, or balanced (such as five point scales that run from much worse, worse, about the same, better, and much better) we recoded the “Don’t Know” responses to the middle, neutral category. With regard to other symmetrical, balanced scales with no original middle category (such as a four point scale that runs from “1 strongly disagree” to “4 strongly agree,” we created a middle category, and placed the “Don’t Know” responses there, recoding the entire scale to now run from -2 to +2 with “Don’t Know” set to 0. In both these cases, we presume that “don’t know” is equivalent to some point of “zero affect” with responses measuring positive or negative affect toward some political or economic object ranging to either side. We resort to setting Don’t Knows to “missing” only when one of the above options is not defensible.