

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01176-2 - The Cultural Logic of Politics in Mainland China and Taiwan

Tianjian Shi

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

The Cultural Logic of Politics in Mainland China and Taiwan

Tianjian Shi shows how cultural norms affect political attitudes and behavior through two causal pathways, one at the individual level and one at the community level. Focusing on two key norms – definition of self-interest and orientation to authority – he tests the theory with multiple surveys conducted in mainland China and Taiwan. Shi employs multilevel statistical analysis to show how, in these two very different political systems, similar norms exert similar kinds of influence on political trust, understanding of democracy, forms of political participation, and tolerance for protest. The approach helps explain the resilience of authoritarian politics in China and the dissatisfaction of many Taiwan residents with democratic institutions. Aiming to place the study of political culture on a new theoretical and methodological foundation, Shi argues that a truly comparative social science must understand how culturally embedded norms influence decision making.

The late Tianjian Shi was an associate professor of political science at Duke University. He also taught at Tsinghua University in China. Shi was the author of *Political Participation in Beijing* (1997). He specialized in comparative politics with an emphasis on political culture and political participation in China and Taiwan.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01176-2 - The Cultural Logic of Politics in Mainland China and Taiwan

Tianjian Shi

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

“Over the course of his career, Tianjian Shi came to realize that culture could not be dismissed as irrelevant to the politics of nations. Instead, it kept resurfacing as a critical determinant of political legitimacy, participation, interests, and leadership. This final case-book of a great detective solves once and for all the puzzle of culture. It will serve as a model for anyone on the trail of culture.”

– Bruce Gilley, Associate Professor of Political Science,
Portland State University

“This book is Shi’s most ambitious. It is at once both a circling back to his personal and scholarly roots and a stretching of his reach and ambition. He develops this account – of individual and social norms and how they shape cultural understandings of rationality and orientations to authority – remarkably well. Nothing is a ‘fitting tribute,’ but his own words come close.”

– John Aldrich, Pfizer-Pratt University Professor of
Political Science, Duke University

“Tianjian Shi has written an important book that investigates culture as norms. Through comparative survey work in mainland China and Taiwan, Shi illuminates the workings of cultural commonalities in distinctly different institutional settings. Not least of all, Shi reveals a common hierarchical orientation to authority, with roots in traditional Chinese culture, that provides legitimacy to a communist party–state in one setting and is the source of democratic tensions in the other. A theoretical and empirical tour de force.”

– Melanie Manion, Vilas-Jordan Distinguished Achievement Professor
of Public Affairs and Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Madison

“A pioneer of survey research in China, the late Tianjian Shi left a rich intellectual legacy in this book. Using multiyear survey data from China and Taiwan, one authoritarian and one democratic, to examine the interactions between political culture and political behavior, Shi demonstrated that cultural changes are relatively independent of social structural and political institutional changes. A fascinating study, this book provides many fresh and original insights into the ongoing debate of political modernization.”

– Suisheng Zhao, Professor of International Studies, University of Denver,
and Editor of *Journal of Contemporary China*

“This groundbreaking study offers not only a new full-fledged theory of political culture but also the most credible answer to East Asia’s political puzzle of democratic underdevelopment. It also challenges the increasingly popular claims among neo-modernization theorists in the West that China and all other East Asian economic powerhouses will join the exclusive club of fully liberal democracies in a couple of decades. Among Asian-born scholars, therefore, the late Tianjian Shi should be remembered as the most brilliant theoretical pioneer.”

– Doh Chull Shin, Center for the Study of Democracy,
University of California, Irvine

“This is a remarkable achievement: not just a cultural explanation of Chinese politics, but a new theory of culture that has applications well beyond China. Innovative ideas, sophisticated data analysis, provocative conclusions – it is the culmination of Tianjian Shi’s lifetime of scholarship and will stand as his ultimate legacy.”

– Bruce Dickson, Director, Sigur Center for Asian Studies, and
Professor of Political Science and International Affairs,
George Washington University

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01176-2 - The Cultural Logic of Politics in Mainland China and Taiwan

Tianjian Shi

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

The Cultural Logic of Politics in Mainland China and Taiwan

TIANJIAN SHI

Duke University



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-01176-2 - The Cultural Logic of Politics in Mainland China and Taiwan
Tianjian Shi
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107011762

© The Estate of Tianjian Shi 2015

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2015

Printed in the United States of America

A catalog record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication data

Shi, Tianjian.

The cultural logic of politics in mainland China and Taiwan / Tianjian Shi.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-01176-2 (hardback)

1. Politics and culture – China. 2. Politics and culture – Taiwan. 3. Political culture – China. 4. Political culture – Taiwan. 5. Political sociology – China. 6. Political sociology – Taiwan. I. Title.

JQ1516.S55 2014

306.20951-dc23 2014018496

ISBN 978-1-107-01176-2 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet Web sites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such Web sites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01176-2 - The Cultural Logic of Politics in Mainland China and Taiwan

Tianjian Shi

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

This book is dedicated to Christine, Eleanor, and Sarah

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01176-2 - The Cultural Logic of Politics in Mainland China and Taiwan

Tianjian Shi

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

<i>List of Tables and Figures</i>	<i>page</i> ix
<i>Editor’s Note</i>	xiii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xv
Introduction	I
PART I: THEORY OF POLITICAL CULTURE	
1. Political Culture Theory and Regime Stability	13
2. Cultural Norms East and West	41
3. Measuring Cultural Norms in Mainland China and Taiwan	60
4. Culture, Social Structure, and Political Institutions	76
PART II: CULTURE’S IMPACT ON POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS	
5. Culture’s Impact on Political Trust	107
6. Cultural Impacts on Political Participation	147
7. The Impact of Culture on Understandings of Democracy	192
Conclusion and Theoretical Reflections	221
<i>Appendix A. Sample Design for the Surveys</i>	229
<i>Appendix B. Validity of Measurements</i>	239
<i>Appendix C. Comparing Different Measurement Models: IRT versus CMT</i>	246

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-01176-2 - The Cultural Logic of Politics in Mainland China and Taiwan
Tianjian Shi
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

viii	<i>Contents</i>
	<i>Appendix D. The Mechanism of Cultural Shifts: The Cases of Yu Luojin and “Running Fan”</i>
	250
	<i>Appendix E. Analyzing Cross-County Variation in Government Salience and Political Participation: A Prerequisite for HLM</i>
	258
	<i>References</i>
	261
	<i>Additional Works Consulted</i>
	277
	<i>Index</i>
	283

Tables and Figures

Tables	
2.1 Two Normative Traditions	<i>page 50</i>
3.1 Reciprocal Orientation toward Authority and Idiocentric Definition of Self-Interest in Mainland China and Taiwan	67
3.2 Confirmatory IRT Model for 1993 Mainland China Data	70
3.3 Confirmatory IRT Model for Combined Mainland China and Taiwan Data	73
3.4 Confirmatory IRT Model for Combined Mainland China Data	74
4.1 Reciprocal Orientation toward Authority by Age Group and Cohort in Mainland China	90
4.2 Idiocentric Definition of Self-Interest by Age Group and Cohort in Mainland China	92
4.3 Reciprocal Orientation toward Authority by Age Group and Cohort in Taiwan	94
4.4 Idiocentric Definition of Self-Interest by Age Group and Cohort in Taiwan	95
4.5 Changes in Idiocentric Definition of Self-Interest by Level of Education in Mainland China	100
4.6 Changes in Idiocentric Definition of Self-Interest by Level of Education in Taiwan	101
5.1 Correlations of Structural and Institutional Variables with Political Trust	113
5.2 Exploratory Factor Analysis of Political Trust in Mainland China	120
5.3 Effects of Individual-Level Variables on Political Trust in Mainland China	128
	ix

5.4	Hierarchical Intercept Model of Cultural Environment's Effects on Incumbent-Based Trust in Mainland China	134
5.5	Full HLM Model of Incumbent-Based Trust with Cross-Level Interaction in Mainland China	137
5.6	Exploratory Factor Analysis of Political Trust in Taiwan	140
5.7	Effects of Individual-Level Variables on Political Trust in Taiwan	142
5.8	Full HLM Model for Trust in Partisan Institutions/Agents in Taiwan	143
6.1	Non-Electoral Participation in Mainland China	153
6.2	Cultural Impacts on Government Salience in Mainland China	160
6.3	Comparing the Effects of Culture and Education on Government Salience in Mainland China	162
6.4	Cultural Impacts on the Likelihood of Political Participation in Mainland China	168
6.5	Comparing the Effects of Cultural and Psychological Variables on Participation in Mainland China	171
6.6	Cultural Impacts on Choice of Confrontational Political Acts in Mainland China	179
6.7	Comparing the Effects of Culture and Political Interest on the Likelihood of Choosing Confrontational Acts of Participation in Mainland China	182
6.8	Protest Potential in Mainland China (Percent of Sample Approving)	185
6.9	Cultural Impacts on Protest Potential in Mainland China	188
7.1	Understanding of Democracy in Mainland China and Taiwan	203
7.2	"Don't Know" Answers in Mainland China	208
7.3	"Don't Know" Answers in Taiwan	209
7.4	Cultural Impacts on People's Understanding of Democracy in Mainland China	214
7.5	Cultural Impacts on People's Understanding of Democracy in Taiwan	217
7.6	Different Understandings of Democracy (2002)	218
7.7	Multinomial Analysis of Cultural Impacts on People's Understanding of Democracy (2002)	219
A.1	Test-Retest for Whether Respondent Voted	236
A.2	Test-Retest for Respondent's Vote (Choice of Party)	236
A.3	Population Division and Sample Breakdown	237
A.4	Checking Representativeness of Taiwan Survey Sample (Data before Raking)	237
A.5	Checking Representativeness of Taiwan Survey Sample (Data after Raking)	238

<i>Tables and Figures</i>	xi
B.1 Political Fear in Mainland China and Taiwan: Changes and Continuity	241
B.2 Correlation between Political Fear and Political Trust	242
B.3 Missing Values in Democratic Supply and Demand Questions	244
B.4 Impacts of Education, Political Interest, and Fear on Item Nonresponses	245
E.1 Hierarchical Logit ANOVA Model for Government Salience	259
E.2 Hierarchical Logit ANOVA Model for Political Participation	259
 Figures	
5.1 Institutional trust around the world, 2001–2005	111
7.1 “How suitable is democracy for your country?”	195
7.2 “What is the level of democracy in your country now?”	195

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01176-2 - The Cultural Logic of Politics in Mainland China and Taiwan

Tianjian Shi

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01176-2 - The Cultural Logic of Politics in Mainland China and Taiwan

Tianjian Shi

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Editor's Note

Tianjian Shi passed away unexpectedly on December 25, 2010, leaving this book's completed manuscript, which had been accepted by Cambridge University Press. I undertook the final editing with the professional assistance of Mary Child and the technical help of Tianjian's former student, Jie Lu. As peer reviewers for the Press, Dorothy J. Solinger and Doh Chull Shin provided valuable suggestions for revisions. I thank John Aldrich for finding the funds to support Mary Child's work. Some minor queries that came up in the course of editing could not be resolved. I regret any errors or confusion that I may have introduced into the text.

Andrew J. Nathan

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01176-2 - The Cultural Logic of Politics in Mainland China and Taiwan

Tianjian Shi

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01176-2 - The Cultural Logic of Politics in Mainland China and Taiwan

Tianjian Shi

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Acknowledgments

Many organizations sponsored the surveys that were critical for collecting the data used in this book. The surveys in mainland China were sponsored by various grants from the U.S. National Science Foundation (Grants SES-88-12023 and NSF-SBR-94-96313), the Henry Luce Foundation, the Ford Foundation, and the World Bank. The surveys in Taiwan were funded by the Ministry of Education of Taiwan under the MOE-NSC Program for Promoting Academic Excellence of Universities as well as various grants from National Taiwan University (NTU) and the Institute of Political Science of Academia Sinica. I also would like to thank the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace for providing me with an opportunity to work in their Beijing office while writing this book.

Numerous people in China have helped me with the surveys. I have greatly benefited from valuable support from the Survey Research Center of the People's University of China, the Institute of Sociology of the Chinese Social Sciences Academy, and the Research Center for Contemporary China of Peking University. For the 1993 survey, I would like to thank Zheng Hangsheng, Li Qiang, Hao Hongsheng, Hong Dayong, Song Shige, and Xu Ping for their valuable assistance. Professor Shen Rendao also helped me with various political complications.

For the 2002 survey, I would like to thank Li Peilin, Li Wei, Lu Hongxin, and Zuo Xinhua of the Institute of Sociology of the Chinese Academy of Social Science for their assistance. I would like to express my thanks especially to Xu Xinxin for her efforts in obtaining the required permit from the authorities to make the survey possible, as well as her ability to overcome various political and other difficulties.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01176-2 - The Cultural Logic of Politics in Mainland China and Taiwan

Tianjian Shi

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

For the 2008 survey, I would like to thank Shen Mingming, Yang Ming, Yan Jie, and Zuo Cai from the Research Center for Contemporary China of Peking University for helping me accomplish the survey successfully. I am also grateful to Jennifer Li.

I would also like to thank Andrew J. Nathan, Bruce Dickson, Daniel Bell, Doh C. Shin, Daniela Stockmann, and Jie Lu, all of whom provided me with detailed comments on various drafts of this manuscript. I am especially grateful for the extremely proficient research assistance provided by Jie Lu when he was a graduate student at Duke. I am also indebted to my students for the valuable lessons I learned at Duke. The project also benefited from the able assistance of Liu Da, Stuart Wiggin, Colin Feehan, Mariya Kovalenko, Ma Jiansu, Martin Rivlin, and Meredith Wen. Joy Ding provided efficient and valuable editorial assistance at the final stages of this project. I am extremely grateful for their support and help.

I am indebted to my wife, Christine Chiu, and our children, Eleanor and Sarah, who have borne my absences from the family during the valuable summers when I needed to be in China to direct various surveys. I profoundly appreciate the personal sacrifices they have made to enable me to complete this book. This book is dedicated to them.

Tianjian Shi