

Modernization and Democratic Citizenship in East Asia

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Purpose of Study

Do the tenets of modernization theory hold today?

How does modernization theory fit into East Asia?

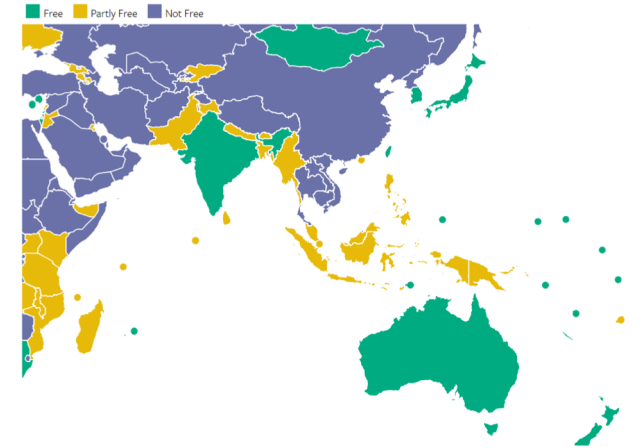
Explore the relationship between modernization and democratic support in East Asia

East Asia

Modernization theory has remained focused on Western countries and other areas

There are full-fledged democracies and those that remain resistance to democratization

- East Asia presents major puzzles to democracy (Chu et al. 2009)
 - The region has partially defied the global movement toward democracy
 - Authoritarianism remains a fierce competitor to democracy



Research Questions

- Are middle-class citizens in East Asia committed to democracy?
- Do they prefer democracy to other regime types, as middle-class citizens are believed to in the West?
- Do democratic orientations among the middle classes vary between those living under democracies and nondemocracies?

Main Argument

Modernization theory does not hold in various cultural contexts

- The classic relationship between modernization and democratization is not applicable in East Asia because of relatively low democratic commitment among middle class groups.

Leading theories of modernization have remained limited in explaining the trajectory of democratization and democratic support in East Asia partly due to government dependency among middle class citizens.

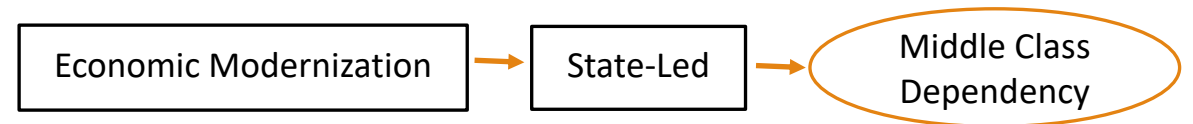
Main Argument

Differences in economic modernization

- State-led economic growth in East Asia
- Middle classes developed with state assistance, fostering a mutually beneficial relationship between the middle class and the governments

Government Dependency among the Middle Class

- Deviation from western conceptions of liberal democracy
- Less pro-democratic middle class

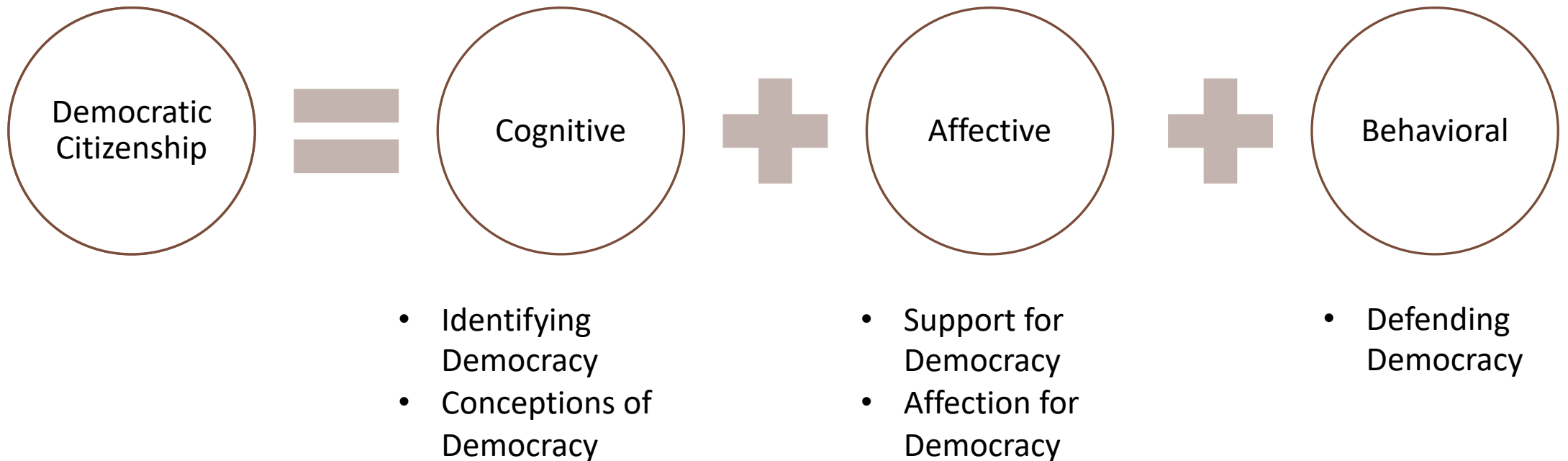


Democratic Citizenship

Measuring democratic commitment

- Various measures of democratic commitment
 - Democratic enlightenment and political engagement (Nie et al 1996)
 - Civic engagement and participation (Bratton 2013)
 - Engaged citizenship: assertive, independent citizens who focus on the welfare of others (Dalton 2008)
- Democracy is a highly contested concept that has different meanings to different people
 - Definition of democracy lies on the assumption that it is understood the same across different cultures and regions
- Democratic Citizenship
 - Multidimensional measure of democratic commitment and support

Democratic Citizenship



Data and Country Selection

Asia Barometer Survey

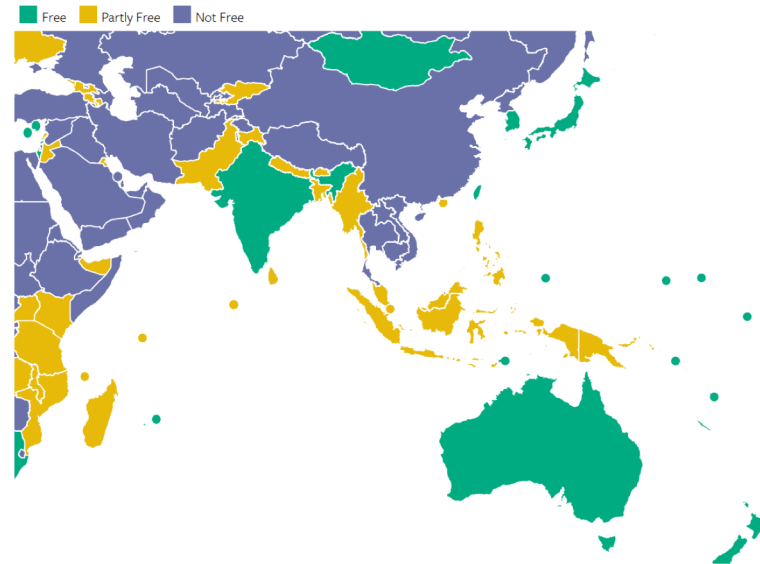
- 4th wave: 2012-2014

Polity IV

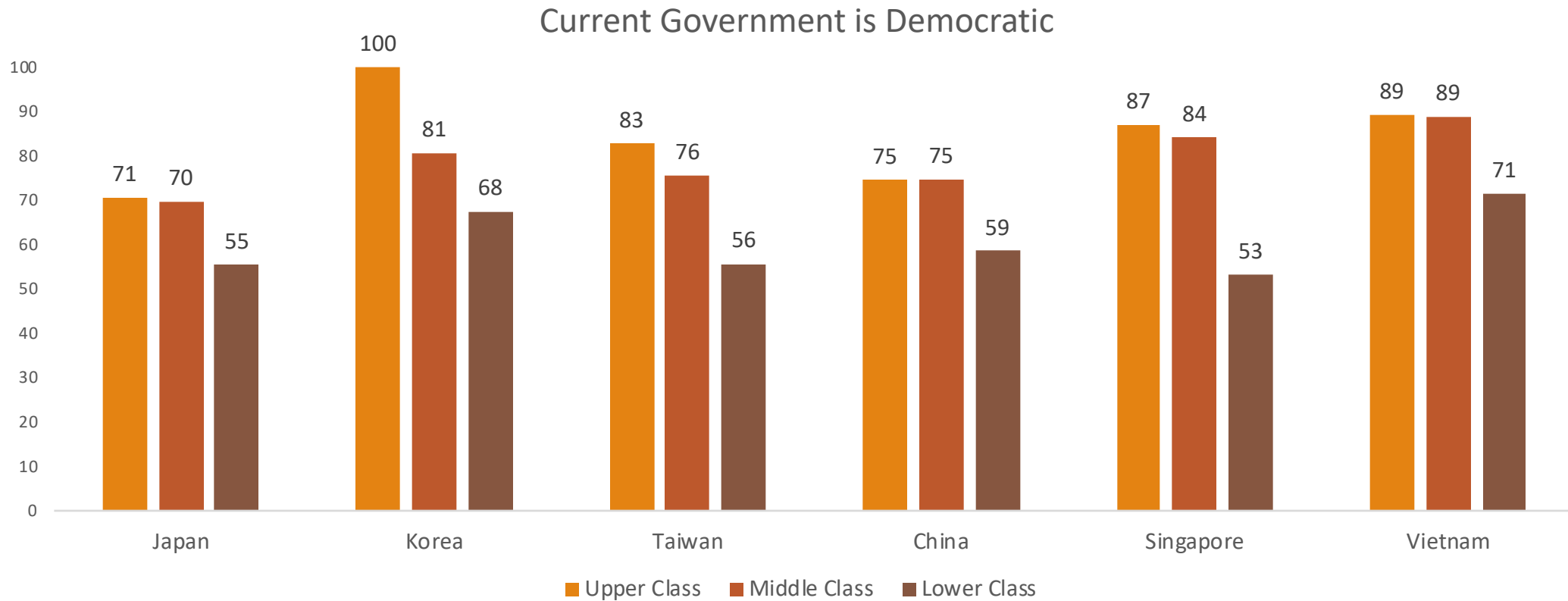
- Democracy scores

Countries: Confucian Asia

- Japan
- South Korea
- Taiwan
- China
- Singapore
- Vietnam



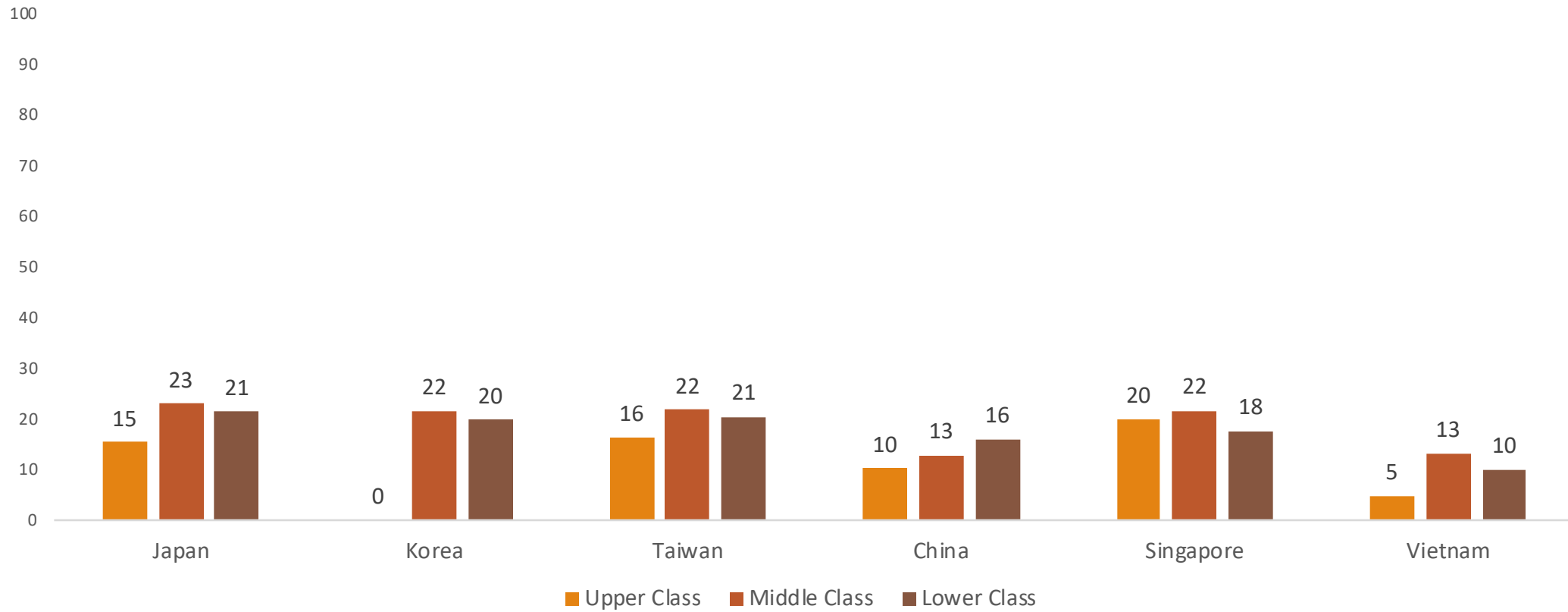
Cognitive: Democratic Identification



Cognitive: Regime Identification

Democratic Properties	Nondemocratic Properties
Government leaders implement what voters want.	Government leaders do what they think is best for the people.
Government is our employee, the people should tell government what needs to be done.	The government is like parent, it should decide what is good for us
The media should have the right to publish news and ideas without government control	The government should have the right to prevent the media from publishing things that might be politically destabilizing
Political leaders are chosen by the people through open and competitive elections	Political leaders are chosen on the basis on their virtue and capability even without election

Cognitive: Regime Identification



Affective

Democratic Support

"Democracy may have its problems, but it is still the best form of government".'

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'Democracy is always preferable to any other kind of government'

Autocratic Support

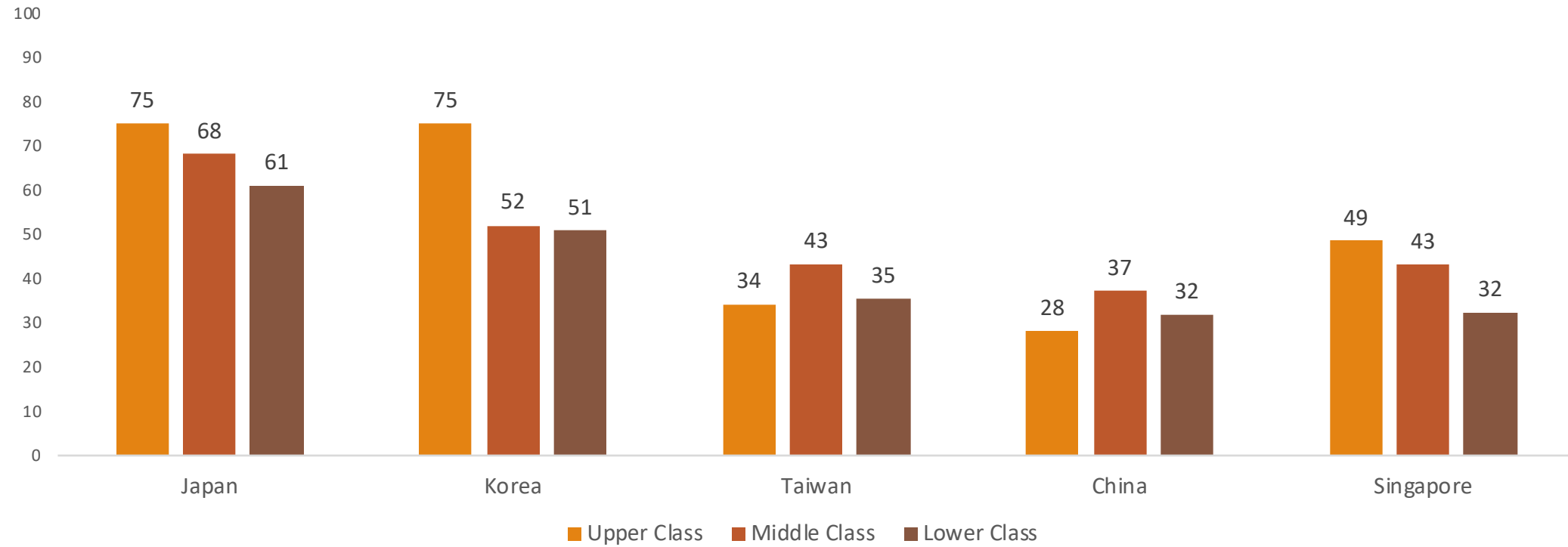
We should get rid of parliament and elections and have a strong leader decide things.

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The army (military) should come in to govern the country.

Affective

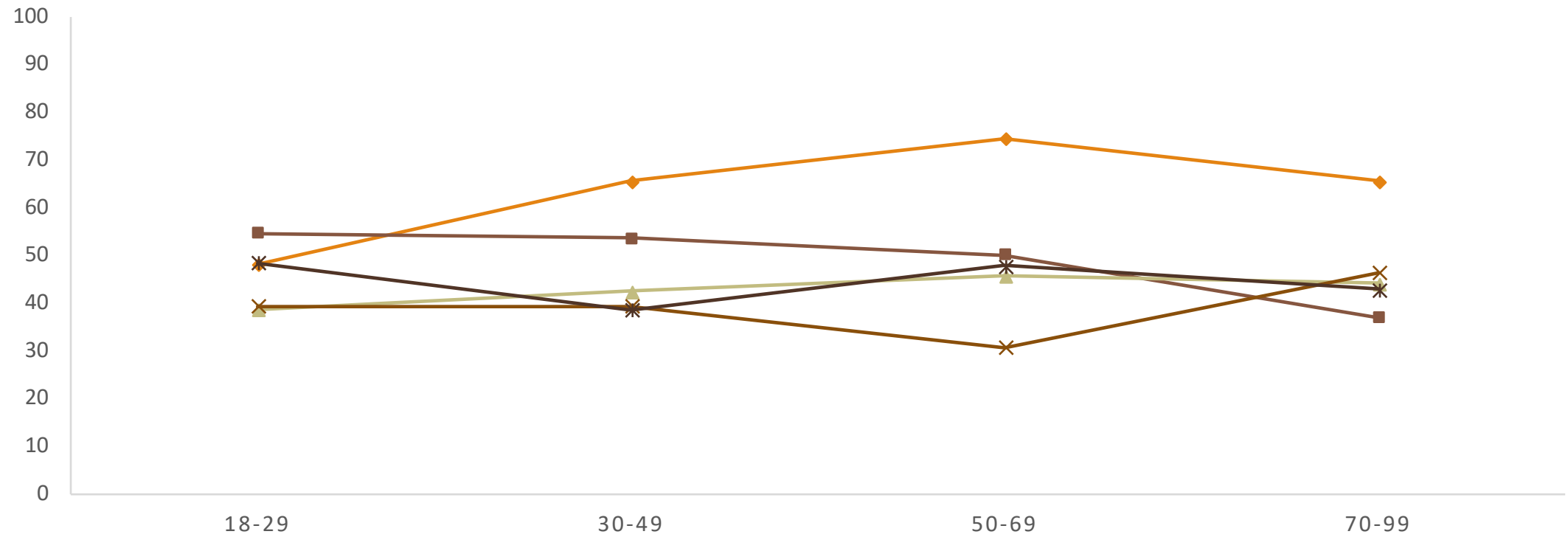
Full Support by Class and by Country



Affective

FULL SUPPORT BY AGE AMONG MIDDLE CLASS

Japan Korea Taiwan China Singapore

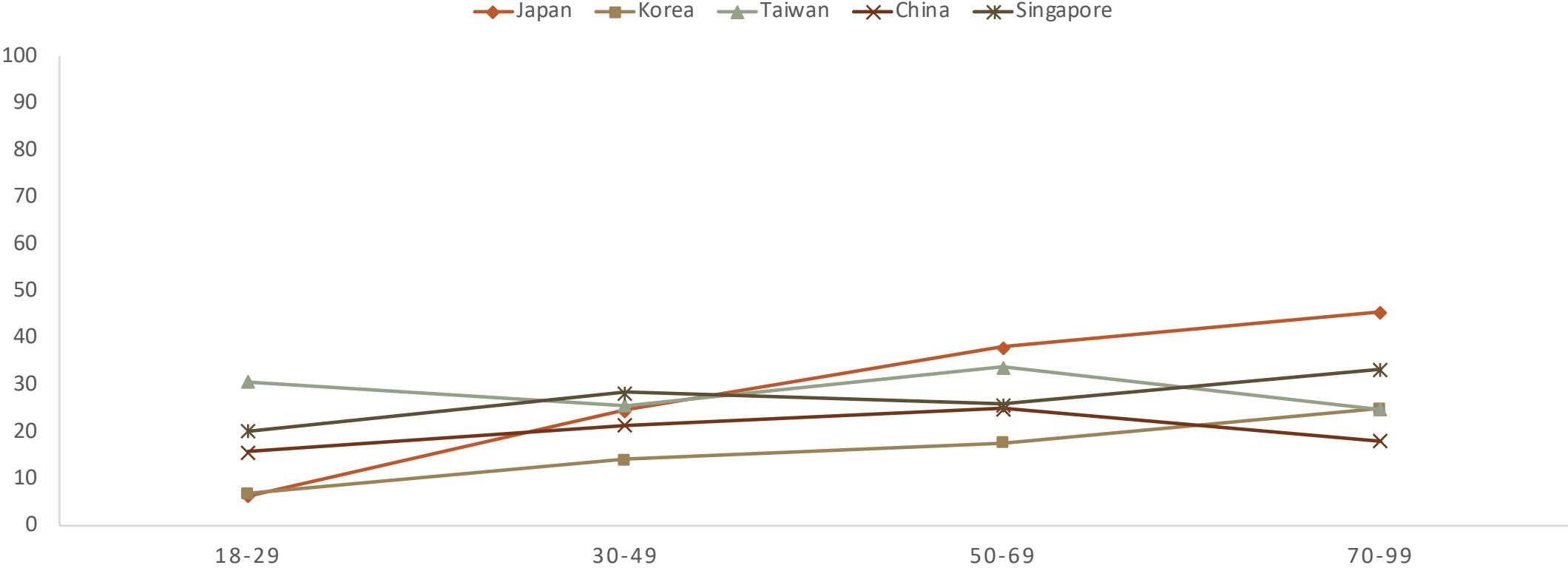


Behavioral

	Sign Petition	Contact Elected Officials	Protest
	Middle Class	Middle Class	Middle Class
Japan	29	12	3
Korea	8	9	2
Taiwan	15	12	12
China	19	7	2
Singapore	17	19	6
Vietnam	33	22	-

Behavioral

POLITICAL BEHAVIOR BY AGE AMONG MIDDLE CLASS



Variables

Predictors

- Interaction: Government Dependency*Middle Class
- Government Dependency
- Middle Class
- Level of Democracy

Controls

- Age, education, employment, subjective class, economic development

DV

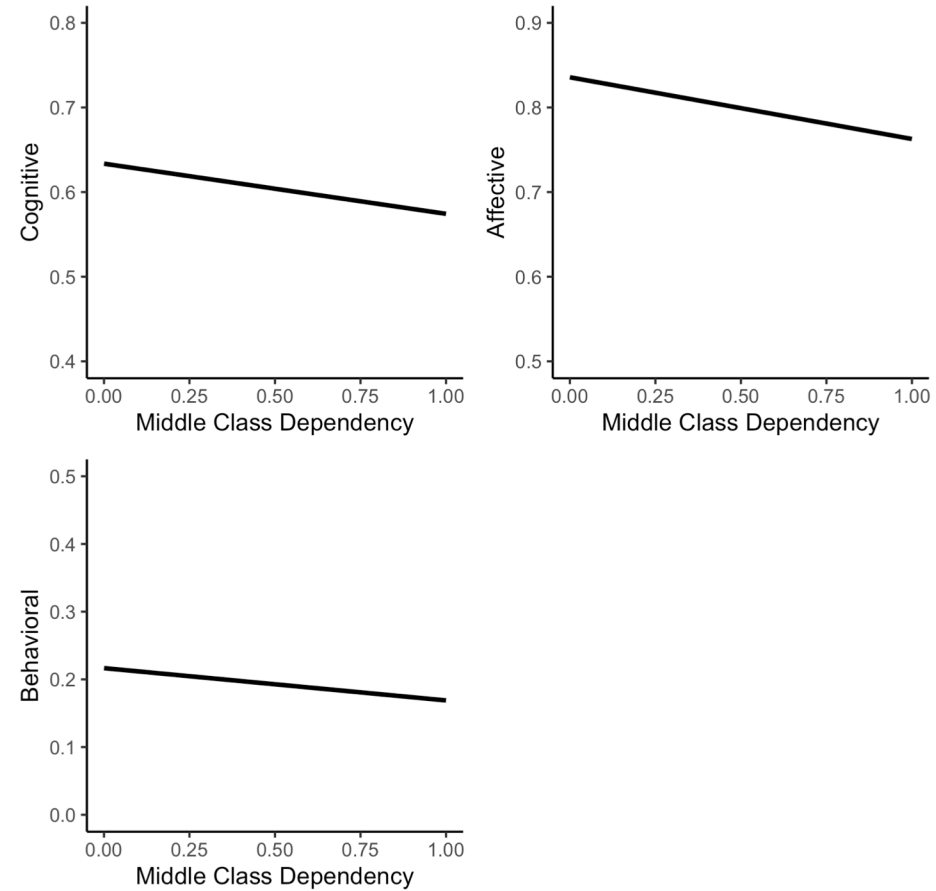
- Cognitive
- Affective
- Behavioral



Regressions

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Cognitive (1)	Affective (2)	Behavioral (3)
Class*Dependency	-0.07* (0.03)	-0.07* (0.04)	-0.02 (0.06)
Middle Class	0.06*** (0.02)	0.04+ (0.02)	0.02 (0.04)
Govt Dependency	0.19*** (0.02)	0.10*** (0.03)	0.18*** (0.04)
Economy	0.04** (0.01)	-0.15*** (0.02)	-0.08** (0.03)
Subjective Class	0.06*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)
Age	-0.03+ (0.02)	0.08*** (0.02)	0.21*** (0.04)
Education	0.03 (0.02)	0.16*** (0.02)	0.14*** (0.04)
Employment	-0.01 (0.01)	0.004 (0.01)	-0.002 (0.02)

MLM Marginal Effects



Implications

Are middle class East Asians committed to democratic politics?

- Low levels of democratic citizenship
 - (1) the middle class in East Asia conceptualize democracy differently
 - (2) the middle classes in East Asia are not quite attached to liberal democracy as a system of government
 - (3) middle-class groups are much less likely to defend democracy

Differences in economic modernization

- High levels of government dependency → Lower democratic commitment
 - Those in the middle class that have higher levels of government dependency are less likely to believe that their countries are democratic, less likely to support core democratic properties, and less likely to act politically even in democracies
 - These results imply that democracy is not a one-size-fits-all phenomenon but one that varies in type

Conclusion

Will middle classes in East Asia fully support democracy, as modernization theory dictates?

- A bleak view for democracy and the results are sobering.
 - While countries in the East Asian region continue to thrive economically, the middle class remains less committed to democratic politics.
 - “If democracy does not shine in the eyes of the people of East Asia, its demonstration effect will be very limited and the prospects for further democratization in the region will be cast in doubt”
 - Chang, Chu, and Huang 2011
- The results of this study suggest that the classic causality between modernization and democratization may not be universally applicable to different cultural contexts.

Thank You

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