

## Appendix<sup>1</sup>

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Institutional trust across four ABS waves. The ABS asks the following question: “I’m going to name a number of institutions. For each one, please tell me how much trust do you have in them. Is it a great deal of trust, quite a lot of trust, not very much trust, or none at all?” Table I displays the average number of institutions among the courts, the national government, parliament, the civil service, the military, and the police in which respondents express “a great deal” or “quite a lot” of trust. The question on the police was not asked in Hong Kong in the First Wave; for that wave the scale for Hong Kong is adjusted to a base of 6.

**Table I. Trust in Government Institutions**

	Wave I	Wave II	Wave III	Wave IV
<b>Japan</b>	2.0	2.1	2.4	2.6
<b>Taiwan</b>	2.6	2.4	2.2	2.1
<b>Korea</b>	2.5	1.7	2.1	2.3
<b>Mongolia</b>	3.3	3.4	2.5	2.9
<b>Hong Kong</b>	3.6	4.1	4.1	3.2
<b>Indonesia</b>	NA	4.0	3.8	4.0
<b>Philippines</b>	3.0	2.7	3.0	2.9
<b>Thailand</b>	3.7	3.9	3.6	3.8
<b>Singapore</b>	NA	5.3	4.9	4.7
<b>Malaysia</b>	NA	4.0	4.5	4.4
<b>Cambodia</b>	NA	3.8	4.6	3.8
<b>Myanmar</b>	NA	NA	NA	2.5
<b>Vietnam</b>	NA	5.3	5.1	5.0
<b>China</b>	4.9	4.4	5.0	4.6
<b>Total n</b>	12,217	19,798	19,436	20,667

**Source:** Asian Barometer Survey Waves III and IV combined. NA=no data available.

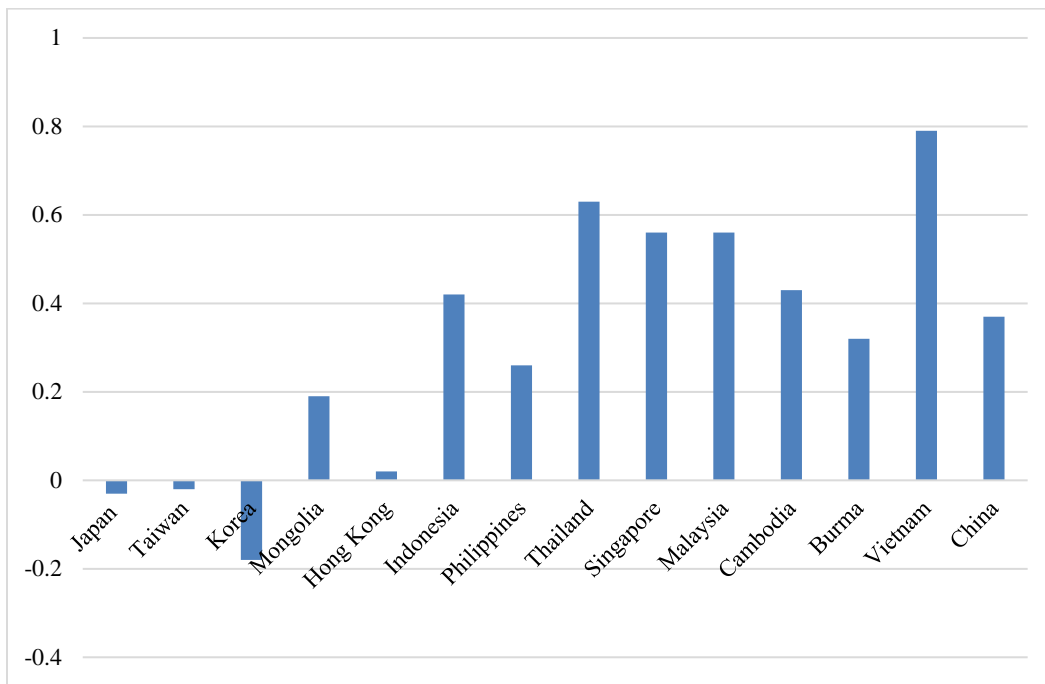
Ranking countries by level of democracy. Countries are listed in order of the degree of democracy according to the 2013 Freedom House sub-category scores from <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world-aggregate-and-subcategory-scores>, accessed 3 September 2019. Where Freedom House scores are tied, I decided which country to place first.

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<sup>1</sup> I thank Zhang Ye for her assistance in preparing this appendix.

**Measuring Diffuse Regime Support.** The Figure in the published article displays the DRS factor scores. As noted in the article, factor scores are less easy to interpret than mean scores. For comparison, Figure I in this Appendix displays the DRS mean scores. To calculate mean scores, I coded responses to each of the four DRS questionnaire items as follows: “strongly agree” coded as +1.5, “agree” coded as +0.5, “disagree” coded as -0.5, and “strongly disagree” coded as -1.5, with nonresponses coded as neutral. I calculated a mean score on the four items for each respondent and then the average score for respondents in each country. Figure 1 displays the country mean scores. In all countries except Japan, Taiwan, and South Korea, on average, citizens’ views toward the regime are more supportive than unsupportive.

**Figure I. Mean DRS Mean Scores by Country**



**Note:** DRS is a mean score ranging from -1.5 to +1.5.

**Credibility of findings.** While top of the head responses doubtless occur, the DRS battery does appear to measure something, as shown by the following considerations. First, on average across the four waves and all countries, there were only 7.71% of missing values for the four questionnaire items; the highest level of refusal was 20.16% in China in the Third Wave for the question on whether the system of government is capable of solving the country’s problems. Second, a principal component factor analysis shows that the four items load strongly on a single factor (the eigenvalues range from .7663 to .8475). Third, DRS is statistically significantly correlated with related variables like Institutional Trust, although the correlations are small enough to support the idea that these are two different variables. For this correlation I used a factor score of Institutional Trust based on the same six institutions listed in Table I. The correlation

coefficients with DRS range from .253 in Thailand to .575 in Cambodia and are statistically significant at the .001 level in every country.

Operationalization of independent variables to explain DRS. For the full list of questions asked in the ABS questionnaire and the response categories, see the core questionnaires for the four waves at <http://www.asianbarometer.org/data/core-questionnaire>. For this essay I constructed the independent variables in the following ways.

COUNTRY ECONOMY is a factor score of the respondent’s answers on a five-point scale to each of three questions: how she rates the country’s economic condition today, how she assesses the change in the country’s economic condition over recent years, and what she thinks the state of the country’s economy will be a few years from now.

FAMILY ECONOMY is a factor score of responses to the same three questions as they relate to the respondent’s family: the family’s economic condition today, the change over recent years, and the prospect for the future.

GOVERNANCE EFFECTIVENESS and GOVERNANCE FAIRNESS are built up from a battery of 20 questions on governance. Examples are: “Do officials who commit crimes go unpunished?,” “In your opinion, is the government working to crack down on corruption and root out bribery?,” “How well do you think the government responds to what people want?,” and “People can join any organization they like without fear.” The questions have four-point response options, such as “strongly agree-agree-disagree-strongly disagree,” “always-most of the time-sometimes-rarely,” “very capable-capable-not capable-not at all capable.” I dropped one question about government accountability between elections from the battery because it does not make sense in countries that do not have meaningful elections, leaving 19 items. I dealt in various ways with questionnaire items that were not asked in certain countries in one or both waves because of their irrelevance to local conditions. GOVERNANCE EFFECTIVENESS is the mean of scores on 12 questionnaire items, and GOVERNANCE FAIRNESS is the mean of scores on the other seven questionnaire items.

MEDIA USE is a factor score of how often the respondent follows news about politics and government, how closely he follows major events in the outside world, and how often he uses the Internet.

MEDIA TRUST is factor score of trust in newspapers and trust in television.

NATIONAL PRIDE is calculated as the respondent’s mean score on two questions: “How proud are you to be a citizen of [country]?” and “Given the chance, how willing would you be to go and live in another country?” (this second question is scaled, of course, in reverse).

Finally, *culture* is measured by means of two batteries, one that assesses “Traditional Social Values” (TSV) and another that assesses “Liberal Democratic Values” (LDV). The nine TSV items (which are displayed in Table VI of this Appendix) were formulated on the basis of a wide range of literature which argues that conflict avoidance, groupism and deference to authority are values widely held in traditional societies. The questionnaire items refer to general social values and do not mention politics. The seven LDV items (in Table VII of this Appendix) are designed to tap into the core values of a liberal-democratic system. They pose statements that contravene

liberal-democratic values and count disagreement with these statements as evidence that the respondent adheres to Liberal Democratic Values.

Regression on DRS. Table II displays the results of an Ordinary Least Squares regression on DRS, with control variables not shown. There are a considerable number of missing cases for some countries. This is because the statistical program deletes from the regression any case for which any variable is missing. The more variables the regression uses, the greater the number of missing cases. In countries with a high number of missing cases, such as Vietnam and China, our confidence in the precision of the findings is not as high as it is for countries with fewer missing cases. The adjusted r-squared shows that the overall regression model explains a considerable amount of the variation in Diffuse Regime Support.

**Table II. Regression on DRS**

	Japan	Taiwan	Korea	Mongolia	Hong Kong	Indonesia	Philippines	Thailand	Singapore	Malaysia	Cambodia	Burma	Vietnam	China
<b>Country Economy</b>	0.170***	0.130***	0.066*	0.270***	NS	0.166***	0.168***	NS	0.081**	0.199***	0.171***	0.218***	0.121***	0.070***
<b>Family Economy</b>	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	0.075*	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS
<b>Governance Effectiveness</b>	0.531***	0.535***	0.554***	0.335***	0.303***	0.414***	0.554***	0.322***	0.361***	0.526***	0.654***	0.741***	0.568***	0.257***
<b>Governance Fairness</b>	0.295***	0.284***	0.402***	0.138**	0.487***	0.223***	0.233***	0.362***	0.131**	0.473***	0.343***	0.233***	0.146***	0.157***
<b>Media Use</b>	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	-0.091***	NS	NS	0.044***
<b>Media Trust</b>	NS	0.037*	0.075***	NS	0.072*	0.068**	0.045*	NS	0.060**	0.072***	0.104***	0.075*	0.074***	0.041***
<b>National Pride</b>	0.105***	0.196***	0.141***	0.125**	0.110**	0.114**	NS	0.267***	0.217***	0.148***	NS	0.240***	0.162***	0.156***
<b>TSV</b>	0.287***	NS	0.194***	0.347***	0.282***	0.316***	0.379***	0.270***	0.108*	0.310***	0.305***	NS	0.427***	0.341***
<b>LDV</b>	-0.128***	-0.145***	-0.167***	-0.210***	-0.298***	-0.283***	-0.231***	NS	-0.264***	-0.250***	-0.328***	-0.549***	-0.171***	-0.261***
<b>Constant</b>	-1.153***	-0.929***	-0.865***	-0.833***	-1.049***	-0.219	-0.474**	-1.104***	-0.419**	-0.733***	-0.583***	-1.454***	-0.448**	-0.776***
<b>Adjusted R Squared</b>	.338	.343	.284	.208	.293	.250	.238	.243	.284	.460	.473	.477	.331	.336
<b>N</b>	2655	2708	2243	1938	1724	2111	2052	1662	1495	2116	2166	1031	1604	4618
<b>Out Of</b>	2961	3249	2407	2438	2424	3100	2400	2712	2039	2421	2400	1620	2391	7541
<b>Missing %</b>	10.33%	16.65%	6.81%	20.51%	28.88%	31.90%	14.50%	38.72%	26.68%	12.60%	9.75%	36.36%	32.92%	38.76%

**Notes:** ABS Waves III and IV combined. Data are weighted within each country. \*p=.05, \*\*p=.01, \*\*\*p=.001.

OLS regression. Control variables not shown: male, age, urban residence, education level, religiosity, political efficacy, social capital, social trust, and a dummy variable to measure the difference between survey waves. NS=not statistically significant. “Urban” measures whether the subject’s place of residence is urban or rural. Religiosity codes whether the subject describes himself as very, moderately, or slightly religious or not religious at all. Social capital is a factor scale of how many people the subject has contact with during an average week, how many people he thinks would help him in case of need and how many people he would help. Social trust is the mean of answers to questions on whether you can trust most people, trust people to be fair, think most people are trustworthy.

Standardized coefficients for the regression on DRS. Table III displays the standardized regression coefficients for the variables shown in Table II. In Table II, the size of the coefficient varies with the scale of the independent variable, such that an independent variable with more units

produces a smaller coefficient. This makes it difficult to compare the impact of different independent variables on the dependent variable. To make such comparison possible, standardization reduces the independent variables to the same scale. Standardization does not affect the significance level of the coefficients. This enables us to make the kind of comparisons offered in the article about which factors have stronger effects on DRS than other factors, and in which countries.

**Table III. Standardized Coefficients of Regression on DRS**

	Japan	Taiwan	Korea	Mongolia	Hong Kong	Indonesia	Philippines	Thailand	Singapore	Malaysia	Cambodia	Burma	Vietnam	China
<b>Country Economy</b>	0.152	0.145	0.052	0.200	NS	0.170	0.152	NS	0.089	0.181	0.121	0.124	0.100	0.084
<b>Family Economy</b>	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	0.073	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS
<b>Governance Effectiveness</b>	0.237	0.311	0.228	0.132	0.140	0.181	0.236	0.187	0.199	0.231	0.310	0.327	0.254	0.165
<b>Governance Fairness</b>	0.164	0.145	0.195	0.070	0.208	0.116	0.122	0.193	0.088	0.246	0.168	0.145	0.088	0.114
<b>Media Use</b>	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	-0.080	NS	NS	0.064
<b>Media Trust</b>	NS	0.034	0.070	NS	0.067	0.080	0.050	NS	0.086	0.076	0.092	0.064	0.102	0.056
<b>National Pride</b>	0.066	0.144	0.102	0.067	0.079	0.078	NS	0.177	0.178	0.087	NS	0.102	0.118	0.137
<b>TSV</b>	0.121	NS	0.092	0.149	0.119	0.165	0.172	0.139	0.075	0.131	0.121	NS	0.230	0.168
<b>LDV</b>	-0.075	-0.072	-0.085	-0.102	-0.174	-0.128	-0.121	NS	-0.193	-0.120	-0.144	-0.292	-0.102	-0.166

**Notes:** ABS Waves III and IV combined. Data are weighted within each country. \*p=.05, \*\*p=.01, \*\*\*p=.001.

OLS regression. Control variables not shown: male, age, urban residence, education level, religiosity, political efficacy, social capital, social trust, and a dummy variable to measure the difference between survey waves.

How regime type affects the impact of LDV on DRS. The fact that a given quantum of LDV among the populace has on average a stronger downward pull on DRS in authoritarian regimes than in democracies is shown by a regression, using the entire dataset (after deleting cases with missing values, n=30,123), that includes not only the original independent variables but an interaction term assigned to each variable in the regression for each respondent in the dataset: The interaction term is the product of each independent variable with the Freedom House score for that respondent’s country. In this regression, not included in this Appendix, LDV has a negative impact on DRS, as we found in Table II, while the coefficient for the interaction term of LDV and the Freedom House score is positive and statistically significant at the .001 level. This means that the negative impact of LDV on DRS is increased (that is, it is made even more negative) by the amount of the interaction term’s coefficient.

Who believes in LDV? Table IV shows the correlation of selected respondent attributes with LDV.

**Table IV. Who Are the Liberal Democrats?**

	<b>Japan</b>	<b>Taiwan</b>	<b>Korea</b>	<b>Mongolia</b>	<b>Hong Kong</b>	<b>Indonesia</b>	<b>Philippines</b>
<b>Male</b>	0.104***	0.073***	NS	NS	0.064**	0.066***	NS
<b>Age</b>	0.036*	-0.200***	-0.128***	-0.121***	-0.241***	NS	NS
<b>Urban</b>	0.058**	0.093***	NS	NS	NA	0.078***	0.065**
<b>Education Level</b>	0.208***	0.291***	0.150***	0.141***	0.227***	0.163***	NS
<b>Social Capital</b>	0.046*	0.137***	NS	0.087***	0.183***	0.059**	-0.049*
<b>N=</b>	2961	3249	2407	2438	2424	3100	2400
	<b>Thailand</b>	<b>Singapore</b>	<b>Malaysia</b>	<b>Cambodia</b>	<b>Burma</b>	<b>Vietnam</b>	<b>China</b>
<b>Male</b>	NS	NS	0.090***	0.079***	0.064*	NS	0.036**
<b>Age</b>	NS	-0.148***	NS	-0.053**	-0.063*	NS	-0.289***
<b>Urban</b>	0.077***	NA	0.075***	0.098***	NS	NS	0.197***
<b>Education Level</b>	0.097***	0.115***	0.129***	0.168***	0.184***	NS	0.360***
<b>Social Capital</b>	0.070***	0.060**	0.064**	-0.056**	0.215***	NS	0.065***
<b>N=</b>	2712	2039	2421	2400	1620	2391	7541

**Notes:** Correlation coefficients with LDV. Data are weighted within each country. \*p=.05, \*\*p=.01, \*\*\*p=.001. NS=not significant. NA=not available.

Who supports the regime? Table V shows the correlation of selected respondent attributes with DRS.

**Table V. Who Supports the Regime?**

	<b>Japan</b>	<b>Taiwan</b>	<b>Korea</b>	<b>Mongolia</b>	<b>Hong Kong</b>	<b>Indonesia</b>	<b>Philippines</b>
<b>male</b>	NS	NS	NS	NS	NS	0.049**	NS
<b>age</b>	0.299***	0.167***	0.159***	0.135***	0.175***	-0.066***	NS
<b>urban</b>	NS	NS	-0.077***	-0.082***	NA	-0.069***	-0.102***
<b>education level</b>	-0.138***	-0.083***	-0.149***	-0.132***	-0.141***	NS	NS
<b>social capital</b>	-0.096***	-0.046**	-0.066**	NS	-0.097***	0.044*	NS
<b>N=</b>	2961	3249	2407	2438	2424	3100	2400
	<b>Thailand</b>	<b>Singapore</b>	<b>Malaysia</b>	<b>Cambodia</b>	<b>Burma</b>	<b>Vietnam</b>	<b>China</b>
<b>male</b>	NS	NS	-0.054**	-0.063**	NS	0.081***	0.082***
<b>age</b>	0.084***	0.094***	0.140***	0.083***	0.056*	0.078***	0.163***
<b>urban</b>	-0.125***	NA	-0.148***	-0.088***	-0.056*	-0.055**	-0.061***
<b>education level</b>	-0.085***	-0.053*	-0.197***	-0.171***	-0.155***	-0.100***	-0.067***
<b>social capital</b>	0.218***	NS	-0.099***	0.088***	-0.102***	NS	0.054***
<b>N=</b>	2712	2039	2421	2400	1620	2391	7541

**Notes:** Correlation coefficients with DRS. Data are weighted within each country. \*p=.05, \*\*p=.01, \*\*\*p=.001. NS=not significant. NA=not available.



Support for TSV and LDV. Tables VI and VII display the percentages of persons in each country agreeing with each item in the TSV and LDV scales, respectively.

**Table VI. Traditional Social Values (% Agreeing)**

**Notes:** Merged Waves III & IV data. Data are weighted. Countries listed according to 2010 GDP/capita as measured by IMF,

	Japan	Taiwan	Korea	Mongolia	Hong Kong	Indonesia	Philippines	Thailand	Singapore	Malaysia	Cambodia	Burma	Vietnam	China	Average
For the sake of the family, the individual should put his personal interests second	79.1	84.7	83.4	86.7	79.3	90.4	79.7	86.6	83.4	81.2	80.3	92.9	88.8	84.5	84.4
Even if there is some disagreement with others, one should avoid the conflict	55.3	79.8	65.6	80.8	73.4	92.3	91.1	83.3	78.8	90.7	94.0	97.1	87.9	86.8	82.6
In a group, we should avoid open quarrel to preserve the harmony of the group	79.8	81.6	62.6	81.5	70.7	93.4	84.2	81.6	81.1	90.4	95.3	85.5	80.4	82.0	82.1
A person should not insist on his own opinion if his co-workers disagree with him	60.0	63.9	62.0	77.9	53.0	86.8	76.1	81.7	69.5	73.2	75.5	92.6	71.6	45.7	70.7
In a group, we should sacrifice our individual interest for the sake of the group's collective interest	51.1	72.4	58.3	61.8	45.9	78.3	68.9	87.7	73.2	71.0	66.0	77.0	89.0	70.1	69.3
For the sake of national interest, individual interest could be sacrificed	21.0	49.0	51.1	76.0	34.9	73.5	64.4	85.1	63.8	70.2	73.8	83.6	89.7	75.2	65.1
Being a student, one should not question the authority of one's teacher	36.1	37.7	38.9	46.7	38.4	82.3	61.7	47.6	50.6	62.0	72.4	65.9	67.0	47.1	53.9
When a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law come into conflict, even if the mother-in-law is in the wrong, the husband should still persuade his wife to obey his mother	14.0	33.7	40.1	29.6	24.7	80.0	44.3	41.9	35.1	59.4	75.3	78.3	39.6	51.4	46.2
Even if parents' demands are unreasonable, children still should do what they ask	24.9	29.4	46.3	47.1	25.5	50.4	48.8	35.5	40.6	56.8	76.7	76.5	34.6	34.4	44.8
Average	46.8	59.1	56.5	65.3	49.5	80.8	68.8	70.1	64.0	72.8	78.8	83.2	72.1	64.1	66.6

<https://www.imf.org/external/datamapper/NGDPDPC@WEO/OEMDC/ADVEC/WEOWORLD>.

**Table VII. Liberal Democratic Values (% Disagreeing)**

	Japan	Taiwan	Korea	Mongolia	Hong Kong	Indonesia	Philippines	Thailand	Singapore	Malaysia	Cambodia	Burma	Vietnam	China	Average
Government leaders are like the head of a family; we should all follow their decisions	82.06	77.33	61.57	42.37	65.06	23.56	55.99	51.56	40.08	32.45	34.81	27.19	30.44	31.57	46.86
When judges decide important cases, they should accept the view of the executive branch	70.34	59.01	67.43	52.55	52.03	39.43	33.22	48.77	30.03	43.6	36.16	29.99	14.66	35.01	43.73
If the government is constantly checked by the legislature, it cannot possibly accomplish great things	57.9	38.69	59.06	44.85	41.99	46.41	37.07	44.62	47.75	44.83	45.08	18.95	29.83	30.5	41.97
The government should decide whether certain ideas should be allowed to be discussed in society	79.65	74.67	56.26	26	58.74	35.71	42	33.82	37.59	25.57	14.28	45.65	7.55	37.92	41.10
If we have political leaders who are morally upright, we can let them decide everything	57.31	75.13	41.73	24.12	60.47	47.21	38.29	22.31	36.18	55.29	12.59	7.51	20.18	46.85	38.94
Harmony of the community will be disrupted if people organize lots of groups	52.45	43.4	60.58	25.51	41.5	36.14	46.96	21.73	32.86	25.45	45.04	22.68	18.86	23.41	35.47
If people have too many different ways of thinking, society will be chaotic	44.09	33.17	57.01	31.48	33.15	34.3	31.99	16.61	31.96	27.51	34.49	17.3	23.05	35.44	32.25
Average	63.40	57.34	57.66	35.27	50.42	37.54	40.79	34.20	36.64	36.39	31.78	24.18	20.65	34.39	40.05

**Notes:** Merged Waves III & IV data. Data are weighted. Countries in order of 2013 Freedom House score.

Correlation of TSV and LDV. The argument that adherence to Traditional Social Values declines as Liberal Democratic Values advance is based on the negative correlation of these two value clusters in every country, together with the fact that TSV adherents tend to be older and LDV adherents younger.

**Table VIII. TSV LDV Correlation**

Japan	-0.236
Taiwan	-0.319
Korea	-0.349
Mongolia	-0.321
Hong Kong	-0.486
Indonesia	-0.154
Philippines	-0.276
Thailand	-0.253
Singapore	-0.347
Malaysia	-0.293
Cambodia	-0.345
Burma	-0.502
Vietnam	-0.302
China	-0.465

**Notes:** Waves III & IV combined, weighted data. All coefficients significant at the .001 level.

Correlation of LDV and DA. Table IX shows that in both authoritarian and democratic regimes, citizens who adhere to Liberal Democratic Values are more detached from authoritarianism (i.e., less likely to be attracted to authoritarian alternatives) than citizens who do not adhere to such values.

**Table XI. LDV DA Correlation**

Japan	0.296
Taiwan	0.324
Korea	0.255
Mongolia	0.223
Hong Kong	0.228
Indonesia	0.229
Philippines	0.230
Thailand	0.338
Singapore	0.246
Malaysia	0.253
Cambodia	0.211
Burma	0.463
Vietnam	0.207
China	0.379

**Notes:** Waves III & IV combined, weighted data. All coefficients significant at the .001 level.

Regime preference and LDV. The ABS measures *Democratic Regime Preference* by asking respondents four questions about alternative attributes they prefer in government: should government leaders do what voters want or should they do what they think best for the people; should the people tell the government what to do or should government decide what is good for us; should the media operate without government control or should the government prevent the media from publishing things that might be politically destabilizing; should political leaders be chosen by election or should they be chosen on the basis of virtue and capability without election? Preference for the democratic alternative was scored as +.5, and for more authoritarian alternative as -.5; the individual respondent’s regime preference is scored as a mean of her four responses.

Table X shows the correlation of Democratic Regime Preference with LDV.

**Table X. Correlation of Democratic Regime Preference with LDV**

Japan	0.198***
Taiwan	0.294***
Korea	0.111***
Mongolia	0.137***
Hong Kong	0.224***
Indonesia	0.043*
Philippines	0.063**
Thailand	0.128***
Singapore	0.205***
Malaysia	0.141***
Cambodia	0.130***
Burma	0.283***
Vietnam	0.088***
China	0.140***

**Notes:** Waves III & IV combined, weighted data. \*p=.05, \*\*p=.01, \*\*\*p=.001.