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Are Younger People in Asia More Pro-democratic:
Lifecycle Effects or Generational Changes?

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ARE YOUNGER PEOPLE IN ASIA MORE PRO-DEMOCRATIC: Lifecycle Effects or Generational Changes?

In recent memory, youth in Asia are known to be extraordinary pro-democratic. The May Fourth Movement of 1919 and the New Culture Movement that prepared it was a call for Mr. Democracy and Mr. Science, which helped the establishment of more democratic republican government in Beijing. Closer to our time, student movements in South Korea, China, Mongolia, and Taiwan all contributed to democratic progress in these societies. Today in South Korea's politics, there is still a powerful "3-8-6 Generation", referring to those who entered college in the 1980s and were among the most active in the democratic movement in those years. Today they are still exerting pressure for political reforms that may help consolidate South Korea's democracy (Lee, 2006). In Singapore, younger generations are clearly unsatisfied with political rights and civil liberty level in Singapore. In a dialogue with Singapore's Minister Mentor Lee Kuan Yew before the General Election, Kor Kian Beng, 28, asked: "We just think that the PAP [People's Action Party] is playing with unfair rules and is power crazy. What do you have to say?" (Rahim, 2006)

In fact, that younger people are more pro-democratic seems to be a global phenomenon today. The international studies journal *SAIS Review* recently devoted a whole issue to examine the political activism of youth in various parts of the world, including the Middle East, the former Communist bloc, Asia, and Latin America (Volume 26, No. 2, 2006). But a question rises immediately: is this a lifecycle effect? That is to say: when people are young, they are generally more activist, anti-establishment, and pro-change (in a sense, more pro-democratic). But as people age, we

tend to change and adopt more conservative attitudes. Many people know the famous saying by George Bernard Shaw: "If at age 20 you are not a Communist then you have no heart. If at age 30 you are not a capitalist then you have no brains."

But the relationship between age and democratic support may be more complicated than this. For example, many observers feel that young people today in China are immersed in consumerism, and demanding for political right is simply not part of their life. A recent Time magazine article points out that as the beneficiary of recent decades' economic growth, young professionals in China "have more and more tied up in preserving status quo"(Elegant, 2007). In Japan, notably, younger people seem to harbor a lot of indifference to politics, hence are far from being pro-democratic (Ono, 2005). In fact, in several Asian countries for which we have survey data, younger people are not necessarily more pro-democratic. This paper is an attempt to untangle this complicity. We use the most recent survey data from ten East Asian societies (the Asian Barometer Survey completed in 2002 and 2006), to examine the democratic values of younger people. We want to ask 1) Are younger people in Asia more pro-democratic, in what ways? And, 2) If so, why? Are they more pro-democratic simply because they are younger (hence their democratic values may decline as they age), or are these newer generations of Asians, who are indeed more pro-democratic than their parent's generations? In the rest of this paper, we first lay out some theoretical backgrounds of this study. Then we explain our analytical framework, which is followed by empirical findings. Then we draw some conclusions.

Theory

Regarding age and value, there are two main competing theories. The first is cohort effect or generational replacement theory, which argues that generations grew up in different social, economic, political, and cultural contexts are socialized into different values and beliefs. And because human values are largely determined during the formative period (from childhood through adolescence), and remain roughly stable over one's life time, intergenerational differences will not disappear even if younger generation become older. As a result, value change of a society takes place because newer generations (or cohorts) replace older one. The second is a life-cycle theory, which argues that people's values change as they enter different stages of their life. Hence, younger people may hold different values, but as they grow, they may adopt values similar to those of older people.

The most notable studies of cohort effects in pro-democratic values grew out of the Eurobarometer surveys (Inglehart, 1971). Inglehart found that Europeans grew up amidst the post-War fast economic growth acquired values different from the older generations. The newer generations are postmaterialist, in the sense they stress rights and liberty over material security. As Europe's society moves into the post-industrial stage, a shift in the public's values occurred as a result of this generational replacement process, a silent revolution of a sort (Inglehart, 1977). Later, with data generated by the World Values Survey, researchers found similar cohort effects of value changes in other parts of the world: economic security and affluence give rise to a generation that is postmaterialist and pro-democracy (Inglehart, 1997; Inglehart & Abramson, 1994).

The scholarly community's inquiry into this argument through the years has produced mixed results. There are findings supporting such a cultural shift toward post-materialist orientation as a society moves into the post-industrial stage (Bekkers, 2002; Flanagan, 1982; Flanagan & Lee, 2000; Hellevik, 1993; Nevitte, 1996). But scholars also found contradicting trends. For example, younger cohorts in some countries (Norway, for example) are characterized by a preoccupation with material possessions and consumption, rather than postmaterialist values (Hellevik, 2002). In Japan, while the fast industrialization and post-industrialization in the 1960s did lead to the emergence of certain values among younger cohorts, but the direction of value changes is not necessarily identical to what was found in Europe (Ike, 1973). Some found that while childhood experiences have effects on an individual's materialist orientation, it does not have much an effect on an individual's postmaterialist values (Sangster & Reynolds, 1996). Most importantly, people found some values display life cycle patterns. For example, younger people are less materialist because they are unburdened by family obligation hence feel that money is less important (Ike, 1973), or, the longer people are married, the more pro-social they become (Bekkers, 2002).

A related but slightly different argument is adult learning: as people grow, even after their formative age, they learn certain values and attitudes. For example, as people become older, they learn the value of cooperation, hence they become more pro-social (Van Lange, De Bruin, Otten, & Joireman, 1997). When immersed in democratic politics which they had not experienced before, such as those socialized in the pre-democratization era, adults can also acquire values that are conducive to democracy, such as *rejecting* the idea that political decisions should be left to politicians to make (Ike,

1973). In Taiwan, for example, after democratization in the 1990s, many adults gradually shifted from identifying themselves as “Chinese” to identifying themselves as “Both Chinese and Taiwanese”, clearly an adult learning process. In fact, in a review of political socialization literature, the authors claim that there is “no empirical support” for the “primary” principle (i.e. political values were formed in pre-adulthood) (Somit & A., 1987).

We hypothesize that human values are multi-layered. Values of a deeper layer may be subjected to formative experiences more and are roughly stable once formed, while values of a more superficial level may be subjected to change throughout one’s life. In the latter case, adult learning or life-cycle effects can occur. Specifically, in terms of democratic values, those values that reflect a person’s deep beliefs in democratic ways of life are more stable once formed, while those more closely relate to political life are more subjected to recent influence. For example, one can prefer democratic way of life but still tolerate a relatively authoritarian political system. Although preferring democracy, one can hold that economic development has a higher priority than democratic reforms. Another example is although one has strong belief in democracy, one may think democracy is still not suitable for one’s country, as one believes the country’s people’s education level is still low. In both cases, one harbors a high level of *democratic values* but a low level of *support for democracy*. Such a low level of support for democracy, however, can change if the social context changes. That is, if political discourse in the society shifts toward favoring democracy, than one’s support for democracy may rise as well. Hence, we hypothesize that in East Asia, *democratic values* are subjected to cohort effects, while *support for democracy* is more prone to adult learning.

For generational changes to happen there must be social changes: the context the later cohorts grow up in must be different from that of the older ones. But what are the social changes that matter most for democratic values? The research on Europe and North America points to material security. The affluence level that was made possible by post-War economic take-off enabled the rise of postmaterialist cohorts, who took economic security for granted and aspired for political rights (Inglehart, 1971; Inglehart & Abramson, 1994). Physical security is also important: a low-crime and orderly domestic environment and the absence of threat of war or a foreign enemy. In the 1960s, South Korea and Singapore both faced the threat of Communism. Lee Kuan Yew's generation in Singapore, for example, may harbor a genuine fear of losing control, while in China people like Deng Xiaoping who suffered terribly in the Cultural Revolution may be completely afraid of chaos. Neither kinds of social context is conducive to the forming of democratic values.

But most East Asian societies are lucky in these two senses: economic and physical security. Since the 1960s, many societies have enjoyed fast economic growth and social modernization (the "Japan as No One!" and "East Asian Miracle" periods). These waves of economic takeoff enabled generations grew up after 1960s to live in increasing affluence (for China it is after 1980s and Vietnam 1990s). Physical security also improved through the years as most of these societies were able to achieve domestic order and international peace (despite lingering tensions at hot spots such as the Korean Peninsular and Taiwan Strait). Because of this, we should expect to observe a rise in democratic values among the newer cohorts in East Asia. Meanwhile, however, as

explained above, we should also expect some form of democratic values manifesting adult learning or life cycle effects.

Analytical Framework:

Specifically, using the data from Asian Barometer, we hypothesize the relationship between age and pro-democratic values in two ways. 1) citizens' Democratic Values will show patterns of generational changes (cohort effects). That is, younger Asians have stronger democratic values: they are more likely to think that people with lower level of education should have the same level of political rights as those with higher level of education, for example. 2) Support for Democracy (believing democracy is preferable than non-democracy, and democracy is a desirable form of government for one's country, for example), however, is more prone to the influence of recent and current political contexts, hence intergenerational difference of it should be small. (Support for Democracy, we hypothesize, can be learned by both younger and older people).

Furthermore, if we find younger people hold stronger democratic values, how do we know it is because they are of a new generation (cohort effect), not because they are young (life-cycle effect)? The ideal methodology to disentangle this problem is to have panel survey, so that we can compare a same sample's values surveyed at different time points. As this is not available, we can use cross-sectional analysis. If generational differences can be accounted for by different socioeconomic factors (such as higher

income level and better education attainment), then such differences are of generational effect, not age effect. That is, these people are more pro-democratic *not* because they are young, but because they are socialized in more affluent environment, and they have higher education attainment. Regression analysis will serve this purpose.

To summarize, we expect to find:

- 1) Younger people have stronger democratic values;
- 2) Support for Democracy will display no intergenerational trend
- 3) Once controlling socioeconomic and other variables, age is not a significant predictor of democratic values.

Empirical Analyses

Measurements

In this paper we examine three different kinds of pro-democratic values. As suggested earlier, we expect they display different intergenerational patterns. For Democratic Values, we look at the individual's understanding and support for democratic ways of political and social life. Questions below in the 2002 and 2006 Asian Barometer Survey are used to measure this dimension of pro-democratic values, from which a variable is calculated (using the SPSS syntax commands provided by the organizer of this conference.).

People with little or no education should have as much say in politics as highly-educated people.
Government leaders are like the head of a family; we should all follow their decisions.

The government should decide whether certain ideas should be allowed to be discussed in society.

Harmony of the community will be disrupted if people organize lots of groups.

When judges decide important cases, they should accept the view of the executive branch.

If the government is constantly checked [i.e. monitored and supervised] by the legislature, it cannot possibly accomplish great things.

If we have political leaders who are morally upright, we can let them decide everything.

If people have too many different ways of thinking, society will be chaotic.

Answers to these questions are each recoded into a -1.5 to 1.5 scale, which are then combined to generate a Democratic Values variable that ranges from -12 to 12, with a mean of -0.12 and standard deviation of 3.47. The distribution of this value across all the 10 societies included in the two surveys (2002 and 2006) appears to be almost perfectly normal. (See Appendix for a histogram of this variable)

For Support for Democracy, we again use the syntax commands provided by the conference organizer, to create a variable that combine one's **preference** of democracy over authoritarianism, the **efficacy** one thinks democracy has in solving the society's problems, the **priority** one gives to democracy vis-à-vis economic development, the **desirability** of democracy one thinks for her society, and the **suitability** of democracy one thinks for her society. Each of these variables is recoded into a (0,1) dichotomous scale, then added together to form a 0-5 discrete variable: Support for Democracy Sum. Across the 10 societies in the survey, the average of this variable is 3.17 with a standard deviation of 1.37. The distribution appears to be slightly skewed, but close to a normal shape (see Appendix for a histogram).

To better illustrate the trend of intergenerational changes, we included a third variable: traditional values. Literature of modernization and individual modernity (Inkeles, 1971, for example) suggests that with socioeconomic modernization, individuals tend to discard certain values that are "traditional". In the Asian Barometer Survey,

traditional values are measured by looking at how an individual responds to family and social situations. For example, it asks the individual whether she thinks children should still follow what their parents want them to do even if demands of the parents are unreasonable, and whether she would favor a friend of relative when hiring (see appendix for the whole list of the questions used to measured traditional values). Because we are hypothesizing one of the causes of intergenerational differences in democratic value is socioeconomic modernization in the last few decades, we should also expect the decline of traditional values among generations that grew up in these decades.

Intergenerational Patterns

For these three pro-democratic values (democratic values, support for democracy, and (rejection of) traditional values), we calculated the means of each generation's within each of the 10 societies.

Figure 1 presents the intergenerational patterns of the three value dimensions in each of the ten societies. In a society that is going or has been through rapid economic development and modernization, a classic pattern of these three values dimension should see two trends: 1) decrease in traditional values from the older generations to the younger and 2) rise in democratic values from the older generations to the younger. As for support for democracy, it is likely to be subjected to more direct influence by the political development in a society: if overall the society is moving today democratization and the deepening and consolidation of democracy, the support for democracy is likely to be high, and it is likely to be high even among older generations, as they also learn to support

democracy. If political democratization lags behind socioeconomic modernization, it is likely that younger generation harbor stronger desire (and support) for democracy than the older ones.

[Figure 1 about here]

As Figure 1 shows, in terms of traditional values and democratic values, South Korea, Hong Kong, Mainland China, Taiwan, Mongolia, and to an extent Thailand and Singapore, all display the predicted patterns: younger cohorts have much weaker traditional values, and much stronger democratic values. Three cases seem to defy this pattern. In Japan, although there is a continuing decline in traditional values, the democratic values seem to peak among the generation that was born between 1953 and 1962. Later generations (at the survey time 2002 between 20 to 40 years old) seem to be less pro-democratic. The second is Indonesia, where although there is a visible rise in democratic values, there is no clear decline in traditional values. The third exception is the Philippines, where for the generations born after 1953, both traditional values and democratic values seem to have stagnated. Singapore shows a mixed picture. On the one hand, the generations born after 1942 are generally more pro-democratic comparing to the generations born before 1941 (Singapore's founding fathers generation----Lee Kuan Yew's generation). Furthermore, the most pro-democratic generation seems to be the one born between 1962 and 1971, the period in which Singapore achieved independent nationhood and economic takeoff. But on the other hand, the later generations (born after 1973) have not become more democratic. There is probably an effect of the political system, which may limit the growth of democratic values.

In terms of support for democracy, in general, there is no big intergenerational difference: in each society, the support for democracy is roughly at the same level across generations. The biggest difference is probably found between democratic and non-democratic societies: support for democracy seems to be consistently higher in democratic societies than in non-democratic societies. In Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, Thailand (when still a democracy in 2002), Mongolia, and Indonesia, average support for democracy score of each generation's is close to or higher than 3.0, with Mongolia and Thailand having the highest score, close to 4.0 for most generations.

A second notable finding is that, in non-democratic Mainland China and Hong Kong, although overall the support for democracy score is lower than the democratic societies, there is a clear growth of such support among the younger cohorts. In both societies, support for democracy is growing at about the same pace of the democratic values. Younger people clearly have stronger desire and aspiration for democracy in these two societies, despite the undemocratic systems they have. In China, interestingly, the generation born between 1963 and 1972 seems to have weaker support for democracy. This generation born into the Cultural Revolution, hence may be on the relatively conservative end when it comes to democracy and openness vis-à-vis order.

Multivariate Analyses

So far the evidences confirm our hypothesis that some pro-democratic values have intergenerational differences, while some do not. The change across generations,

however, may be displaying either cohort effects (that is, different generations assume different values) or life-cycle effects (that is, younger generations are different from the older ones only because they are younger). A relatively simple method to deal with such questions is to see whether age (or generation) is a significant factor when controlling other variables. For example, younger generations in Asia may display stronger democratic values because comparing to their parent's generations they were socialized in an economically more affluent environment. If this is the case, when we control the socioeconomic variables, the value differences explained by age should decrease.

We first looked at education. In East Asia, as societies modernize, access to education greatly expanded in the last decades. Such expansion of education may be one cause to the stronger pro-democratic values of the younger generations in Asia. On the other hand, the access to education may be an proxy to socioeconomic variables such as the economic situation of the family in which the person grew up, or the degree of affluence of the society during the time when the individual grew up,.

[Figure 2 about here]

Figure 2 shows, when using two pro-democratic values as dependent variable, whether the age effect decreases when education is introduced as a controlling variable. The two bars for each society in the figure shows the standardized co-efficiencies (beta) of two separate regression models. The first is a model in which "Age" is the only independent variable, while the second is one in which "Age" and "Education (counted in years of education one received)" are independent variables. Clearly, younger people do show stronger pro-democratic values (except in the Philippines). In most surveyed societies, the difference in both Democratic Values and Support for Democracy made by

simply being one year younger is big and significant. But this difference becomes much smaller or insignificant once education is included as a control variable. In several cases (such as for Democratic Values in Singapore, Japan, Thailand, and the Philippines, and for Support for Democracy in Mainland China, Indonesia, Japan, Thailand, and the Philippines), once education is controlled, the differences made by being one year younger is actually negative. This pattern is the same if we switch actual age with age-group as the independent variable.

We then conducted more regression tests. Besides education, we included other socioeconomic variables such as gender, household income level, and urban versus rural residencies. Another series of tests we did is to include several psychological or behavioral variables, to see how the age effect changes with the inclusion of various combinations of them. The results are more or less similar. The age or generational effect is greatly reduced in these various models (for some of the models having Support for Democracy as the dependent variable, there is no age effect to speak at the first place). We chose two models to report here for each society: the one with age as the only independent variable, and the other with all the socioeconomic and psychological and behavioral variables as controls.

[Table 1 and Table 2 about here]

Discussion

We started this paper by asking whether young people in Asia today are more pro-democratic. Intergenerational comparison shows that in the 10 societies included in the Asian Barometer Survey study, younger people have stronger pro-democratic values in some dimensions. Most notably, they hold stronger democratic values, for example, in believing that people should have equal political rights, government should tolerate the different ideas in the society, and people should enjoy the rights in organizing groups. With this there is a decline in traditional values among the younger generations. On the other hand, for explicit support and preferences of democracy, the intergenerational differences are small.

The differences between generations seem to be a result of changed socioeconomic contexts of certain societies. In those societies experienced faster economic and human development, the generational differences seem to be larger. And we confirmed in our regression analyses that once controlling socioeconomic variables (such as the level of education one receives), the generational differences in pro-democratic values decrease. Some pro-democratic values, such as Support for Democracy, show little intergenerational differences. We argue such values are more easily subjected to recent sociopolitical development in a society, hence citizens across the generations are socialized into similar level of such values. Consequently, we observed that in East Asia, Support for Democracy in democratic societies is overall stronger than that in the non-democratic societies.

This is both good news and bad news. The bad news is that, in non-democratic societies, there needs to be a major shift in political discourse for the public's Support for

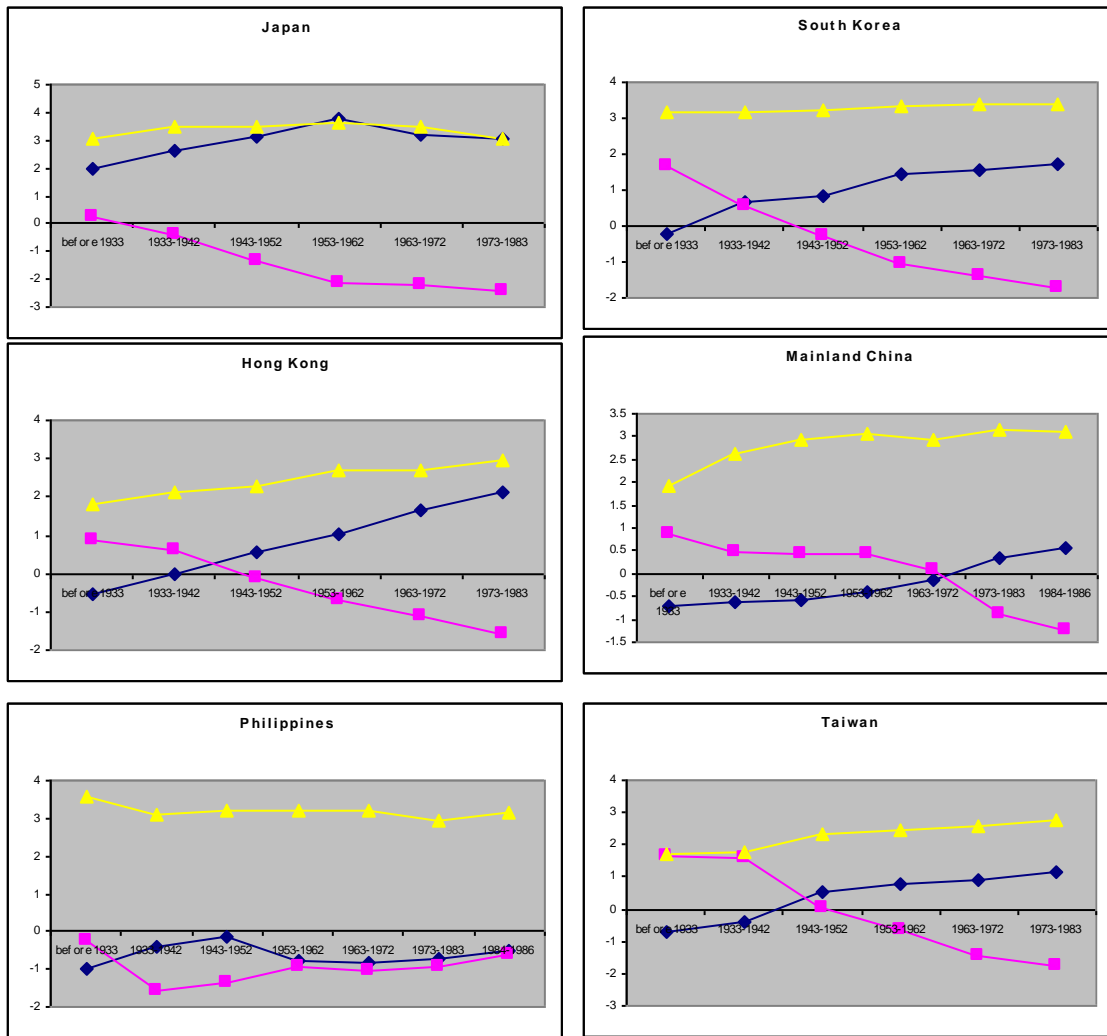
Democracy level to rise. This may be difficult if the ruling regime can still dominate public discourse in those societies. But the good news is, the public does have the ability to learn once the discourse is generated. And such learning may be already happening, as we see in both Mainland China and Hong Kong, younger generations are showing growing support for democracy.

What is more, a very strong finding of this study is that democratic values are growing fast as a society modernizes. Such a value change toward a more democratic worldview seems to defy political control, not the least in both Hong Kong and China, and in Taiwan and South Korea before democratization. And as our regression results show (in Table 2), stronger democratic values do mean stronger support for democracy. In the end, modernization in producing a pro-democratic generations in East Asia, and these generations will be stronger supporters of democracy.

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Figure 1: Intergenerational Patterns of Traditional Values, Democratic Values, and Support for Democracy



(Figure continues on the next page)

Legend:

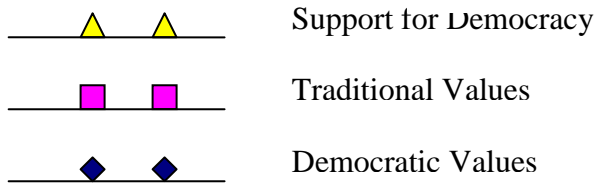
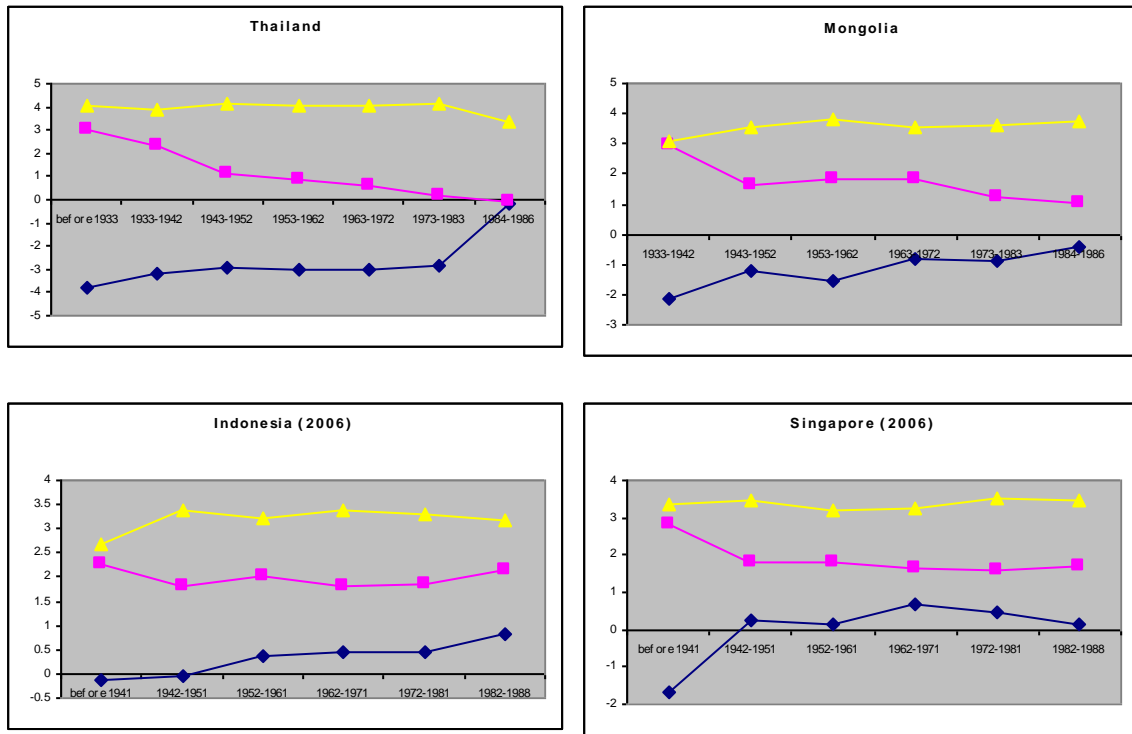








Figure 1: Intergenerational Patterns of Traditional Values, Democratic Values, and Support for Democracy (Continued)

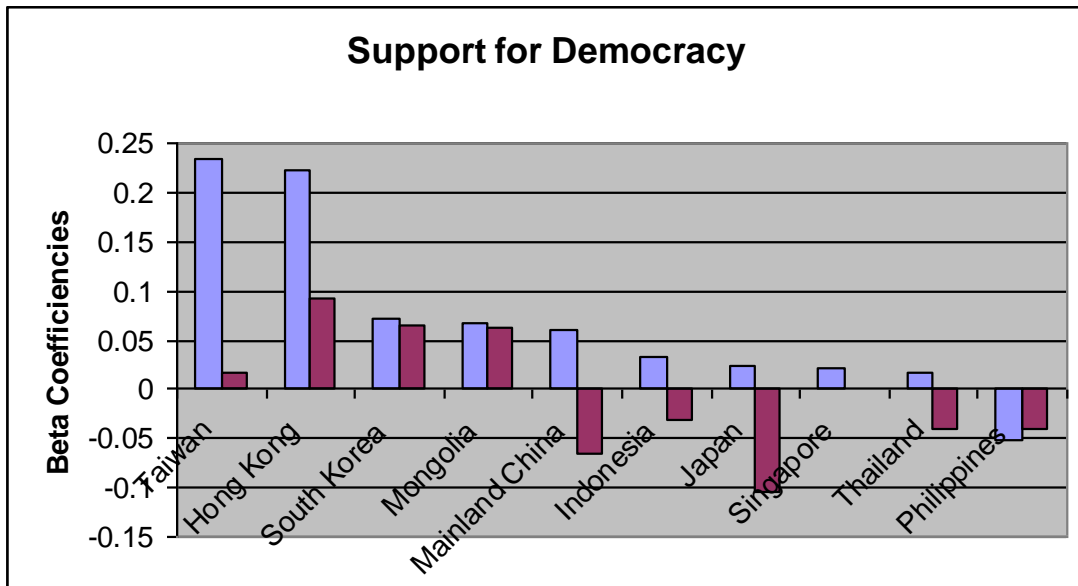
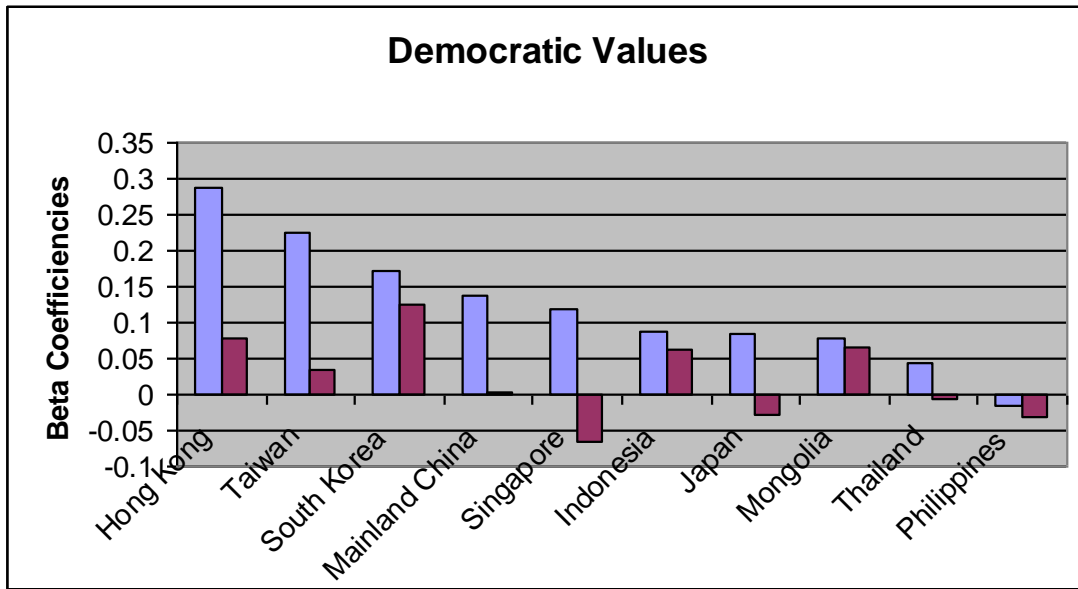


Legend:

-   Support for Democracy
-   Traditional Values
-   Democratic Values

Data: Asian Barometer 2002 (and 2006 for Indonesia and Singapore)

Figure 2, Age Effects on Pro-Democratic Values When Education is Controlled.



Legend:

- Beta Value When Age is the Only Independent Variable
- Beta Value of Age when Education is Included as a Control Variable

Bars show the degree of pro-democraticness if a respondent is one year *younger*.
 Data: Asian Barometer 2002 (2006 for Indonesia and Singapore)

Table 1 Regression Results on the Age Effects on Democratic Values

	Japan		South Korea		Hong Kong		Mainland China		Philippines	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Age (in years)	-.083 ** (.006)	-.046 (.009)	-.171*** (.005)	-.108* (.007)	-.286*** (.007)	-.117** (.008)	-.137*** (.002)	-.054** (.003)	.016 (.008)	.014 (.008)
Education (in years)		.208*** (.051)		.004 (.034)		.276*** (.026)		.274*** (.010)		.018 (.037)
Male		.071* (.224)		.003 (.174)		.038 (.186)		.039* (.066)		-.019 (.235)
Income Level (1-5)		.032 (.097)		.165*** (.093)		.119** (.084)		.025 (.025)		.082* (.126)
Urban		-.067* (.283)		.077* (.261)		Not included		.137*** (.075)		-.088** (.252)
Social Capital		-.024 (.062)		.014 (.097)		.090* (.104)		Not included		.034 (.119)
Psychological Involvement in Politics		.119*** (.092)		-.040 (.052)		.021 (.056)		.047** (.020)		.030 (.059)
N	1359	992	1499	1204	771	685	3095	3090	1199	1163
R-square	.007	.088	.029	.062	.082	.204	.019	.166	.000	.014

(Table continues on the next page)

Table 1 Regression Results on the Age Effects on Democratic Values (Continued)

	Taiwan		Thailand		Mongolia		Indonesia		Singapore	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Age (in years)	-.225*** (.005)	-.039 (.006)	-.045 (.007)	.024 (.008)	-.077* (.084)	-.068* (.085)	-.089*** (.004)	-.072** (.005)	-.119*** (.008)	.019 (.010)
Education (in years)		.196*** (.023)		.067* (.031)		.156*** (.037)		.191*** (.018)		.169*** (.034)
Male		-.009 (.142)		-.013 (.215)		.048 (.219)		.047 (.122)		.093** (.223)
Income Level (1-5)		.095** (.064)		.124*** (.104)		.038 (.074)		-.016 (.045)		.267*** (.096)
Urban		.013 (.178)		.092** (.284)		-.006 (.231)		Not included		Not included
Social Capital		-.013 (.059)		-.008 (.101)		.009 (.054)		Not included		Not included
Psychological Involvement in Politics		.101** (.040)		-.037 (.062)		.051 (.068)		.021 (.031)		-.055 (.064)
N	1385	1184	1529	1392	1070	1028	1580	1409	1004	928
R-square	.051	.092	.002	.052	.006	.045	.008	.049	.014	.153

* $\alpha < .05$ ** $\alpha < .01$ *** $\alpha < .001$

Data: Asian Barometer Survey 2002 (2006 for Indonesia and Singapore)

Entries are standardized coefficients with standard errors in parentheses"

Table 2 Regression Results on the Age Effects on Support for Democracy

	Japan		South Korea		Hong Kong		Mainland China		Philippines	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Age (in years)	-.024 (.002)	-.014 (.003)	-.072* (.002)	-.074* (.003)	-.223*** (.003)	-.095* (.004)	-.060** (.002)	.002 (.002)	.051 (.002)	.059 (.002)
Education (in years)		.077* (.017)		-.025 (.013)		.127* (.014)		.155 (.008)		.002 (.010)
Male		.002 (.075)		-.022 (.068)		.021 (.097)		.102 (.052)		.013 (.064)
Income Level (1-5)		.090** (.032)		.027 (.037)		-.076 (.044)		.074 (.020)		-.053 (.034)
Urban		-.038 (.094)		-.016 (.102)		Not included		.041 (.061)		-.067* (.069)
Internal Efficacy		.097** (.022)		-.012 (.022)		.045 (.054)		.010 (.028)		.044 (.018)
Social Capital		.082** (.021)		.010 (.038)		.020 (.054)		Not included		-.011 (.032)
Democratic Values		.183*** (.011)		.089** (.012)		.115** (.020)		-.080 (.014)		.022 (.008)
Psychological Involvement in Politics		.189*** (.031)		.038 (.020)		.087* (.029)		.213 (.016)		.012 (.016)
N	1417	989	1499	1204	783	678	3182	2952	1199	1163
R-square	.001	.176	.005	.015	.050	.077	.004	.131	.003	.017

(Table continues on the next page)

Table 2 Regression Results on the Age Effects on Support for Democracy (Continued)

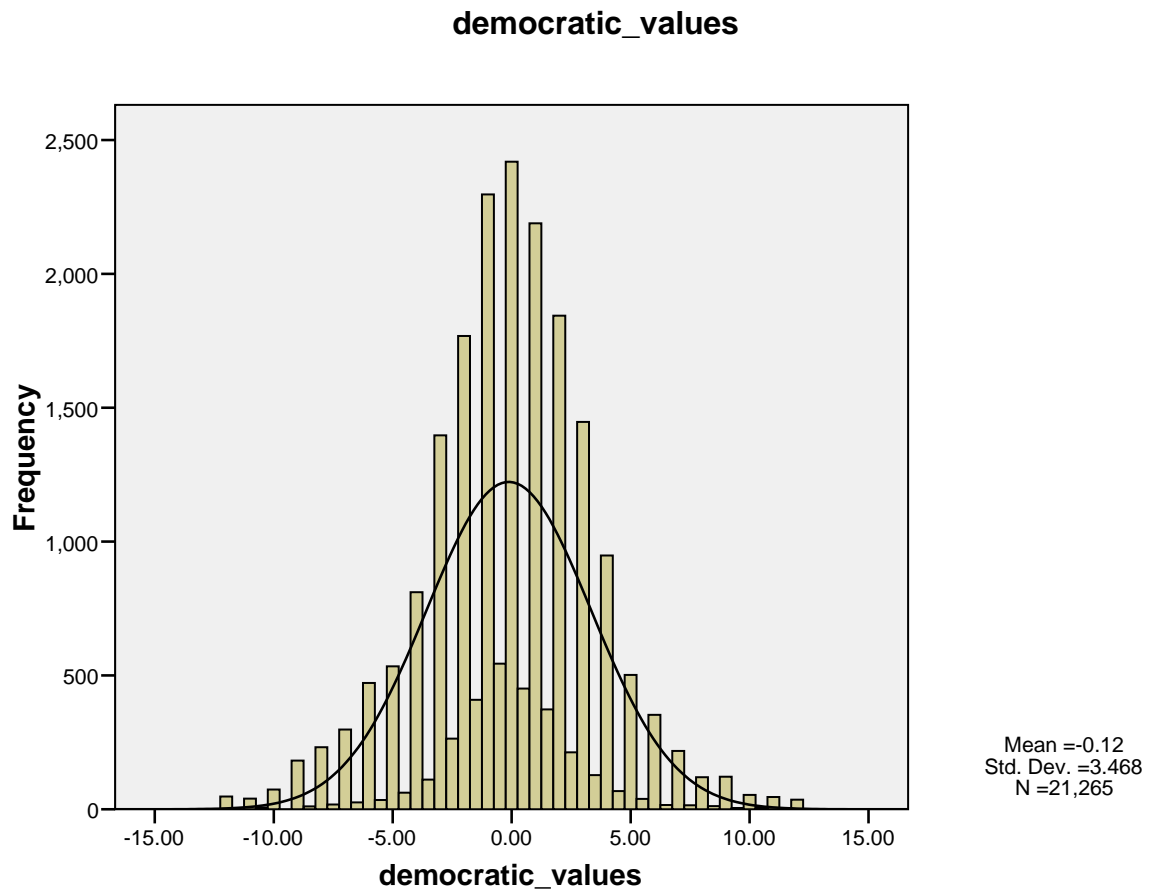
	Taiwan		Thailand		Mongolia		Indonesia		Singapore	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Age (in years)	-.233 *** (.003)	-.033 (.003)	-.017 (.002)	.034 (.002)	-.067* (.028)	-.078** (.028)	-.032 (.003)	.038 (.003)	-.022 (.003)	-.019 (.003)
Education (in years)		.115*** (.013)		.088** (.007)		.039 (.012)		.171*** (.010)		-.025 (.012)
Male		.058* (.080)		.038 (.049)		.031 (.071)		.056* (.066)		.022 (.080)
Income Level (1-5)		.057 (.036)		-.065* (.024)		.002 (.024)		.023 (.024)		.007 (.036)
Urban		.053 (.100)		-.076* (.065)		-.176*** (.075)		Not included		Not included
Internal Efficacy		.121*** (.033)		.022 (.016)		.065* (.020)		-.002 (.039)		.051 (.037)
Social Capital		-.012 (.033)		-.038 (.023)		.065* (.017)		Not included		Not included
Democratic Values		.032 (.016)		.022 (.006)		.123*** (.010)		.041 (.014)		.115** (.012)
Psychological Involvement in Politics		.099*** (.023)		.143*** (.014)		.057 (.022)		.194*** (.017)		.086* (.023)
N	1414	1175	1532	1392	1094	1026	1597	1369	1011	927
R-square	.054	.094	.000	.041	.004	.086	.001	.105	.000	.029

* $\alpha < .05$ ** $\alpha < .01$ *** $\alpha < .001$

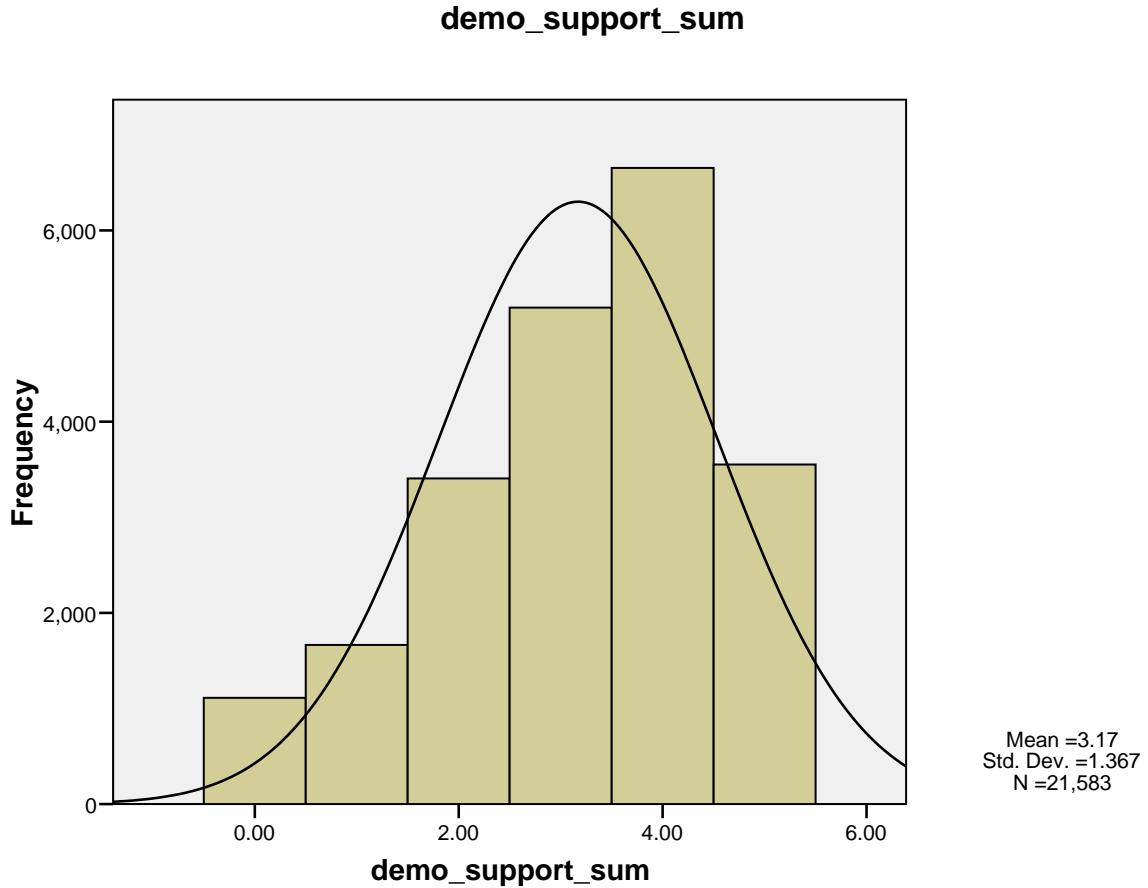
Data: Asian Barometer Survey 2002 (2006 for Indonesia and Singapore)
 Entries are standardized coefficients with standard errors in parentheses

APPENDIX

1. Histogram of the Democratic Values variable generated by SPSS



2. Histogram of Support for Democracy Sum variable, generated by SPSS



3. Survey Questions Used to Measure Traditional Values

Even if parents' demands are unreasonable, children still should do what they ask.
When hiring someone, even if a stranger is more qualified, the opportunity should still be given to relatives and friends.
When one has a conflict with a neighbor, the best way to deal with it is to accommodate the other person.
Wealth and poverty, success and failure are all determined by fate.
A person should not insist on his own opinion if his co-workers disagree with him.
For the sake of the family, the individual should put his personal interests second.
A man will lose face if he works under a female supervisor.
If there is a quarrel, we should ask an elder to resolve the dispute.

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The Asian Barometer Survey (ABS) grows out of the Comparative Survey of Democratization and Value Change in East Asia Project (also known as East Asia Barometer), which was launched in mid-2000 and funded by the Ministry of Education of Taiwan under the MOE-NSC Program for Promoting Academic Excellence of University. The headquarters of ABS is based in Taipei, and is jointly sponsored by the Department of Political Science at NTU and the Institute of Political Science of Academia Sinica. The East Asian component of the project is coordinated by Prof. Yun-han Chu, who also serves as the overall coordinator of the Asian Barometer. In organizing its first-wave survey (2001-2003), the East Asia Barometer (EABS) brought together eight country teams and more than thirty leading scholars from across the region and the United States. Since its founding, the EABS Project has been increasingly recognized as the region's first systematic and most careful comparative survey of attitudes and orientations toward political regime, democracy, governance, and economic reform.

In July 2001, the EABS joined with three partner projects -- New Europe Barometer, Latinobarometro and Afrobarometer -- in a path-breathing effort to launch Global Barometer Survey (GBS), a global consortium of comparative surveys across emerging democracies and transitional societies.

The EABS is now becoming a true pan-Asian survey research initiative. New collaborative teams from Indonesia, Singapore, Cambodia, and Vietnam are joining the EABS as the project enters its second phase (2004-2008). Also, the State of Democracy in South Asia Project, based at the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (in New Delhi) and directed by Yogendra Yadav, is collaborating with the EABS for the creation of a more inclusive regional survey network under the new identity of the Asian Barometer Survey. This path-breaking regional initiative builds upon a substantial base of completed scholarly work in a number of Asian countries. Most of the participating national teams were established more than a decade ago, have acquired abundant experience and methodological know-how in administering nationwide surveys on citizen's political attitudes and behaviors, and have published a substantial number of works both in their native languages and in English.

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