

博士論文（要約）

論文題目 中国国民の民主主義への態度と政府
への信頼に関する研究

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Japanese Journal of Political Science などの学術雑誌に投
稿する予定である。

PART I : INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

A Puzzle in China's Politics

The Chinese political system is complex and filled with paradoxes. One of the most apparent paradoxes is that, although Chinese people are pro-democratic, they also trust the current regime, which is normally regarded as authoritarian.

Cross-national surveys consistently reveal that the Chinese public is supportive of democracy to the same extent as citizens in democratic societies. The World Values Survey shows that more than 90 percent of Chinese citizens are supportive of the idea of having a democratic system (Figure 1.1). Public support for democracy in China is as high as that in consolidated democracies in Europe and North America, and even higher than that in Japan, South Korea, and the United States. The survey data demonstrate that democracy has a universal appeal, and this applies even in a country like China.

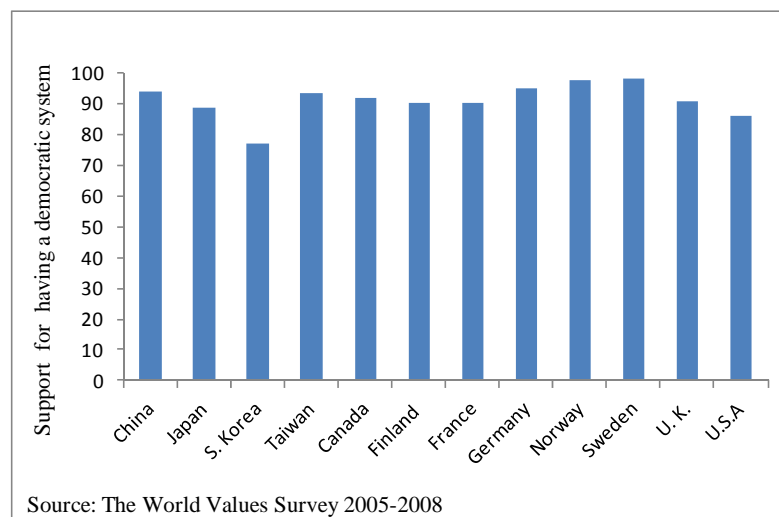


FIGURE 1. 1 The National Differences in the Endorsement of Having a Democratic System

With advance in survey methods, researchers are no longer satisfied with conventional ways of measuring the public support for democracy. They have developed a more sophisticated index to measure the public's pro-democratic attitudes. According to the Index of Attachment to Democracy (Mishler and Rose, 2005; Shin and Wells, 2005; Chu, Diamond, *et al.*, 2008), Chinese people's pro-democratic orientations can be defined by the following three indicators: preferability, suitability and desirability of democracy.¹ This research compares China with other Asian societies which are considered to have a similar cultural heritage. At the same time, these societies are considered more democratic than China by Freedom House.² A comparison shows us how big the gap is in terms of three elements of subjective attachment to democracy (see Table 1.1). The left-hand column in Table 1.1 shows the percentages of respondents who regard democracy as the best form of government. Chinese citizens are as supportive of democracy as people in other, more democratic societies. The middle column in Table 1.1 presents the percentages of positive responses to the suitability of democracy in each society. It reveals that Chinese citizens believe democracy is suitable for China. The right-hand column in Table 1.1 shows the percentages of people who desire their country to be a democracy. Only in terms of

¹ The Asian Barometer Survey asked three questions corresponding to three different dimensions of "attachment to democracy": (1) Preferability of democracy. Do you agree democracy is preferable to any other kind of government in any circumstances? (2) Suitability of democracy. Do you think democracy is suitable for our country? (3) Desirability of democracy. Do you want our country to be democratic now?

² Freedom House is a non-governmental organization (NGO) dedicated to the expansion of political freedom, human rights and democracy around the world. It was founded in 1941, and its headquarters is located in Washington D.C., United States. The Index of Democracy created by Freedom House is widely used in academic circles and policy analysis.

desirability of democracy does China rank the lowest of the five societies. Nevertheless, the percentage of Chinese people who want democracy exceeds 50%. It shows that China is located at an intermediate level in terms of desiring democracy. The above analysis gives an image of pro-democratic Chinese citizens. Does this imply a transition to democracy in the near future?

TABLE 1. 1 Attachment to Democracy across Five Asian Societies

Asian societies \ %	Preferability	Suitability	Desirability
Mainland China	53.92	51.53	54.63
Japan	63.45	50.52	79.39
Singapore	58.89	46.35	62.35
South Korea	42.74	35.89	80.78
Taiwan	47.51	40.20	63.82

Source: Asian Barometer Survey (2006-2008)

Note: Entries are the percentage of respondents indicating their attitudes toward democracy

Nonetheless, the current authoritarian regime still enjoys considerable political trust from the Chinese public (Dalton and Shin, 2006; Chu, Diamond, *et al.*, 2008). Figure 1.2 displays the confidence expressed by people in the central government in China and other democracies. Surprisingly, the Chinese government enjoys an extraordinarily high level of political confidence among ordinary people. Political trust in China is higher than that in some democracies.

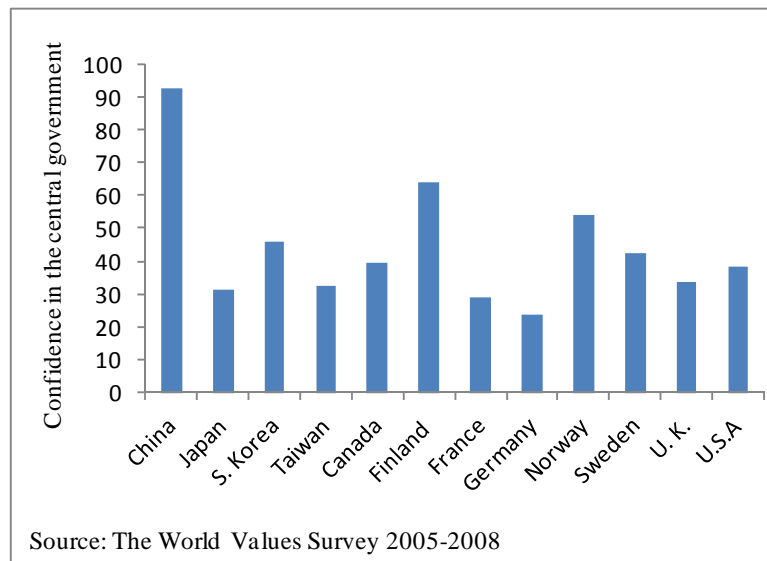


FIGURE 1. 2 The National Differences in the Confidence in the Central Government

This does not mean that ordinary Chinese citizens are not discontented with their government. During the past two decades, a variety of protests have arisen in China (Lee and Friedman, 2009; O'Brien, 2002; Bernstein and Li, 2000; Guo, 2001). However, the rising discontent is mainly aimed at local authorities or companies, rather than the central government.³ In theory, an authoritarian regime should be unpopular with its citizens. However, Chinese people have considerable political confidence in central government, expecting it to protect them and act against the transgressions of local officials. At present, ordinary Chinese people are not particularly motivated to topple the current regime.

Ultimately, it raises the question of why pro-democratic Chinese citizens trust an authoritarian regime. This phenomenon is not covered by modernization theories, which assume there is a congruent relationship between socioeconomic modernization,

³ The Asian Barometer Survey (II) shows that popular trust in the national government of China is 87.96%, while trust in local government stands at 55.32%.

political values and relations with social authority. A systematic investigation of pro-democratic attitudes among the Chinese public, and their trust in the current regime, will help to understand why the majority of Chinese people have not fought for their new civil liberties and political rights with more enthusiasm, despite the enormous limitations placed on their political freedom by the authorities. This dissertation will also address why central government enjoys support from the masses, even though protests have grown at an unprecedented pace. A social psychological approach will be employed in this dissertation, which provides clues to how ordinary Chinese people can entertain pro-democratic tendencies, yet place their trust in an authoritarian political system. From chapter 2 onwards, the following eight chapters will discuss the Chinese people's attitudes toward democracy and their trust in the current government. The efforts made to uncover the quandary of why pro-democratic Chinese citizens trust an authoritarian regime will lead to a better understanding of the political reality of China's system.

CHAPTER 2

Theoretical Framework and an Outline for Empirical Studies

Chapter 2 develops a theoretical framework for this research and outlines the structure of the empirical studies. First, I introduce the three main theoretical approaches employed by this research. The detailed content of these theories will be reviewed in chapter 4 (political culture theory), chapter 6 (modernization theory), and chapter 8 (popular perceptions of democracy). Based on the three theoretical approaches, I formulate an outline for empirical research, following which I give an account of the originality of the current research and an overview of each chapter.

Theoretical and Practical Background

An Outline for Empirical Investigation

Significance of this Study

Central Themes and Overview

CHAPTER 3

Research Methodology

This chapter introduces the methodology of the research. In order to deepen the understanding of complicated and seemingly contradictory phenomena in Chinese politics, this research is conducted from historical and comparative perspectives. Two major technical issues are discussed in this chapter: the multiple imputation method and polychoric principal component analysis.

Historical and Comparative Perspectives

A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

A country's political development cannot be separated from its past. Historical traditions or events have an enduring influence on current development. Since "knowledge of the past is the key to understanding the present" (Stampp, 1956), historical perspective is of vital importance in social science research. Cultural traditions reflect the different historical heritage in each country. Tradition is a living heritage rather than a dead past. Its influence is ongoing. North (1990) has systematically discussed the effect of path-dependence, which means that current development depends on past experience. He argues that "path dependence is a way to narrow conceptually the choice set and link decision making through time" (North, 1990: 98-99). The impact of path dependence on European party systems is also documented (Lipset and Rokkan, 1967: 1-64). Sewell (1996: 262-3) argues that "what happened at an earlier point in time will affect the possible outcomes of a sequence of events occurring at a later point in time." Recently, historical institutionalism has

received attention in comparative politics (Thelen, 1999). A large body of literature on path dependence demonstrates that ignoring the influence of history is an unaffordable risk (see Pierson, 2000).

Evidence of the influence of history convinces us that the political attitudes of Chinese people and the prospective transition to democracy in China cannot escape the influence of the country's past. For this reason, this research adopts a historical perspective by examining three issues. First, Asian values continue to exert enormous influence in China. In this research, I investigate the effect of Asian values on the attitudes of Chinese people toward democracy and on their political trust. Secondly, Asian values are not equivalent to Confucianism, even though they share many similarities. There has been a heated debate on this issue, during which considerable misunderstandings and misinterpretation have arisen. My research distinguishes between Confucianism and Asian values in philosophy. Thirdly, the meaning of democracy is elastic, and even the Chinese Communist Party claims its current regime is a "democracy." It is reasonable to argue that popular perceptions of democracy are affected by the meaning of democracy interpreted in its development. This research will discuss the subjective perception of democracy in the context of China.

A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

The other perspective employed in this research is comparative. Through a comparison with other societies, we will obtain a clearer picture of China. China is compared in an East Asian context, but also on a global scale.

From the global viewpoint, it is widely agreed that mainland China has shared a common Confucian tradition with other East Asian societies such as Japan, South Korea

and Taiwan. I compare China and other East Asian societies with western democratic countries to assess whether there is a cultural gap between East and West.

However, it would definitely be wrong to ignore the differences within East Asia itself. After the Second World War, each society began its own particular process of modernization. The Republic of China moved to Taiwan, maintaining its authoritarian ruling there. The Communist party took office in mainland China and launched a series of radical social movements. Japan became a democratic country, and is now proud of being a consolidated democracy. South Korea was under military dictatorship and separated from North Korea. Later, during the third wave of democratization, Taiwan and South Korea became democratic societies at the end of the 1980s. They are currently struggling to consolidate their democracies. Mainland China has been introducing market-oriented reforms since 1978. Since then, it has been experiencing unprecedented and rapid economic growth over the past three decades. Major transformations in each society have reshaped and changed the value system. This research compares China with other East Asian societies, and aims to capture the differences which are emerging between them.

The historical and comparative analyses will deepen the understanding of contemporary Chinese politics and improve predictions for its future development.

Datasets

This doctoral project primarily utilizes three datasets to explore the research topic of how Chinese people think of democracy and the current regime. The datasets are the Asian Barometer Survey, the AsiaBarometer Survey and the World Values Survey. The Chinese datasets provided by these three comparative public opinion surveys have the

following merits.

First, they were collected throughout the country, and reliable sampling procedures were used. As a nationwide survey takes national demographic distribution into consideration, the results of six empirical studies can be generalized to the whole of China.

Secondly, three public opinion surveys have been conducted equally in other countries. They shared the same questionnaires and followed a common research methodology, providing a framework to compare China with other societies. The Asian Barometer Survey and AsiaBarometer Survey compare different Asian societies. If we compare China with other Asian societies with which it is normally considered to share a common cultural heritage, we can clearly identify similarities and differences between them. In addition, the World Values Survey offers a broader context for comparison. The World Values Survey not only analyzes Asian countries, but includes Western societies with a long history of democracy. By placing China in an international context, this comparative perspective helps us better understand the attitudes of Chinese people toward democracy and throws light on why they trust the current regime.

Methods of Analysis

PART II : POLITICAL CULTURE, ASIAN
VALUES, AND ITS POLITICAL
INFLUENCE

CHAPTER 4

Asian Values: The Embedded Political Culture in China

To begin with, this chapter introduces political culture theory, which is one of the approaches used in this research. A social psychological perspective is employed in political culture studies. Next, the chapter moves on to a discussion of Asian values. Given that Asian values are the most influential political culture in China, the chapter reviews the Asian values thesis and the debate regarding it. The Asian values system is complex and multi-dimensional. It is necessary to examine the distinct effects of Asian values in the private and the public spheres. The discussion of Asian values in this chapter lays a theoretical foundation for the empirical survey of the impacts of Asian values on the attitudes of Chinese people toward democracy and trust in the current regime.

The Study of Political Culture: A Social Psychological Approach

Asian Values and Its Genesis

Critiques about the Asian Values Thesis

Multifaceted Asian Values

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter first reviewed the theory of political culture. Political culture is one of the three theoretical approaches employed by this dissertation. “(P)olitical power is

extraordinarily sensitive to cultural nuances,” and therefore “cultural variations are decisive in determining the course of political development” (Pye, 1985). Political culture theory provides an important approach to studying political activities through the perspective of social psychology. The second part of this chapter progressed to the Asian values thesis and the debate about it. The Asian values system is so complicated that we need to examine the multi-dimensional components it contains. I made a distinction between Asian values in the private sphere and Asian values in the public sphere. Based on the theoretical discussion of Asian values in this chapter, Chapter 5 will empirically investigate the enduring influence of Asian values in contemporary China and the effects of Asian values on the attitudes of ordinary Chinese people toward democracy and their trust in the current political system. The political cultural approach is expected to provide persuasive explanations to the puzzle of why pro-democratic Chinese citizens trust an authoritarian regime.

CHAPTER 5

How Do Asian Values Influence the Attitudes of Chinese People toward Democracy and Political Trust

Comparative Studies of Asian Values

Demographic Analyses of Asian Values

Study1 The Effects of Asian Values on the Chinese People's Commitment to Democracy

Study2 The Effect of Asian Values on Political Trust

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter systematically investigated the current state of Asian values in China through a comparison with other Asian societies and a survey of the demographical distribution of Chinese people's Asian values. Studies 1 and 2 were conducted to explore the impacts of Asian values on the attitudes of ordinary Chinese people toward democracy and their trust in the current regime. The political cultural approach provides a cultural explanation to the puzzle of why pro-democratic Chinese citizens trust an authoritarian regime.

Asian values do exert a significant influence on Chinese people's commitment to democracy (see study 1). Study 1 discredits the argument that Asian values are contradictory to commitment to democracy. With respect to attachment to democracy,

Asian values are compatible with democracy. Asian values in the private sphere have hardly any negative effects on attachment to democracy, while Asian values in the public sphere surprisingly increase attachment to democracy in China. Nevertheless, Asian values are contradictory to liberal democratic values. More accurately speaking, both Asian values in the private sphere and Asian values in the public sphere undermine the acquisition of liberal democratic values. Moreover, Chinese citizens who feel attached to democracy do not hold liberal democratic values. The results above indicate that a pro-democratic image of Chinese people is worth further exploration.

Asian values are not only compatible with attachment to democracy, but also help increase political trust in the Chinese government (see study 2). Specifically, authoritarian political values and traditional social values enhance trust in the current regime. Traditional family values do not have any significant effect on political trust. As a deep-seated political culture, political trust sustained by Asian values is more stable and persistent, and is able to stand up to the risk of erosion of government performance. The current regime is resilient, partly because it benefits from this cultural factor.

Despite the fact that Asian values are still influential in China, this value system seems to be weakening in the younger generation and among educated people (see Table 5.3 and Table 5.4). An intergenerational shift of Asian values is appearing in both the private and the public spheres. The continuous declining trend is irreversible. Therefore, political trust rooted in Asian values is going to weaken. On the other hand, it is worth noting that the declining trend is developing in an unbalanced manner. A decline of Asian values is more remarkable in the private sphere than in the public sphere. The radical decline of Asian values in the private sphere will certainly

undermine institutional trust. Nonetheless, Asian values in the public sector change slowly and their authoritarian nature sustains the political trust in the current regime.

PART III: SOCIOECONOMIC
MODERNIZATION AND ITS IMPACTS ON
POLITICAL ORIENTATION

CHAPTER 6

Modernization Theory and the Revised Cultural Theory of Modernization

This chapter introduces modernization theory and the post-materialist/ self-expression values theory. Modernization theory concerns how a society transforms following economic development. It predicts a change from a traditional society to a modern society with industrialization, secularization, and democratization. The post-materialist/ self-expression values theory adds a new, intermediate factor in the positive effect of modernization on democracy. It is a revised version of modernization theory, stressing the shift of values and its political influence. The political consequence of socioeconomic modernization is the second approach employed by this dissertation. Chapter 6 will review relevant theories that are theoretical foundations of empirical studies in the next chapter.

Modernization Theory and Its Major Arguments

Critiques of the Modernization Theory

The Post-Materialist/Self-Expression Values Theory

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter discussed modernization theory and the post-materialist/ self-expression values theory. Modernization theory assumes a massive social and cultural

transformation after economic development. Democratization is an inevitable consequence of economic modernization. The post-materialist/self-expression values theory argues that democratic transformation cannot succeed without pressure from the masses. The intermediate variable between economic modernization and a flourishing democracy is the cultural shift from materialistic values to post-materialist/self-expression values. Post-materialist/self-expression values are inherently consistent with liberal democracy and are “producing growing pressures for the establishment and strengthening of democracy” (Inglehart and Welzel, 2005). Counterclaims concerning modernization theory and the post-materialist/self-expression values theory were reviewed in this chapter as well.

Modernization has considerably reshaped Chinese society and public values over the past three decades. It is a fact that post-materialist/self-expression values and liberal democratic values have been emerging in China with economic development. Chinese citizens restarted their pursuit of democracy and political liberalization in the 1980s. It is not completely true that the crackdown of the 1989 Tiananmen protests created in China an environment filled with political fear. In contrast to the brutal oppression during the 1960s and 1970s, complaints and discontent have to some extent been tolerated in the past two decades. The true shift in Chinese politics is that Chinese people have become less interested in politics and have swiftly shifted their concerns to economic affluence and material satisfaction. What substantive influence does economic modernization have on China’s value system? Will the Chinese become more liberty-oriented and eager to pursue democracy as modernization theory and the post-materialist/self-expression values theory predict? As the most relevant socioeconomic transformation, modernization provides important answers to the

paradox in Chinese politics as to why pro-democratic Chinese people trust an authoritarian regime. Based on the theoretical discussion above, chapter 7 will empirically examine the political impacts of modernization in the context of China.

CHAPTER 7

Socioeconomic Modernization and Its Political Effects

Life Satisfaction after Economic Modernization

Post-Materialist/Self-Expression Values in China and Other Societies

Institutional Trust in China and in Other Societies

Study 3 The Effects of Modernization on Satisfaction with Political Rights and Satisfaction with the Current Level of Democracy

Study 4 Legitimate Sources of Chinese Political Regime

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter examined the political consequences of socioeconomic modernization. The extent of life satisfaction and the change of self-expression values after economic growth were investigated. Empirical survey data show that modernization has improved the Chinese's general life satisfaction, and post-materialist/self-expression values are rising steadily. Then, studies 3 and 4 were carried out. These two studies attempted to answer the question of why pro-democratic Chinese citizens trust an authoritarian

regime in the context of economic modernization. Study 3 explored how modernization affected the Chinese people's satisfaction with political rights and their satisfaction with the current level of democracy. Study 4 investigated the evaluative and the affective sources of political trust in China.

As discussed in chapter 6, modernization theory and the post-materialist/self-expression values theory predict that sustained economic growth will cause citizens in non-democratic societies to demand more civil liberties and political rights. They will show an increasing distrust of authoritarian regimes and will engage in democratization. For example, Wang (2005) argues that China is expected to experience an explosion of dissatisfaction when it achieves a higher level of economic development.

The findings of empirical studies 3 and 4 explained the co-existence of Chinese people's pro-democratic attitudes and trust in an authoritarian regime. Life satisfaction has a spill-over effect on political satisfaction (study 3). Economic growth makes ordinary Chinese people feel satisfied with their political rights and with the current level of democracy. On the other hand, patriotic feelings and government performance in economic and social sectors buttress the Chinese's trust in the current political institutions (study 4).

Another interesting finding in this chapter is the effect of self-expression values in China at present. Table 7.7 shows that self-expression values in China are lower compared with other societies. Wang (2008) points out that the effect of self-expression values on political trust is marginal, even though he finds an increase in self-expression values has occurred in China. Wang's work mainly focuses on the effect of self-expression values on political trust in China. The other side of the resilience of the current Chinese political system lies in the attitudes of ordinary Chinese people toward

political rights and democracy. It is necessary to examine the effect of self-expression values on Chinese people's rights consciousness and democratic aspirations. Study 3 shows that economic growth indeed facilitates an increase in self-expression values, but self-expression values fail to generate significant discontent with political rights and with the current level of democracy.

Should we maintain the hope that self-expression values will expand in the future and an increase in self-expression values will ultimately help China to become a liberal democratic country? Table 7.6 indicates there is an intergenerational shift of self-expression values in China. The Chinese younger generation are tending to become post-materialists. Table 7.6 also implies the role of education in the increase of self-expression values. Following an increase in educational level in China, it is reasonable to predict that self-expression values will continue to grow in the future.

However, the current low level of self-expression values does not mean there is no hope for democratization in China. High self-expression values may not be a prerequisite for democratic transformation. Table 7.7 displays the levels of self-expression values in China and in other societies. One of the implications of Table 7.7 is that East Asia as a whole has relatively lower levels of self-expression values. Despite that, no one can deny that Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan are truly liberal democracies. There is no evidence for the argument that post-materialist/self-expression values are cultural preconditions for democracy in East Asia (Bomhoff and Gu, 2012). Nor are self-expression values the prerequisites for democratization in China.

PART IV: POPULAR PERCEPTIONS OF
DEMOCRACY AND THE PROSPECTS FOR
DEMOCRATIZATION IN CHINA

CHAPTER 8

Democratic Conceptions and Popular Perceptions of Democracy

This chapter begins with an introduction to liberal and social conceptions of democracy. It will then introduce popular perceptions of democracy and relevant research. It addresses how ordinary people understand the meanings of democracy. Popular perception influences and shape people's attitudes toward politics. The discussion in Chapter 8 sets out the theoretical foundation for the empirical studies in the following chapter.

Liberal and Social Conceptions of Democracy

Popular Perceptions of Democracy

Summary and Conclusions

Multiple definitions of democracy and a number of distinct democratic theories mean that it is an elastic notion in academia. This chapter has briefly discussed liberal and social conceptions of democracy. Popular perceptions of democracy, or people's subjective understanding of it, are as complex as the definitions. These perceptions involve two major issues. One is whether people can define democracy for themselves. The other one is how ordinary people view the concept. Previous studies show that the majority of Chinese can give a definition of democracy. However, they view it differently from people in other societies (Shi, 2008; Shin, 2012). Popular perceptions of democracy are substantially influenced by the interpretation of the concept in each

specific society. For the past 60 years, ordinary Chinese people have seen it within a framework of official communist ideology. At the same time, a political culture of paternalism has also affected how they view it. The pro-democratic activities of the 1980s entertained the hope of a powerful state where the authorities cared for the welfare of the people. In addition, democracy was more associated with socioeconomic benefits or social equality than with political rights or the balance of power in China.

CHAPTER 9

Popular Perceptions of Democracy and their Impact in China

Conceptions of Democracy and Assessment of Democratic Levels

Demographic Attributes of Four Types of Popular Perception of Democracy

Study 5 Variance in high levels of satisfaction with democracy in China

Study 6 High levels of political trust conditioned by different perceptions of democracy

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter has addressed the dynamics of the coexistence of pro-democratic attitudes among the Chinese and their trust in the current regime in China. It discussed two specific questions.

The first one is how ordinary Chinese people view democracy. It aimed to clarify the abstract notion of democracy in the Chinese context and solve the puzzles left by empirical studies in previous chapters of this dissertation. On the basis of the theoretical discussion in Chapter 8, I utilized the difference between liberal conceptions of democracy and social conceptions of democracy. Liberal conceptions involve elections

and liberal rights, while economic equality and economic rights belong to social conceptions of democracy. Using data from the Asian Barometer Survey (2008), Figure 9.3 shows the distribution of four patterns in the perception of democracy in China. It becomes clear that the ways in which the Chinese understand the meaning of democracy are different from the ways people understand it in liberal democracies. The Chinese tend to speak about democracy from the point of view of a social concept (economic equality and economic rights) rather than from a liberal democratic standpoint (elections and liberal rights). The demographic features of people with different perceptions of democracy were also analyzed (see Table 9.2). The younger generations and educated people tend to adhere to a liberal concept of democracy. Table 9.3 shows that the Chinese are more inclined to perceive democracy as economic equality and economic rights than other Asian societies (Japan, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan). The analyses in this chapter shed light on what the Chinese mean by the term democracy.

The second part of this chapter focused on the impact of people's different perceptions of democracy on their attitudes toward it and toward political trust. Figure 9.5 reveals that people's assessment of the current level of democracy is affected by their perceptions of democracy itself. Empirical Studies 5 and 6 addressed how satisfaction with democracy and the effects of government performance on political trust are influenced by different patterns in the way democracy is perceived. Even though there are high levels of political trust and satisfaction with democracy in China, they are extremely vulnerable to decline in future. With a rise in the population adhering to a liberal concept of democracy, political trust and satisfaction with the democratic system in China may reverse the trend. The coexistence of pro-democratic attitudes among Chinese citizens and trust in an authoritarian regime is subject to change, the

driving force of which is a shift in popular perceptions of democracy.

PART V CONCLUSION

CHAPTER 10

Conclusion

This chapter will conclude this dissertation. Given the important role of ordinary people in politics, the research theme of this dissertation addresses the attitudes of Chinese citizens toward democracy and their trust in the current regime. Three areas were examined: Chinese political culture, the effects of economic growth over the past decades and popular perceptions of what democracy means. They explained the coexistence of pro-democratic attitudes among Chinese people and their trust in the current political system. Moreover, the empirical evidence in this dissertation discredits existing one-sided observations on China's politics, and provides an account of the resilience of the current Chinese political system through the lens of ordinary Chinese people.

Summary of the Main Findings

Chapters 4 and 5 (part II) employed the political cultural approach to explain the attitudes of ordinary Chinese people toward democracy and their political trust. The results of study 1 show that Asian values are negatively connected to liberal democratic values. Surprisingly, Asian values in the public sphere (authoritarian political values) encourage a greater attachment to democracy as opposed to undermining it. Moreover, attachment to democracy does not increase liberal democratic values. Study 2 reveals that the effect varies in its different dimensions. Authoritarian political values and traditional social values enhance institutional trust.

Traditional family values have no effect on institutional trust. Nor do liberal democratic values undermine political trust in the current regime. Empirical studies in part II show Asian values do, in fact, increase political trust but do not reduce the extent to which Chinese people are attached to democracy.

Chapters 6 and 7 (part III) examined the political effects of economic modernization on Chinese people's attitudes toward democracy and trust in political institutions. Study 3 shows that life satisfaction has a positive spillover effect on satisfaction with political rights and satisfaction with the current levels of democracy. Satisfaction with civil liberties and political rights is positively connected to satisfaction with the democratic level in China. With regard to post-materialist/self-expression values, improved life satisfaction increases self-expression values. However, path analysis reveals that self-expression values fail to generate significant dissatisfaction with civil and political rights or dissatisfaction with the current state of democracy. Study 4 indicates that the government's economic and social performance increases confidence in political institutions, whereas political performance fails to enhance institutional trust in China. Self-expression values do not reduce political confidence in the current system, yet authoritarian values rarely enhance political confidence. Study 4 demonstrates that patriotic feelings significantly increase confidence in China's political institutions. Empirical studies in part III show that economic modernization increases both Chinese people's political trust in the regime and their satisfaction with the current state of democracy in China.

Chapters 8 and 9 (part IV) investigated how the Chinese view democracy and what effects of popular perceptions of democracy affect attitudes toward democracy and political trust. The results show that Chinese people tend to view democracy within a

social democratic framework rather than a liberal democratic one. When they refer to democracy, Chinese people emphasize economic equality and the provision of basic necessities, rather than elections and liberal rights. The results of study 5 show that, although Chinese citizens are fairly satisfied with democracy in general in China, those who focus on elections and liberal rights rather than basic necessities are dissatisfied with the current state of democracy. People who hold liberal democratic values are also dissatisfied with the current state of democracy. In other words, popular perceptions of democracy make a difference in the people's satisfaction with the democratic level in China. Study 6 reveals that the extent to which government performance increases political trust varies according to how people understand democracy. Regardless of how Chinese people view democracy, their evaluation of the government's political performance is negatively associated with their political trust. The government's abuse of authority has become the subject of discontent throughout the Chinese population. The government's economic and social performance does not increase the political trust of those who consider political liberty a key component of democracy. The government's social performance, however, does increase the political trust of those who see democracy in terms of elections. For those who view democracy as economic equality, or those who consider the provision of basic necessities a defining factor, the government's economic and social performance contributes to greater political trust.

In conclusion, this dissertation uses multi-dimensional approaches to provide explanations for the anomaly that ordinary Chinese people support a democratic system yet place considerable trust in the current regime. The findings of the empirical studies not only reveal reasons for the coexistence of pro-democratic attitudes and trust in an authoritarian regime in China, but also discredit one-sided observations on

China's politics.

References

Appendices

Appendix A. Questionnaires of the Asian Barometer Survey

Retrieved October, 2013, from

<http://www.asianbarometer.org/newenglish/surveys/SurveyTopics.htm>

Appendix B. Questionnaires of the AsiaBarometer Survey

Retrieved October, 2013, from

<https://www.asiabarometer.org/en/surveys/2006>

Appendix C. Questionnaires of the World Values Survey

Retrieved October, 2013, from

<http://www.wvsevsdb.com/wvs/WVSDocs.jsp?Idioma=I>

論文の内容の要旨

本論文は中国における民主主義への賛同と非自由民主主義的政府への信頼という一見矛盾するような現象を検証する。さまざまな国際調査によると、自由民主主義の国の国民と同じように、多くの中国国民は民主主義を熱心に支持している。しかし、その一方で自由民主主義とは思えない政治制度の下にあって、現政権を信頼し、中国における政治的自由権利と民主主義の現状に満足しているという結果が表れている。なぜ中国にこのような矛盾現象が出現したのだろうか。

第一部は第一章から第三章までの三章からなる。

まず第一章では、本研究のテーマや研究の背景、理論的、現実的な意味を述べている。中国国民の民主主義への態度と政治信頼というテーマは理論の面でも、現実の面でも、重要な意味を持っている。中国における政治信頼はいったいどのような状況にあるのだろうか。現政権への信頼は民主主義の国への移行と緊密な関連を持つため、これについて解明する必要がある。

第二章では、本研究の理論的なアプローチや概念の定義、各実証研究の関連、本研究の貢献などを述べている。先行研究では、政治文化は国民の民主主義への態度および政府への信頼と結びついており、経済発展が民主化を促進する役割を果たすと指摘されている。さらに、民主主義の概念の捉え方は文化によって異なるが、それが政治意識に影響を与えることも分かっている。そこで、本研究は政治文化の「アジア的価値観」、経済発展の社会心理的効果、民主主義の概念の捉え方という三つのアプローチを用いて、中国における民主主義への賛同と現政権への信頼という一見矛盾するような現象を検証した。

第三章では、本研究で用いたデータと方法論について述べている。本研究は主にアジア・バロメーターとアジア・バロメーターのデータを用いて、中国国民の民主主義への態度と政治信頼について、実証分析をした。しかし、これら以外にも、世界価値観調査のデータを用いて、他国との比較を行った。

第二部は第四章、第五章の二章から成り、政治文化の視点から、中国国民の民主主義への賛同と現政権への支持の関係について分析した。

第四章は政治文化の理論編である。政治文化は社会化を通じて、特定の政治価値観、心理傾向などを維持しながら、国家及び政治体制を支えており、政治文化の研究は社会心理学の視点からのアプローチにふさわしいと考える。

アジア的価値観は東アジアの国々が共有している政治文化である。1990年代にリー

・クアン・ユーやマハティールらが中心となって提起された。階層関係、調和志向、服従、集団利益の優先性などはアジア地域に特有の文化だと言われている。アジア的価値観には、私的領域と公的領域の側面があり、これらは分けて検証する必要がある。私的領域のアジア的価値観は伝統的な家庭の価値観と伝統的な社会の価値観により構成される。公的領域のアジア的価値観は権威主義的政治の価値観である。

第五章は政治文化の理論に基づいて行った実証研究である。アジア的価値観の各国比較、中国におけるアジア的価値観の人口社会要素の分布、および実証研究 1 と研究 2 から成る。

研究 1 と研究 2 は政治文化の観点から、中国国民の民主主義への支持と非自由民主主義的政府への信頼の共存について説明している。アジア的価値観は中国の現政権への支持を増加させ、自由民主主義的価値観を抑制している。しかし、アジア的価値観は中国国民の民主主義への愛着に負の影響を与えるのではなく、逆に正の効果をもたらすということがわかった。更に、民主主義に賛同している中国国民が自由民主主義的価値観を持っていないことも明らかになった。アジア的価値観は中国における重要な政治文化として、確かに中国の現政権への支持を増加させている。

第三部は第六章、第七章の二章から成り、近代化、経済発展の視点から、中国国民の民主主義への態度と現政権への信頼について分析した。

第六章は近代化の政治的な効果の理論編である。近代化理論は、経済発展によって個人の生活満足度を高め、政治的自由と民主主義を望むようになり、市民社会の形成と民主化に移行すると述べている。脱物質主義理論は修正された近代化理論と呼ばれ、経済発展だけでは民主化しないと主張する。仲介変数として、経済発展による人々の価値観の物質主義から脱物質主義・自己表現的価値観への転換が民主化の重要なポイントであると述べている。脱物質主義価値観・自己表現的価値観は民主主義と繋がり、民主化運動を促進させる。

第七章は近代化理論に基づいて、近代化がどのように中国国民の民主主義への態度と現政権への信頼に影響を与えているかという実証研究である。経済発展の生活満足度への影響、脱物質主義の各国比較、政治信頼の各国比較、および実証研究 3 と研究 4 から成る。

研究 3 と研究 4 は、経済成長による中国国民の民主主義への支持と現政権への信頼との共存を解明するものである。中国における経済成長の社会心理的效果に関して得られた結果は現時点においては近代化理論の予想と異なる結果であった。研究 3 は経済発展が中国国民の政治的自由権利への満足度を高めたことを示した。つまり、経済

発展による経済と社会領域における満足度の向上は政治的自由権利と民主主義の現状への満足にプラスの波及効果があると見られる。政治的自由権利に満足している人は民主主義の現状にも満足していることが分かった。一方、研究 4 では経済成長によって、政府のパフォーマンスがよい評価を得ていることを示している。すなわち、このようなよい評価は政府への不満を増加するのではなく、政権への信頼を高めている。第四部は第八章、第九章の二章から成り、一般大衆が民主主義をどのように捉えるかという視点から、中国国民の民主主義への態度と現政権への信頼について分析した。第八章は民主主義の捉え方について理論的に述べている。民主主義の概念とサブタイプ、大衆の民主主義の概念の理解を示した。中国国民の民主主義への賛同および民主主義の現状への満足と現政権への信頼とが共存しているという現象は、中国人がどのように民主主義の概念を捉えているかについて、さらに研究する必要があることを示している。

第九章では中国国民の民主主義の理解について実証研究を行った。現在の中国国民の民主主義の概念の理解と 30 年前との比較、民主主義の捉え方についての人口社会要素の分布、民主主義の捉え方の各国比較、および実証研究 5 と研究 6 から成る。

研究 5 と研究 6 は中国国民の民主主義の概念を捉えるパターンにより、中国における民主主義の現状への評価と政権への信頼がどのように変化したかについて、検証するものである。これにより、中国における民主主義への満足度の高さは民主主義の概念を理解するパターンによって異なることが明らかになった。また、中国国民が政府に寄せる信頼度は政府のパフォーマンスへの評価次第であるが、それは民主主義の概念を捉えるパターンにより異なることが示された。

第五部は第十章、結論である。本研究は中国国民の民主主義への賛同と現政権への信頼という矛盾とも思われる現象を、文化歴史の要因や現実の経済発展の要因、大衆の民主主義の捉え方から分析した。アジア的価値観は民主主義への賛同に支障をきたすことなく、現政権への信頼を支えている。近代化、経済発展の政治的効果は、中国国民の民主主義への満足度を高め、政権への支持を増加させている。すなわち、中国国民は民主主義に賛成しながらも、現政権を支持しているが、その理由として、中国の一般大衆の民主主義の捉え方が、選挙や自由権利より、経済の平等や社会政策の平等を重視しているためであることがわかった。

本研究の今後の展望については、以下のように考える。

- 1 過去半世紀において、政治学への社会心理学の貢献度は多大であるが、本研究のテーマはまさに社会心理学の視点からの中国国民の民主主義への態度と政府への信

頼であり、継続して研究する意義がある。

2 中国現政権への政治信頼度の変化は今後も引き続き、分析する必要がある。

3 人口社会要素の分析からみると、将来中国国民の民主主義への満足度や民主主義の捉え方が変化する可能性は高く、アジア・バロメーターの調査プログラムを利用して、中国国民の民主主義への態度の変化の研究を続ける必要がある。

4 同様に、中国においてアジア的価値観の変化を分析し続ける必要がある。

5 一般大衆が民主化の中でどのような役割を果たすのか、一般大衆は民主主義が必要だと思っているか、民主主義が何を指すかなど、民主化の研究に多大な貢献をもたらすと思われる。