Patterns of Traditionalism in East Asia

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East Asia Barometer: A Comparative Survey of Democratization and Value Changes

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This paper presents some findings from a first exploration of the “traditionalism” battery in the eight-nation data set. The paper briefly reviews the theoretical basis on which this battery was designed, then describes the distribution of traditionalist attitudes in the eight Asian nations. It uses factor analysis and reliability analysis to explore the measurement qualities of our battery, and interprets some of the patterns that emerge in the factor analyses. Finally, I look at the external validity of the traditionalism scale in terms of the strength of its correlations with other variables that theory predicts it should strongly relate to.

The overall goal of the paper is to explore whether the traditionalism scale that we designed gives us a strong basis to go on to the next steps, which would be the subject of future work. These next steps involve asking how traditionalism is distributed across the social landscapes of the eight Asian nations (that is, among classes and other social groups), what causes traditionalism to persist or to disappear and to do so at differential rates among different social groups, and how traditionalism affects attitudes towards politics. In the analyses that we plan, in other words, traditionalism will be seen as a culturally transmitted set of attitudes, which changes at differential rates in response to different forces of social change, and which intervenes between social and institutional change on the one hand and support for democracy on the other, in such a way as to affect the impact of the former on the latter.

Theoretical framework. "Tradition" is a concept at the center of the social sciences. Much-contested, the concept carries a variety of different meanings in the humanities and social sciences. For some literary and aesthetic critics, and for political

1 Note to colleagues in the EAB project. This paper’s most important undertaking is to develop a method for scoring traditionalism. This method should not only work for the traditionalism battery, but should be capable of serving as a template for our scoring conventions with other attitudinal batteries in the project. (This is because all attitudinal batteries throughout the project should, ideally, follow compatible scoring conventions for easy comprehension and comparison.) Therefore, please play close attention to the scoring procedures I have developed in the attached syntax file, as well as to the results that are reported in the paper based on the use of these conventions. Second, and similarly, we need common coding conventions for a host of independent variables. Please review and critique how I have coded and scored the independent variables that I have used here. Third, insightful analysis of the results reported in this paper depends on deep knowledge of the eight cultures we are studying. Please help me deepen my interpretations of how these findings make sense, or don’t make sense, in the context of your eight cultures. Finally, the short methodological appendix is intended as a first approximation of a document that all of us can use when we write papers using data from the project. Please help me refine this document by providing the information that is missing and by suggesting other categories of information that we should include.

2 I want to thank Chu Yun-han and Shi Tianjian for guidance and ideas, Shi Tianjian for much syntax code, and Chen Tse-hsin for research assistance with the statistical analysis in this paper.

3 This and the next section are adapted from my concept paper, “Traditionalism and Related Concepts, and How to Measure Them,” for the Planning Workshop of the Project on Comparative Study of Democratization and Value Changes in East Asia, Taipei, June 29-July 2, 2000.
conservatives, tradition is good, representing high standards and time-tested ways to run society. For other thinkers, tradition is associated with backwardness.

In the social sciences, the idea of tradition is associated with various versions of modernization theory, such as Marxism and the Weberian tradition (which of course are closely related to one another). Responding to this body of thought, critics have questioned whether any such thing as tradition exists, or whether the concept attributes a static, integrated quality to a variety of practices and attitudes across different societies that is unfaithful to the diversity and dynamism of these societies. Critics also argue that the idea is associated with a false stage theory of history (from tradition to modernity), that it falsely assumes some basic similarity among all pre-modern societies when in fact they are very diverse; and that it attributes a static quality to societies which were and are dynamic. Another critical claim is that the idea of tradition is a myth used by elites who wish to exercise control over other people.

Taking note of all this, our project nonetheless undertook to define a concept of tradition which would be measurable in questionnaire form and comparable across societies. To do so, we conceived of tradition not as the classic religious and philosophical mainstream of a civilization, and not as valued, institutionalized patterns of thought and behavior – as others have occasionally defined it for their own research purposes – but as a set of attitudes that were characteristic of all societies at a certain stage in their history prior to modernization. In contrast to some other notions of tradition, this can be understood as a “universalistic” conception. That is, we conceptualized the “tradition” we were attempting to measure in our study as one which has certain determinate and universal attributes (let’s say, deference to authority), which might or might not be present in the classic religious and philosophical texts of various countries and which might or might not continue to be valued in the midst of social change. We conceived of them as attitudes characteristic of a certain stage of historical development not only in our eight countries, but also throughout Asia, and indeed elsewhere: that is, we theorize them as being universally characteristic of the pre-modern stage of development.

This conception does, however, leave room for the possibility that there will be various versions of this traditional syndrome. Even if tradition as an overall pattern were universal, different cultural groups might combine its elements in different patterns or give greater stress to some elements of the syndrome that others. One society’s version of tradition might stress familism more than gender-based deference, another might stress conflict avoidance more than fatalism. Thus it is possible that a multi-measure scale of traditionalism could display different factor structures in different places, and that these factor structures would make sense in terms of a culturally informed understanding of the particular society. It is also possible, although by no means pre-ordained, that at a very high level of generality “Asian” cultures or a subset of “Asian” cultures could display patterns of traditionalism that were different from patterns of traditionalism in some other part of the world. Tradition, therefore – just like modernity – can be conceptualized as both one and many – as something which at a high level of abstraction is universal, but which has various local versions.

It should be clear, then, that in designing our questionnaire we committed ourselves to a concept of tradition that grows out of the “modernization theory” framework. We did this despite the many, and often valid, criticisms that have been directed against
modernization theory. We made this choice because doing so (a) facilitated cross-system study and (b) enabled us to frame the questions we wanted to ask about how social change affects the distribution of such attitudes and how such attitudes affect democratic transition and consolidation.

Basing our conception of tradition on the modernization framework implies, in our understanding, the following core assumptions:

- **Tradition was not necessarily always there or always the same in our societies.** A country with a long history like China underwent vast cultural changes throughout its history. The meaning of Confucianism has changed; Buddhism entered; the society was once feudal and later became a commercialized peasant society. Literacy increased over time. For us, therefore, the tradition we are interested in was a widespread or dominant set of attitudes in the period when – and in the social sectors within which – the process we call modernization had not yet made significant inroads. Roughly speaking, we can think of tradition as a pattern of attitudes in rural and lower-class urban Asia during the course of several decades before the outbreak of World War II. This is not a “deep” or permanent tradition, of ancient, feudal, or tribal times. This is a tradition of a fairly commercialized, literate kind of society, largely a peasant society, but one which is pre-“modernized”, as that term is understood by such modernization theorists as Karl Deutsch and others I will mention below.

- **As modernization proceeds, traditional attitudes become less prevalent (that is, fewer people believe in fewer of them).** By accepting this assumption, we hope to be able to make sense out of the pattern of distribution of traditionalist attitudes across “more” and “less” modernized sectors of our populations (e.g., rural vs. urban sectors). Until we have richer diachronic data, this will be our best way to assess the theory that traditional attitudes decrease as various elements of modernization increase. We do not, however, necessarily accept the teleological assumption that tradition disappears in any fixed manner or degree or that it is fated to disappear totally. Our framework allows us to explore this issue empirically. We can accept (if the data support it) a Rudolph-and-Rudolph type of argument that says that some traditional attitudes and practices may be adaptable to or compatible with modern institutions to some degree. It would also be conceivable that in a multi-item scale an item that fails to perform as expected will tip us off to the fact that an attitude we originally thought of as traditional is actually either (a) modern, or (b) persistent across the tradition-modernity boundary line or (c) related to modernity in some places and not others.4

- **Traditional attitudes are similar across societies – this is the assumption of the universality of tradition.** Thus, for example, deference to authority is a traditional attitude everywhere. We need this assumption if we are going to compare tradition across our eight societies, and between them and societies

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4 Example: Broaded and colleagues (cited in later note, in *Cross-Cultural Research*, p. 263) found that the attitude that older people should sacrifice their own interests for their children was a more modern, rather than more traditional, attitude in China. But it might be a more traditional attitude in another Asian society.
outside the list of eight. If tradition is different in every society, it would be difficult to come up with persuasive ways to use cross-society data that have face equivalence to compare the fate of traditional attitudes in different societies. But this does not mean that tradition takes exactly the same form in every society. Thus, religiosity might take the form of loyalty to Islam in one society, and to Christianity in another. Ancestor worship is a traditional practice in some societies and not in others. Indeed, we are aware that within any given country, there are pluralistic traditions, sometimes in direct conflict with one another. And different groups may contest with one another over the ownership and interpretation of a given tradition (say, different schools of Islam, or fundamentalists versus reformers within a given sect of Islam). Much of this subtlety is inaccessible to survey research, but with a multi-item battery to measure traditionalism we can to some extent discern different national or even sub-national attitudinal sub-structures within the overall traditionalism syndrome.

- Traditional attitudes are functionally related to certain kinds of institutional and behavioral patterns that are in some way non-modern – e.g., authoritarian social and political institutions, non-industrial modes of production. Without this assumption, it will be hard to generate meaningful hypotheses about how our attitudinal variables relate to behavioral and institutional variables. In fact it might be hard to explain why we have taken the trouble to investigate the attitudinal variables in the first place. However, this assumption is not rigid. It generates testable, falsifiable hypotheses.

- Traditional attitudes and “modern” attitudes are mutually exclusive, or are related to one another as opposites. To put this another way, modernity is defined as the negative of tradition, and vice versa. Tradition-modernity is a single dimension: you can measure both at once, with a single battery of questions, because they constitute opposite poles on this dimension. This means that if we define deference as a traditional attitude, we define its opposite – however exactly we conceptualize it – as a modern attitude. To be sure, this constitutes a strong simplifying assumption which is not true to the complexity of reality (see further the discussion of Inglehart below). But it is a convenient assumption for scale-building. Thus, we will argue that as traditional attitudes decline in prevalence or salience, modern attitudes increase. This does not mean, however, that we shouldn’t separately measure traditional and modern attitudes. We should measure at least some of them separately and should be open to the possibility that the assumption of mutual exclusiveness is not entirely fulfilled in the data. Put otherwise, this assumption is needed in order to create the concepts and measures but it is not expected to be one hundred percent reflected in the data. A person may and in fact is likely to hold a mix of traditional and modern attitudes. When this is the case, we will need to interpret the findings in terms of various theories, whether socialization theory, modernization theory, institutionalist theory, and so on.

- Traditional and modern attitudes are syndromes – that is, the whole set of attitudes tends to vary together. We might think of traditionalism-modernity
as a single attribute which we are tapping with multiple probes, but it is probably better for our purposes to think of it as multi-dimensional set of attributes which are linked together, but which may not vary in absolute lockstep. This assumption is necessary so that we can aggregate a multi-item battery into a scalar measure of some the single underlying attribute for certain purposes but also for other purposes disaggregate it. We assume that factor analysis will show that some elements of this syndrome are more closely tied into it than others. But the syndrome assumption is one that is grounded in theory and which is useful for more highly-aggregated analysis where we want to explore the overall impact of traditionalism as such, on other attitudes and on behaviors.

To summarize what has been said up to here, we have embraced the basic themes of the Parsonian/modernization approach (whose roots lie in Weber and other 19th century modernization theorists). This does not mean that we have accepted every argument by every modernization theorist who ever lived, but the points summarized above have respectable grounding in a large body of social theory, and seem to be essential if we are to move ahead analytically, using a limited battery of questionnaire items to study the phenomenon of traditionalism across eight societies.

**Literature review pertaining to measurement issues.** The literature on tradition is voluminous, but certain key works shaped the battery that we constructed to measure it. Parsons’ “pattern variables” are a deeply influential concept whose influence is reflected in our traditionalism battery. As a reminder, they are affectivity-affective neutrality; self-orientation-collectivity-orientation, universalism-particularism, ascription-achievement, and (functional) specificity-diffuseness. We sought to have at least one question that could tap into each of these five dimensions.

Beyond Parsons, the relevant literature is vast. I wish to look at this section specifically at works that have developed questionnaire items to measure traditionalism. I also have in mind but will not explore works like Pye (where there is no survey research) and Almond and Verba (where the notion of traditionalism is not central).

An influential work directly in the Parsonian tradition which uses survey research to assess modernity in a comparative perspective is Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* (New York: Free Press, 1958). Lerner was interested in the impact of urbanization, literacy, and mass media on a personality attribute he calls “empathy.” Most of his questionnaire was devoted to studying media use patterns. His dependent variable, “empathy,” was measured with nine projective questions: if you were in charge of such-and-such, what would you do; if you had to live elsewhere, where would you live; if you had to solve a problem, how would you go about doing it; and so on (Lerner 1958: 69-70). People who were unable to imagine themselves in these challenging situations were classed as traditionalists. I suspect that at the beginning of the 21st century we would find few traditionalists in this sense in our eight societies. Therefore, this battery of questions was not for us. But it did remind us of some of the dimensions we want to look for: an active attitude toward change, a willingness to participate, a sense of efficacy.

A more recent and more ambitious work, also in the Parsonian tradition, which uses survey research to assess modernity in a comparative perspective, is Alex Inkeles
and David H. Smith, *Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing Countries* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard U.P., 1974). This study contains some excellent survey questions worthy of reference for our project.

- Like Lerner’s, this is a study directed at uncovering attributes of the modern “personality.” As such, its purposes are not the same as ours, although they overlap. The study was carried out in six countries: Argentina, Chile, India, Israel, Nigeria, and East Pakistan (Bangladesh). It interviewed only men. Where Lerner focused on media, Inkeles and Smith focused on factory work as the chief inculator of modern personality attributes. They were interested not only in attitudes, but also behaviors as indicators of modern personality. Since Inkeles and his collaborators devoted a whole project to this single subject, they were able to develop a rich conception of modernity, encompassing 24 dimensions, 12 themes, 10 topics, 166 questionnaire items, and so on. We did not have enough space to do this.

- The project developed five somewhat different scales of Overall Modernity (OM). (Note that for our purposes, this can also serve as a measure of overall traditionalism: low modernity is high traditionalism.) The one closest to our interests is OM-1 (“the core attitude scale derived from theory”). This possesses 79 items.

- Inkeles and colleagues conducted a study which applied a modified version of this questionnaire specifically to China. Fourteen questions were added suitable to Chinese conditions and questions were re-written to be suitable for women as well as men, resulting, after refinement, in a 95-item “gender-neutral” scale.

A third important work we should have in mind, which is also influenced by modernization theory but is less exclusively Parsonian in inspiration, is Ronald Inglehart’s *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic, and Political Change in 43 Societies* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1997). This is the latest in a series of books developing a consistent line of argument and using data drawn from the World Values Surveys. Here are some bullet points to remember about this study.

- For Inglehart, the post-traditional phase has two stages, modern and postmodern, which for our purposes in this project are presumably both modern, in the sense of being not traditional. The center of gravity of our research is not on the issue of modernity versus postmodernity but on the issue of traditionalism versus post-traditionalism.

- Inglehart develops two scales. The Materialism-Postmaterialism scale, which was the foundation of his earlier work, is a 12-item scale measuring a single attitude. The M-PM dimension has little to do with traditionalism-modernity as we are conceiving it; it has a lot to do with the difference between modernity and postmodernity.

- Inglehart’s larger scale, which he calls Modernization-Postmodernization, however, does have something to do with traditionalism-modernity, although

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it is not designed for this purpose. For example: for Inglehart’s purposes, a person who agrees that “more respect for authority would be a good thing” is on the modern, rather than the post-modern, end of his scale; but for our purposes this person would be on the traditional rather than the modern end of our scale. For another example, a person who agrees that “homosexuality is never justified” would be more modern than post-modern for Inglehart, but, for us, more traditional than modern. This somewhat confusing-looking relationship is possible for two reasons. First, at least for questionnaire items like the examples just given, tradition-modernity-postmodernity appears to be a continuous dimension. Second, all the societies we are looking at are located in the year 2002, when issues tapped by Inglehart are on the global agenda in a way that they were not pre-World War II (which as I argued above is our conceptual reference point for tradition). Put otherwise, all our societies are modernized. None is traditional. If we had taken the idea of traditional too literally, we would have developed questionnaire items that did not work, in the sense that no one would agree with them (e.g., “Allowing women to work in the fields will cause the God of Agriculture to be angry and make our crops fail.”) Items like Inglehart’s would work better for us (e.g, “Sex under the legal age is never justified,” “A women has to have children in order to be fulfilled”).

A third work to which I would like to draw attention is Lau Siu-kai and Kuan Hsin-chi, The Ethos of the Hong Kong Chinese (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1988). This reports on two surveys conducted in Hong Kong in 1985 and 1986. This work is also in the lineage of Parsons, as interpreted by Pye and applied to a Chinese society. The work contains an excellent literature review/conceptual chapter on the features of the traditional Chinese social order, and the questionnaire items are explicitly developed with this literature in mind. The focus falls on such issues as individualism, rights, egalitarianism, conflict, political order, deference to authority, the moral quality of leadership, and substantive versus procedural justice. The focus is on a specifically Chinese version of traditionalism. What Kuan and Lau define as Chinese traditionalism is nearly identical with what most of us think of as “Asian Values.” These include “moral state” and “trust in political institutions.”

Fourth, I would like to mention work by a Taiwan-based social psychologist, Yang Kuo-shu, who has done much work to operationalize traditionalism in a Chinese setting. Yang developed a Multidimensional Scale of Chinese Individual Traditionality (MS-CIT) and a Multidimensional Scale of Chinese Individual Modernity (MS-CIM), both constructed the early 1990s to substitute for a traditionality-modernity scale he had used

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Yang argues that traditional Chinese values cluster around two central values, familism and order.

- **Familism** includes the following ideas. The family is the most important group. Filial piety is the supreme value on which other loyalties are built. One has to get ahead for the glory of the ancestors and the family. To maintain the continuity of a family it is important to have a child, especially a son. Kinship relations serve as the most important form of link, reflected in nepotism and personalism, in Chinese referred to as *guanxi* or connections. Saving face or avoiding the humiliation of being shamed is necessary for both sides in maintaining good *guanxi*.

- **Order** (or harmony) includes the values of conformity and conflict-avoidance. Conformity is a belief that social rules have to be followed, because compliance is the best way to maintain order and harmony. Conflict-avoidance is includes controlling one's emotions and not interfering in others' business. A traditional way to resolve a conflict situation is to appeal to the most senior person to settle the matter.

Finally, I would like to inform readers about the 1993 “three-Chinas” or “trilateral” study, which was conducted by several of us who are participating in the current eight-nation Asiabarometer study. In this study, we developed an 11-item battery to measure “Chinese traditionalism.” Many of the same questions have been adopted into the Asiabarometer questionnaire.

In sum, the theoretical origins of our traditionalism battery lie proximately in Kuan and Lau. Behind them is Pye, and behind Pye are the whole sociological stream of thinkers from Tonnies, Durkheim and Weber up through Parsons, Lerner, etc.

One open question is whether there is anything distinctively Asian in the particular operationalization of traditionalism that we have created in our battery. This is an intriguing question but not one in which we have a strong theoretical stake. It is worth further investigation. A probable answer is that our battery would be a good measure of traditionalism anywhere (Africa, mid East, etc.) but that special batteries designed for these places and overlapping with ours but not identical, would tap local traditionalisms even better. E.g., for Islamic societies, a question should be asked on obedience to God, a question which makes little sense in Asia. And what for the West?

The Asiabarometer traditionalism battery. The battery of questions we designed for the Asiabarometer to measure traditionalism consisted of eight mandatory and a ninth optional question. The questions and the distributions of responses are reported in the first table. Each question is numbered, reflecting the order in which the questions were asked. But the table rearranges the questions from that on which there was the highest level of agreement across the region (question 69) to that on which there was the lowest level of agreement (question 70). The countries are listed, from left to right, from the one with the lowest average level of traditionalism (Hong Kong) to the one with the highest average level of agreement with the items in the traditionalism battery (Mongolia).

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7 This implicates the question of “Asian values” – whether there are any, and what they are. I have some thoughts on the subject but this paper is not the place to go into them.
Let us start by inspecting the right column of the table, “Average Traditionalism.” The numbers given in this column represent the average level of agreement with the given proposition across our eight countries, where each country, regardless of population size, counts as one unit. The numbers are not the proportion of the entire population of Asia (that is, of our eight Asian countries) agreeing with the particular item – because of the huge population of China, that number would always be close to the Chinese number and would offer little analytic value-added. What we are interested in here, instead, is some sense of the center point around which the eight Asian cultures are distributed. (The same concept is pursued in our comparison of histograms in a later section of the paper, where the units of comparison are again the eight cultures.) For question 69, therefore, the number 81.47% tells us that about four-fifths of the people in what we might think of as an average Asian culture⁸ agree with this proposition. And we can see that the range of agreement goes from near-unanimous in Hong Kong to about three-fourths of the population in Mongolia.

What is immediately striking is the vast gap between the high level of agreement across the region in regard to question 69, concerning the priority of family interests, and the low level of agreement (i.e., high level of disagreement⁹) on question 70, concerning gender equality. Upon further inspection, the questions seem to fall into three categories. Family priority (question 69) is in a class by itself in commanding strong-to-massive agreement in every culture across the region. Questions 71, 66, and 69 cluster together, commanding strong majority levels of support across the region, although we note, scanning across the row, quite a range in the level of agreement across the cultures, for example from 36% in Hong Kong to 78% in Thailand on question 71. These questions all deal with conflict avoidance, which we theorized was a strong Asian value.

But in the next category, consisting of questions 64, 72, 65, and 67, we find more disagreement than agreement: the propositions are rejected by over three-fifths of the respondents in the average Asian country. These questions have to do with family hierarchy and family loyalty, as well as with the importance of fate. Finally, in a category of itself at the lowest end of the continuum, question 70 on gender equality is rejected at a nearly 80% level across our eight countries, although the countries very widely on the measure, from near total disagreement in Hong Kong to a nearly fifty-fifty split in Thailand.

The wide gap among the nine questions in average levels of agreement could mean that our original traditionalism battery is flawed. But the fact that the populations of the countries that we think of as more traditional show higher levels of agreement with all the questions makes us draw back from this conclusion. The factor analysis we undertake below will throw some more light on the question of whether all the items belong in the

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⁸ I will use this and similar locutions throughout to refer to our eight Asian countries, because it is unwieldy to keep specifying that we are dealing with only eight countries. But we are all aware that our eight countries are not all of Asia, no matter how Asia is defined.

⁹ In this table, disagreement is the obverse of agreement because DK/NA answers have not been calculated as part of the denominator.
battery. Our reliability tests and external validity tests undertaken below will also help us evaluate whether the traditionalism battery is a good multi-item measure. If it is, then we may be tempted to explain the large gap in levels of agreement with different questionnaire items by saying that different subdimensions of traditionalism are changing at different rates under the impact of modernization. This will be testable with our data, although the test is not undertaken in this paper.

Meanwhile, let us return to the table and inspect the bottom row, “Average percent traditional.” This figure averages the levels of agreement across questions, giving us one measure among many possible measures of how traditional a given culture is. By this measure, the least traditional society is Hong Kong, where the average level of agreement with the nine questionnaire items stands at 43%. The most traditional society is Mongolia, where the average level of agreement with the nine questions is 60%. The societies seem to be ranked in roughly the right order, with Hong Kong and Taiwan clustered together as the most modern, the Philippines, Korea, Japan, and China coming next in a middle category, and Thailand and Mongolia on the traditional end of the spectrum. This pattern should tend to strengthen our confidence in the validity of the traditionalism battery as a measure.

What is perhaps surprising, however, is that the eight societies are not farther apart on this measure. We will develop more discriminating society-level measures of traditionalism, but in terms of this first approximation, Hong Kong is only 17 points less traditional than Mongolia. Likely we will find that the gap in modernization levels among the eight Asian societies is wider than the gap in traditionalism levels. If so, this would suggest that, as Inglehart believes, cultural change lags socio-economic change. We can develop a variety of empirical tests to explore whether this initial hunch is supported by the data – for example, comparisons of traditionalism levels in urban and rural sectors or among older and younger respondents in different societies.

Another look at the table shows signs of national patterns or syndromes of traditionalism. For example, Hong Kong people are especially committed to items 69, 66, and 68, which deal with familism and conflict avoidance, and they are in especially strong disagreement with items 64 and 70, which deal with relations of the generations and the genders. Higher numbers of Hong Kong people believe in fate than do members of other cultures that are more traditional than theirs in the aggregate (question 67). By contrast, Mongolia, a highly traditional society by most measures, is less traditional than most of the others when it comes to item 72, dealing with conflict between a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law. When we turn to factor analysis, we can explore more easily the different clusters or patterns of attitudes that go to make up the different sub-types of traditionalism in different Asian countries.

A final intriguing point is that “strongly” agree and “strongly” disagree answers seem to be much more common in the Philippines, Thailand, and Mongolia than in the other countries. We should discuss whether this is a true cultural difference – whether people in these countries have a habit of expressing themselves more emphatically – or whether it is an artifact of some differences in questionnaire formulation or administration.

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10 It should be understood that this is not the same as various other averages that we could calculate: the average number of people in Hong Kong who agree with a majority of the nine questions, or the average level who score above some level on traditionalism if traditionalism is calculated as a scale, and so on.
To raise this question is to begin to point to a larger issue about comparability across the eight datasets, which can be called the issue of cross-cultural “equivalence” or of “anchoring.”11 If you ask people from different countries how happy they are, the national average responses vary enormously.12 But one may ask whether this actual national differences in actual happiness or national cultural differences in ways of talking about happiness. If the latter is the case, then one can compare responses to such questions within a culture but not across cultures. Similarly, for our measure of traditionalism, we do not know whether the agree and disagree responses pivot around the same neutral point in each country, and whether a response that is delivered “strongly” is the same multiple of a mere “agree” or “disagree” response in each country. This issue comes up again later in the paper. In principle, it is an issue not only for the traditionalism battery but for many of our other attitudinal batteries (democratism, democratic legitimacy, trust in institutions) when we try to use them to compare the cultures of our eight social units.

Comparing patterns of traditionalism. Another way to compare our eight social systems is to inspect histograms that show graphically the distributions of the eight systems’ populations along a traditionalism-nontraditionalism dimension. Here we can compare systems not by their average scores, as in the preceding discussion, but by the overall shapes of their national distributions. We scored each respondent from plus to minus 8 on traditionalism (except for Korea – see appended syntax file for details). This plus-to-minus scoring convention expresses our conception of “traditionalism” as a single attitudinal dimension in which a minus score reflects non-traditional, or modern, attitudes. We then display the national distribution of attitudes in each of our eight countries, arranged from the country with the highest negative mean traditionalism score, Japan, to the one with the highest positive mean traditionalism score, Mongolia. This allows us to compare the shape of the national curves. The patterns make intuitive sense, suggesting that our measure of traditionalism does tap into something real.

Insert here: Traditionalism histograms.xls

The first histogram displays the national pattern of distribution of traditionalism in Japan. The mean is -1.1, meaning that most of the Japanese population has an attitude to the modern side of the dimension we are measuring. The relatively low (compared to the other countries) standard deviation of 2.9 suggests a population that is relatively homogeneous in its attitudes on the questions we probed. The overall shape of the curve is “left-shouldered,” reflecting the modernist leaning of the Japanese population as a whole.

The next two histograms, for Hong Kong and Taiwan, show populations that are modern-skewed like Japan’s, but which have stronger traditional wings, so that the means are somewhat closer to zero. In future analysis, we can test the hypothesis that this traditional wing consists (in all eight of our countries) of older, less educated, rural-dwelling female respondents, and of persons who are relatively religious.

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11 Cite forthcoming King article in APSA.
12 Cite Inglehart, Mod and PostMod.
The next three histograms, for the Philippines, Thailand, and Mainland China, display societies with “centered” curves, with the means still negative but increasingly close to zero. This bespeaks populations that are more or less evenly divided between modernism and traditionalism. The standard deviation, however, in the Philippines is the largest of any of the eight countries, showing a wide gap between the most modern and most traditional sectors of a highly divided population, with significant numbers of people having attitudes that near the two extremes of the scale. China, by contrast, has the smallest standard deviation, with the population most tightly clustered around the central point of the distribution. The extremes, however, are larger in population terms than they are in Japan, so the population is still divided into two clear camps of modernists and traditionalists.

The final two patterns are those of Thailand and Mongolia. Both are skewed to the right of the dimension. Their means are positive, showing a central tendency for their populations to hold traditional attitudes. The right-shouldered shape of Mongolia’s curve is more pronounced than that of Thailand – the Mongolian respondents are overwhelmingly clustered to the traditional side of the scale.

One should again here ponder the measurement-theory issue of equivalence or anchoring. It is clear that a Mongolian with a score of 4 is more traditional-minded than a Mongolian with a score of 2. But does that mean that a Mongolian with a score of 4 is more traditional-minded than a Taiwanese with a score of 2? If not, our comparison of histograms could be misleading. We need to consider as cultural or area-studies experts whether respondents in different countries are responding to equivalent stimuli and employing equivalent response conventions when they answer our questionnaires.

Whatever our answer to this problem, however, we will still be on solid ground in conducting correlation and regression analysis in which we seek to compare countries with respect to the strength with which various s-e-s variables affect relative levels of traditionalism within the distribution of the given society.

Factor structure and reliability of the traditionalism battery. In our theoretical work while designing the questionnaire, we hypothesized that there are two dimensions of traditionalism, one which focuses on family and group loyalty and one which focuses on deference or conflict avoidance. (We have separate batteries in the questionnaire for some related attitudes, such as the Moral Leader syndrome.) With some variation across nations, this hypothesis is supported by the data. Factor analyses were carried out separately for each of the eight countries (see syntax file for details). Consistent with our theoretical expectations, an interpretable two factor solution emerged in six of the eight countries, with Thailand and Mongolia the exceptions.

Insert here: Traditionalism FA2.xls

In each of the six countries with two-factor solutions, one of the factors deals as expected with matters of hierarchy and deference in the context of family and gender relations. Question 70, “a man will lose face if he works under a female supervisor,” while not explicitly about family, is connected to the same value complex insofar as gender attitudes and family attitudes are closely linked. Although most of our respondents throughout the region disagreed with this proposition, what the factor
analysis tells us is that the propensity to agree with it is strongly correlated with the propensity to hold a number of views about deference to family elders and family interests.

The stronger exception to the generalization about the familistic focus of this factor is the presence of question 67, “wealth and success are determined by fate.” I would like to have some discussion at the conference of why this item loads on this factor. My initial thought is that the answer lies in a deep understanding of what our respondents mean by “fate.” This is a complicated concept in every culture, and may not mean the same thing throughout Asia. In Europe, “fate” usually means something like individual luck. In Asian cultures, it is often linked with familial identity: it may mean something close to inherited family status or rank. In that case its loading on this factor makes sense.

The second factor deals with avoidance of conflict and limitation of self-assertion. It suggests that at work, in the neighborhood, or in the family, one should seek harmony and avoid conflict. We find that in most Asian countries the four items that go to make up this factor are strongly associated. We also find that the two factors, familism and conflict avoidance, are occasionally intercorrelated – so that, for example, in Taiwan and Hong Kong three or four of the variables load quite strongly on both factors (the figure deletes factor loadings below .3).

Further analysis of the factor loadings should inspect the three factor solutions, as well as look at exceptional factor loadings that occurred in the cases of certain factors in certain countries. We should deploy our cultural expertise, as a cross-cultural group of experts on Asia, to try to decipher whether these details in the factor analyses convey meaningful information about the distinctive shapes of traditionalism in different Asian countries.

One of the obvious tasks going forward is to score individuals for their adherence to each of the two sub-dimensions of traditionalism and then see whether people strongly believing in one theme are the same people who strongly believe in the other.

External validity of the traditionalism battery: initial tests. If the traditionalism battery measures traditionalism well, it should show robust correlations with some theoretically specified variables. The table discussed next presents some initial tests of external validity. However, these tests are as dependent on the valid scoring of the independent variables as they are on the validity of the traditionalism battery. And as the asterisked comments in the appended syntax file show, we still have considerable fine-tuning to do to code many of these independent variables – a process in which I seek the help of colleagues from the various country teams. In some cases the datasets contain puzzles that need to be resolved. As we refine our codings of these independent variables, we expect the correlations with traditionalism to improve. For now, in general, as a first approximation, the correlations we have undertaken suggest that the traditionalism battery is valid, in the sense that it is indeed associated with the population attributes that theory suggests it should be associated with. At the same time, there are surprises that will require further thought, further statistical work, and more theoretical analysis.

Insert here: *Traditionalism external validity tests.xls*
Gender presents a surprise. The consistent negative signs indicate that men are less traditional-minded than women. This is as expected. But the correlations are small. More importantly, they are not statistically significant at the .05 level in seven of our eight countries. (China is the exception as regards statistical significance, perhaps because of the large size of its sample.) This finding requires further exploration, since it suggests either that the theory of women’s traditionalist attitudes is wrong, or that Asia is different, or that our data or measures are flawed.

The findings with respect to age are more expected. In every country except the Philippines, age has a strong and statistically significant correlation with traditionalism. We need further work to understand why the Philippine dataset produces a different pattern.

Education, normally the strongest variable in explaining any attitudinal complex, performs for the most part as expected in this table, again with the exception of the Philippines. In the other seven countries, correlations are strong and statistically significant. We need again to explore why the Philippine case is different.

Religiosity performs reasonably well as an independent variable in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Thailand, and Japan. We did have time to work out an optimal coding for this variable, which we think will perform better when better coded.

The general picture being described continues through the other variables. Each of them works well in some of our societies, but not in all. Overall, the findings suggest that traditionalism performs as theoretically expected against a variety of related variables. We need to continue our work in coding these variables before we expend too much energy discussing any anomalies that might emerge from the data.

**Future directions of work.** This paper reports some preliminary work which is as much an experiment in working with the eight datasets as it is a real substantive analysis of traditionalism. Much of the drama of the work reported in this paper lies in the “behind-the-scenes” work in the appended syntax file, where readers can follow the effort that we made to figure out the best ways to scale variables and to probe whether the batteries that we had created really measured anything. In that sense, the initial results are encouraging. As one works with the data, for the most part they seem to correspond to features that are really “out there” in the populations. The obvious next step, however, is to refine all the operations attempted here. I ask colleagues to review the syntax file from the dual perspectives of statistical expertise and expertise in the cultures of the eight countries – truly a collaborative endeavor.

A second line of future work involves probing more deeply into the patterns of distribution of traditionalism in the eight societies and into these patterns’ determinants. Thus, one would like to locate in each society the subsections of the population where traditionalist or modernist attitudes are most concentrated. And one would like to run regression models to see which variables have the most powerful ability to explain the presence or absence of traditionalism in a section of the population. This will enable us to test modernization theories against institutional theories of cultural change.

A third line of inquiry involves working with our battery of democratic attitudes – what I am calling democratism – to resolve the very similar scoring and interpretive challenges that it presents, so that we can proceed to test whether, as hypothesized,
traditionalism and democratism are negatively correlated. We will want again to use correlation and regression to explore how democratism is distributed within national populations and what forces cause it to increase or decrease in prevalence. More subtly, we are interested in the interrelations of traditionalism and democratism in the eight societies, and whether differences in their relationships are connected to differences in modernization, culture, or institutions.

Fourth, we want to develop the other attitudinal syndromes tested in the questionnaire – the Moral Leader syndrome, democratic legitimacy, and so on – and explore how they are related to traditionalism and democratism.

All these operations should help us to answer some big questions. Does traditionalism affect the ways in which Asians respond to democratic transition? How does traditionalism affect the legitimacy of democratic and non-democratic regimes in Asia? And – with the help of other barometers -- in these respects, is Asia different from other regions of the world?
Appendix

Appendix 1: Appendix on Methods

The East Asian Barometer Project was inaugurated in June 2000, with its headquarters at the Department of Political Science at National Taiwan University. It currently consists of over 20 collaborating scholars from eight East Asian countries and the United States, and five international consultants in their capacities as leaders of partner projects. Membership is anticipated to grow as new countries are added to the project for future surveys. The project is funded by a grant from the Ministry of Education, Republic of China, while component surveys draw on other funding, mostly local.

For its first survey, the project developed a 125-item core questionnaire designed for a 40- to 45-minute face-to-face interview. The survey was designed in English and translated into local languages by national survey teams. Between July 2001 and February 2003, the collaborating national teams administered one or more waves of this survey.

This brief appendix summarizes relevant methodological information on the survey in each country. It describes the sampling used in each of the eight countries and methods of survey administration. Fuller information is available WHERE.

Taiwan survey. The Taiwan survey was conducted in June-July, 2001, and yielded 1415 valid cases out of TK sampled cases for a response rate of TK%. The target population was defined as ROC citizens who were age 20 and over and had the right to vote. This population was sampled according to the Probabilities Proportionate to Size (PPS) method in three stages: towns/counties, villages/li and individual voters. Taiwan was divided into eight statistically distinct divisions. Within each division four, six, or eight towns/counties were selected; from each of these two villages/li were selected; and in each of these between thirteen and sixteen people were sampled. USING KISH GRID OR HOW? WHAT WAS DONE TO REPLACE THOSE SAMPLED WHO COULD NOT BE CONTACTED OR WHO REFUSED TO BE INTERVIEWED? However, in the municipalities of Taipei and Kaohsiung, only li and individuals were sampled.

In a chi-square test, the sample failed to reflect the characteristics of the sampled population on the dimensions of age and education, although it passed the test for gender. HOW SEVERE WAS THE SAMPLING ERROR ON AGE AND EDUCATION? Weighting variables for the sample were calculated along the three dimensions of gender, age, and educational level using the method of “raking.” WHY IS GENDER WEIGHTED IF THE ORIGINAL SAMPLE PASSED THE CHI-SQUARE TEST ON GENDER?

EXPLAIN IF RELEVANT how the questionnaire used here differed from the core questionnaire for the project.

13 Colleagues: please review whether the information given for your survey is correct, and whether it is sufficiently complete given the brief nature of this appendix. Please answer questions, and provide any additional information that you feel is necessary to enable readers to evaluate the methodological quality of your survey.
EXPLAIN how the sample was administered – who were the interviewers, what languages were used if relevant, and other relevant information.

Hong Kong survey. The Hong Kong survey was conducted in August-October, 2001, and yielded 811 valid cases out of TK sampled cases for a response rate of TK%. The target population was defined as Hong Kong people aged 20 to 75 residing in permanent residential living quarters in built-up areas. The sampling method involved a multi-stage design. First, a sample of 2,000 residential addresses from the computerized Sub-Frame of Living Quarters maintained by the Census and Statistics Department was selected. In selecting the sample, living quarters were first stratified with respect to area and type of housing. The sample of quarters selected is of the EPSEM (equal probability of selection method) type and is random in the statistical sense. Where there were more than one household that had persons of age 20 to 75 or with a group household (such as hostel) at the selected address, a random numbers table pre-attached to each address was used to select one household or one person. If the drawn household had more than one person aged 20 to 75, a random selection grid, i.e., the modified Kish Grid, was employed to select one interviewee. Face-to-face interview was then carried out to complete the questionnaire. WHO WERE THE INTERVIEWERS?

SPSS nonparametric chi-square tests were conducted to compare the gender, age and educational attainment of the sample with that of the target population as reported in the Hong Kong 2001 population census. The gender and educational attainment distributions of the sample did not differ significantly from that of the target population. Raking was used to weight the sample to correct for underrepresentation of the younger age group (aged between 20 and 39) in the sample.

WHY THEN are the data supposed to be run without a “weight” variable?

EXPLAIN IF RELEVANT how the questionnaire used here differed from the core questionnaire for the project.

Thailand survey. The Thailand survey was conducted in October-November 2001 and yielded 1531 valid cases out of TK sampled cases for a response rate of TK%. The sampling plan for the study consisted of two-stage cluster sampling, plus systematic sampling of the final populations. The first stage of sampling yielded 50 legislative constituencies from the 400 in the nation. WAS STRATIFICATION DONE FIRST BY REGION? The second stage of sampling yielded a systematic random sample of 100 voting units distributed across the clusters of legislative constituencies. Systematic random sampling of respondents from across these voting units produced an N of 1546. If selected respondents are unavailable, substitutes of the same gender were obtained from names on either side of the chosen respondent on the voting list, thus yielding a response rate of 99% CORRECT?

An SPSS nonparametric statistical test or chi-square test was conducted to establish that the data were consistent with the distribution among the entire population. The sample was consistent with population attributes with respect to gender and region, but failed the chi-square test with respect to age. This means that the data for age are inconsistent with the whole population. However, preliminary analysis showed only minor differences in orientations by age. HENCE NO WEIGHTING VARIABLE WAS CONSTRUCTED?
EXPLAIN IF RELEVANT how the questionnaire used here differed from the core questionnaire for the project.

EXPLAIN how the sample was administered – who were the interviewers, what languages were used if relevant, and other relevant information.

Philippines survey. The Philippines survey was conducted in March-April 2002 and yielded 1200 valid cases out of TK sampled cases for a response rate of TK%. The Philippines was divided into four study areas: the National Capital Region (NCR), Balance Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao. The sample size of each study area was 300 voting-age adults (18 years and older), for a total sample size of 1,200. HOW WAS 100% RESPONSE RATE ACHIEVED, OR WAS IT?

Multi-stage probability sampling (proportional to population size) was used in the selection of sample spots. EXPLAIN EACH STAGE OF THE SAMPLING PROCEDURE DOWN TO THE INDIVIDUAL.

EXPLAIN HOW SAMPLE DIFFERED FROM NATIONAL CENSUS DATA. To yield representative figures at the national level, census-based population weights are applied to the survey data. The weight projection is computed by dividing the projected population in the area by the sample size of the same area.

EXPLAIN IF RELEVANT how the questionnaire used here differed from the core questionnaire for the project.

EXPLAIN how the sample was administered – who were the interviewers, what languages were used if relevant, and other relevant information.

China survey. The China survey was conducted in March-June 2002 in cooperation with the Institute of Sociology of Chinese Social Science Academy, and yielded 3183 valid cases out of 3,752 sampled cases for a response rate of 84.1%. The sample represents the adult population over eighteen years of age residing in family households at the time of the survey, excluding those living in the Tibetan Autonomous Region. A stratified multistage area sampling procedure with probabilities proportional to size measures (PPS) was employed to select the sample.

The Primary Sampling Units (PSUs) employed in the sample design are counties (xian) in rural areas and cities (shi) in urban areas. In province-level municipalities, districts (qu) were used as PSU. Before selection, counties were stratified by region and geographical characteristic and cities or districts by region and size. A total of sixty-seven cities or districts and sixty-two counties were selected as the primary sampling units. The secondary sampling units (SSUs) were townships (xiang) and districts (qu) or streets (jiedao). The third stage of selection was geared to administrative villages in rural areas and neighborhood committees (juweihui) or community committees (shequweiyuanhui) in urban areas. We selected 249 administrative villages and 247 neighborhood or community committees in the third stage of the sampling process. A total of 496 sampling units were selected. Households were used at the fourth stage of sampling.

In the selection of PSUs, the National Statistical Yearbook (Beijing: National Statistical Bureau, 1999) was used as the basic source for constructing the sampling frame. The number of family households for each county or city was taken as the

14 Give Chinese name of book and publisher.
measure of size (MOS) in the PPS selection process. For the successive stages of sampling, population data were obtained from the All China Women’s Association (ACWA), using data collected by that organization for a 2000 survey on women’s status in China. For areas not covered in the ACWA survey, we asked local ACWA chapters to collect sampling data for us. All village and neighborhood committee levels, household registration (hukou) lists were obtained. The lists were used as the sampling frame for the fourth stage of the sampling process.

The response rate for urban areas is lower than that for the rural areas. For urban area, the response rate is 82.5 percent and the response rate for rural area is 86.5 percent.

Weighting variables for the sample were calculated along the three dimensions of gender, age, and educational level using the method of “raking,” so that when the data are used in a statistical program they produce distributions on these dimensions consistent with the entire population.

EXPLAIN IF RELEVANT how the questionnaire used here differed from the core questionnaire for the project.
EXPLAIN how the sample was administered – who were the interviewers, what languages were used if relevant, and other relevant information.

**Mongolia survey.** The Mongolia survey was conducted in October-November 2002 and yielded 1144 valid cases out of TK sampled cases for a response rate of TK%. GIVE PARALLEL INFORMATION TO OTHER ACCOUNTS.
EXPLAIN WHAT DIMENSIONS ARE WEIGHTED.
EXPLAIN IF RELEVANT how the questionnaire used here differed from the core questionnaire for the project.
EXPLAIN how the sample was administered – who were the interviewers, what languages were used if relevant, and other relevant information.

**Japan survey.** The Japan survey was conducted in January-February 2003 and yielded 1418 valid cases out of TK sampled cases for a response rate of TK%. Respondents were randomly sampled from the citizens of voting population in all 47 prefectures. We used a two-stage stratified probability random sampling method.
GIVE PARALLEL INFORMATION TO OTHER ACCOUNTS.
EXPLAIN WHY WEIGHTING IS NOT NEEDED.
EXPLAIN IF RELEVANT how the questionnaire used here differed from the core questionnaire for the project.
EXPLAIN how the sample was administered – who were the interviewers, what languages were used if relevant, and other relevant information.

**South Korea survey.** The South Korea survey was conducted in September-December 2001 and yielded 1500 valid cases out of TK sampled cases for a response rate of TK%.
GIVE PARALLEL INFORMATION TO OTHER ACCOUNTS.
EXPLAIN WHY WEIGHTING IS NOT NEEDED.
EXPLAIN IF RELEVANT how the questionnaire used here differed from the core questionnaire for the project.
EXPLAIN how the sample was administered – who were the interviewers, what languages were used if relevant, and other relevant information.
Appendix 2: traditionalism.sps

/* traditionalism.sps
by Andy and Tse-hsin, also discussion with YH on 03.8.29.
03.11.21

- always put weight on for ML, TW, Phil, and Mong.
- the theorized traditionalism scale is q064 thru q072.
- traditionalism and democratism will serve as key d.v.'s vis-a-vis the usual sets of variables: first, ses, modernization, regional/national level of devt, etc., variables;
second, psych variables like political interest and political cognition; media partic variables, etc.
- they will serve as key i.v.'s vis-a-vis such things as amount of participation and choice of modes of partic, pol efficacy, evaluation of democracy, evaluation of old and new regime, etc.
* HK, ML, TW datasets all record DK and NA responses. Thailand codes these as missing. Philippines team says they did not have any DK or NA responses nor any missing data, so they show 100% substantive responses. Korea team has not answered but seems to show the same pattern. Mongolia pattern is the same as Thailand, no DK/NA but some missing data. All this presents no problem for the current analysis since we treat DK/NA as missing data.
* Reliability scores are adequate except in Mongolia, to build a scale. The question needs to be resolved of how to understand, first of all, and secondly how to deal with, the Mongolian case, going forward.
* As a test of whether the reliability scores could be improved by deleting any variables, we ran the scores first deleting q 67, then q 66, then q 71, selecting these items for the experiment because of their less clear factor loadings in the factor analyses. In every case except the case of one variable in one country, this lowered the reliability scores and in the one exception it raised it by a trivial amount. So I conclude that there is no reason to remove any variables from the scale.
* Something that potentially remains to be done here is to go back to my 1993 work on traditionalism and see how the findings here compare to the findings from that dataset.
*/

* MAINLAND.
get file='d:\Democratization and Value Change in East Asia\Data\Eight Country Data\Mainland.sav'.
WEIGHT BY w .

*freq q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072.
*provides a check that our dataset produces same results as codebook. We noticed a mistake in one of the
variable labels and changed it with a temporary new variable label. Also for future notice, the variable label WIFE SHOULD OBEY MOTHER would be more informative if it read WIFE SHOULD OBEY MOTHER-IN-LAW.

* variable labels for a given variable are different in each dataset. I emailed Yun-han asking that they be standardized. He said he will do this when the merged dataset is created.

*recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q070 q071 q072 (98 thru 99=sysmis).
*compute tradmis=0.
*if ((q064=sysmis) or (q065=sysmis) or (q066=sysmis) or (q067=sysmis) or (q068=sysmis) or (q069=sysmis) or (q070=sysmis) or (q071=sysmis) or (q072=sysmis)) tradmis=1.
*freq tradmis.
* this shows that 29.4% of respondents have a 98 or 99 on at least one of these nine questions. The highest proportion of DK's on any one of the traditionalism battery items is around 13%. So cumulatively we are losing too many cases.

*the next step involves checking the coherence of our nine traditionalism variables under different coding schemes.
*recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q070 q071 q072 (98 thru 99=sysmis).
*recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 (1 thru 2=1) (else=0).
*factor variables q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 /EXTRACTION PC /ROTATION oblimin.
*RELIABILITY VARIABLES=q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 /MODEL=ALPHA .
* with 98 and 99 coded as missing and agreeing with traditional ideas coded as 1, the factor analysis produced two factors, and three of the variables did not load over .5: first hire relative/friend, shameful work under female leader, and senior people resolve conflict. The alpha score with this coding was .5739.

get file='d:\Democratization and Value Change in East Asia\Data\Eight Country Data\Mainland.sav'.
WEIGHT BY w .
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 (98 thru 99=sysmis).
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 (1 thru 2=1) (3 thru 4=-1).
*LISTWISE FACTOR.
factor variables q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 /EXTRACTION PC /ROTATION oblimin.
RELIABILITY VARIABLES=q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072

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* With 98 and 99 coded as missing and traditional ideas coded 1 and disagreeing with traditional ideas coded as -1, you get three factors in which every variable loads strongly but one variable, the interests of the family are superior, has its own factor. The alpha is .5841.

* With 98 and 99 coded as zero, traditional ideas coded 1 and disagreeing with traditional ideas coded as -1, you get two factors with every variable loading cleanly on one factor. Alpha is .5995. Yun-han says that the reason why you have fewer factors and higher alpha is that the likelihood of saying "don't know" is highly correlated across items in a battery. The following correlations exercises confirm that this is so.

* We hypothesize that the likelihood of responding DK to any of the 9 traditionalism variables is correlated with female sex, rural residence, higher age, and lower education.

* The hypothesis is confirmed with the one slight and interesting exception that males are slightly more likely, with a relatively low level of statistical significance, to be the ones to respond DK to the proposition that
wife should obey mother-in-law. So this allows us to know that our nearly 30% of missing cases that would be deleted from the entire factor analysis by listwise deletion will be disproportionately drawn from older, less educated, rural females.

*PAIRWISE FACTOR.

get file='d:\Democratization and Value Change in East Asia\Data\Eight Country Data\Mainland.sav'.

WEIGHT BY w .

recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 (98 thru 99=sysmis).
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 (1 thru 2=1) (3 thru 4=-1).

factor variables q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072
/MISSING PAIRWISE
/EXTRACTION PC
/ROTATION oblimin.

*We seem to get a good two-factor solution when we use pairwise instead of listwise deletion, which as we understand it, allows us to use all the cases who gave a response to any pair of questions. Factor two could be interpreted as conflict avoidance plus its rationale, interests of family. Factor one looks to be something like familism and hierarchy, plus the item on success determined by fate.

reliability VARIABLES=q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072
/MODEL=ALPHA .

* alpha .5841.

*PAIRWISE FACTOR with scale of 2,1,-1,-2.

get file='d:\Democratization and Value Change in East Asia\Data\Eight Country Data\Mainland.sav'.

WEIGHT BY w .

recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 (98 thru 99=sysmis).
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 (1=2) (2=1) (3=-1) (4=-2).

factor variables q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072
/MISSING PAIRWISE
/EXTRACTION PC
/ROTATION oblimin.

* This produces a slightly more robust factor structure overall and is probably better for use in those datasets where more people chose the "strongly" options.

reliability VARIABLES=q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072
/MODEL=ALPHA .

* alpha .5912, one of the higher ones among the various coding schemes.
*CONCLUSION: we will adopt this coding scheme as a basis for comparing the eight datasets.

* TAIWAN.
get file='d:\Democratization and Value Change in East Asia\Data\Eight Country Data\Taiwan.sav'.
WEIGHT BY w9.
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 (98 thru 99=sysmis).
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 (1=2) (2=1) (3=-1) (4=-2).
factor variables q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072
/MISSING PAIRWISE
/EXTRACTION PC
/ROTATION oblimin.
reliability VARIABLES=q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072
/MODEL=ALPHA.
*alpha .6159.

* Hong Kong.
get file='d:\Democratization and Value Change in East Asia\Data\Eight Country Data\Hong Kong.sav'.
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 (98 thru 99=sysmis).
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 (1=2) (2=1) (3=-1) (4=-2).
factor variables q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072
/MISSING PAIRWISE
/EXTRACTION PC
/ROTATION oblimin.
reliability VARIABLES=q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072
/MODEL=ALPHA.
*alpha .6709.

* Korea.
get file='d:\Democratization and Value Change in East Asia\Data\Eight Country Data\korea.sav'.
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 (98 thru 99=sysmis).
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 (1=2) (2=1) (3=-1) (4=-2).
factor variables q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071
/MISSING PAIRWISE
/EXTRACTION PC
/ROTATION oblimin.
reliability VARIABLES=q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071
/MODEL=ALPHA.
*alpha .5729.
* Japan.
get file='d:\Democratization and Value Change in East Asia\Data\Eight Country Data\Japan.sav'.
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q070 q071 q072 (98 thru 99=sysmis).
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q070 q071 q072 (1=2) (2=1) (3=-1) (4=-2).
factor variables q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072
/MISSING PAIRWISE
/EXTRACTION PC
/ROTATION oblimin.
reliability VARIABLES=q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072
/MODEL=ALPHA .
*alpha .6370.

* Philippines.
get file='d:\Democratization and Value Change in East Asia\Data\Eight Country Data\Philippines.sav'.
weight by weight.
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q070 q071 q072 (98 thru 99=sysmis).
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q070 q071 q072 (1=2) (2=1) (3=-1) (4=-2).
factor variables q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072
/MISSING PAIRWISE
/EXTRACTION PC
/ROTATION oblimin.
reliability VARIABLES=q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072
/MODEL=ALPHA .
*alpha .6491.

* Thailand.
get file='d:\Democratization and Value Change in East Asia\Data\Eight Country Data\Thailand.sav'.
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q070 q071 q072 (98 thru 99=sysmis).
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q070 q071 q072 (1=2) (2=1) (3=-1) (4=-2).
factor variables q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072
/MISSING PAIRWISE
/EXTRACTION PC
/ROTATION oblimin.
reliability VARIABLES=q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072
/MODEL=ALPHA .
*alpha .5777.

* Mongolia.
get file='d:\Democratization and Value Change in East Asia\Data\Eight Country Data\Mongolia.sav'.

27
weight by sweight.
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 (98 thru 99=sysmis).
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072
(1=2) (2=1) (3=-1) (4=-2).
factor variables q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072
/MISSING PAIRWISE
/EXTRACTION PC
/ROTATION oblimin.
reliability VARIABLES=q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072
/MODEL=ALPHA.
*alpha .4407.
* These procedures generate interpretable factor structures that make sense both within
and comparing across the eight societies,
and generate acceptable alpha scores, so we proceed to scaling. We create a
traditionalism scale for 8 countries. Here we are just creating
additive scales. The possibility of factor scales exists but does not seem worth the effort
at this point. Using the scales, we can
create national histograms as well as conduct tests of external validity of our
traditionalism scale.

* MAINLAND.
get file='d:\Democratization and Value Change in East Asia\Data\Eight Country
Data\Mainland.sav'.
WEIGHT BY w.
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 (98 thru 99=sysmis).
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072
(1=2) (2=1) (3=-1) (4=-2).
compute tradlsm = q064 + q065 + q066 + q067 + q068 + q069 + q070 + q071 + q072.
recode tradlsm (-18,-17 = -9) (-16,-15 = -8) (-14,-13 = -7) (-12,-11 = -6) (-10,-9 = -5)
(-8,-7 = -4) (-6,-5 = -3) (-4,-3 = -2) (-2,-1 = -1) (0=0)
(18,17 = 9)  (16,15 = 8) (14,13 = 7) (12,11 = 6) (10,9 = 5)
(8,7 = 4) (6,5 = 3) (4,3 = 2) (2,1 = 1).
FREQUENCIES
VARIABLES=tradlsm.
GRAPH
/HISTOGRAM=tradlsm.
* When done without the final recode command, this set of commands produces output
with the attribute that at any given approximate level of tradlsm, there are a lot
more people with odd than even scores, a kind of bumpy output. I figure this is because
anybody who consistently answers
"strongly" is going to end up with an even score, and those people are much less common.
This is an artifact of the propensity to
hold opinions strongly, and does not reflect an actual shape of the curve of tradlsm
attitudes. To smooth it out, we added those with a
score of one and those with a score of two to produce a category of people with mildly traditional views, and so on up the line.

*When one compares these histograms, interpretable patterns emerge. Different countries are more loaded to the traditionalist or nontraditionalist sides of the histogram, and they also differ in regard to how clustered they are or how spread out, that is, the degree to which the population is homogeneous in this attribute or diverse in this attribute. That can be seen from the differences in means and standard deviations.

* Test External Validity.

*construction of an income variable, still need to check this with TJ and come to an agreed method of calculation.

recode se9a se9b se9c se9d se9aa (99997 thru hi=0).
recode se9ab se9ac se9ad (9997 thru hi=0).
* freq var se9a se9b se9c se9d se9aa se9ab se9ac se9ad.
compute income=se9a+se9b+se9c+se9d +12*(se9aa +se9ab+ se9ac)+se9ad.
* freq income.
recode income (low thru 2140 =1) (2141 thru 5200 =2) ( 5201 thru 8999=3)
(9000 thru 15800=4) ( 15801 thru hi =5).
* freq income.

* We have divided income into five equal quintiles; other datasets like Taiwan and HK do not do this, need to decide on a common practice.

recode se002 se003 se005a level1 se006 se007 se008b se017 (97,98,99 = sysmis).
recode se003 (18,19=1) (20 thru 24=2) (25 thru 29=3) (30 thru 34=4) (35 thru 39=5)
(40 thru 44=6) (45 thru 49=7) (50 thru 54=8) (55 thru 59=9) (60 thru 70=10)
(71 thru 75=11) (76 thru highest=12).

*recoded age into age groups for consistency with other countries.
recode level1 (3 = sysmis).
recode se006 (1 thru 5 = 1) (6,7=0).
* dummy variable for having religious belief or not; left out of validity tests.
* fre se002 se003 se005a level1 se007 se012 se012b se012c.

* No religiosity se 007 in Mainland China, is this a mistake in the dataset?

* Need to find out how to recode occupation into agriculture and non-agriculture categories.

Correlate tradlsm with se002 se003 se005a se006 se008b se017 level1 income.

* TAIWAN.

get file=d:\Democratization and Value Change in East Asia\Data\Eight Country Data\Taiwan.sav'.
WEIGHT BY w9.
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 (98 thru 99=sysmis).
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072
(1=2) (2=1) (3=1) (4=2).
compute tradlsm = q064 + q065 + q066 + q067 + q068 + q069 + q070 + q071 + q072.
recode tradlsm (-18,-17 = -9) (-16,-15 = -8) (-14,-13 = -7) (-12,-11 = -6) (-10,-9 = -5)
FREQUENCIES
VARIABLES=tradlsm.

GRAPH
/HISTOGRAM=tradlsm.

* Test External Validity.
recode se002 se005a se006 se008b se009 se017 (97,98,99 = sysmis).
recode se006 (1 thru 7 = 1) (8,9=0).
recode se007 (98,99 = sysmis) (9=0) (8=1) (7=2) (6=3) (5=4) (4=5) (3=6) (2=7) (1=8).
* fre se002 se003 se005a level1 se007 se012.
* Age in groups, not in years.
* No urban/rural variable.
* No occupation variable in Taiwan data set.
Correlate tradlsm with se002 se003 se005a se007 se006 se008b se009 se017.

* Hong Kong.
get file=d:\Democratization and Value Change in East Asia\Data\Eight Country Data\Hong Kong.sav.
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 (98 thru 99=sysmis).
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 (1=2) (2=1) (3=-1) (4=-2).
compute tradlsm = q064 + q065 + q066 + q067 + q068 + q069 + q070 + q071 + q072.
recode tradlsm (-18,-17 = -9) (-16,-15 = -8) (-14,-13 = -7) (-12,-11 = -6) (-10,-9 = -5)
(-8,-7 = -4) (-6,-5 = -3) (-4,-3 = -2) (-2,-1 = -1) (0=0)
(18,17 = 9) (16,15 = 8) (14,13 = 7) (12,11 = 6) (10,9 = 5)
(8,7 = 4) (6,5 = 3) (4,3 = 2) (2,1 = 1).

FREQUENCIES
VARIABLES=tradlsm.

GRAPH
/HISTOGRAM=tradlsm.

* Test External Validity.
recode se002 se003 se005a se006 se008b se009 se017 (97,98,99 = sysmis).
recode se006 (1 thru 13 = 1).
recode se007 (98,99 = sysmis) (9,8) (7=1) (6=2) (5=3) (4=4) (3=5) (2=6) (1=7) (0=8).
* fre se002 se003 se005a level1 se007 se006 se008b se009 se017.
* No occupation variable in HK data set.
* No urban/rural variable, all urban.

Correlate tradlsm with se002 se003 se005a se007 se006 se008b se009 se017.

* Korea.
get file=d:\Democratization and Value Change in East Asia\Data\Eight Country Data\korea.sav.
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 (98 thru 99=sysmis).
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072
(1=2) (2=1) (3=-1) (4=-2).
compute tradlsm = q064 + q065 + q066 + q067 + q068 + q069 + q070 + q071.
recode tradlsm (-18,-17 = -9) (-16,-15 = -8) (-14,-13 = -7) (-12,-11 = -6) (-10,-9 = -5)
(-8,-7 = -4) (-6,-5 = -3) (-4,-3 = -2) (-2,-1 = -1) (0=0)
(18,17 = -9) (16,15 = 8) (14,13 = 7) (12,11 = 6) (10,9 = 5)
(8,7 = 4) (6,5 = 3) (4,3 = 2) (2,1 = 1).

*Because Korea did not ask the one optional question, to make its histogram comparable
to the others we had to
rescale -8 to +8 into -9 to +9.

FREQUENCIES
VARIABLES=tradlsm.
GRAPH
/HISTOGRAM=tradlsm.

* Test External Validity.
recode se002 se003 se005a se012a_2 se006 se008b se009b se017 (97,98,99 = sysmis).
recode se006 (1 thru 4 = 1) (6 thru 10 = 0) (5=0).
recode se007 (sysmis;9=0) (8=1) (7=2) (6=3) (5=4) (4=5) (3=6) (2=7) (1=8).
* fre se002 se003 se005a level1 se007 se006 se008b se009b se017.
* No urban/rural variable, need to find out how to code level1.
* Only 28 respondents are from agriculture sector, it's not very meaningful to do
correlation, variable se012a_2 omitted.
Correlate tradlsm with se002 se003 se005a se007 se006 se008b se009b se017.

* Japan.
get file='d:\Democratization and Value Change in East Asia\Data\Eight Country Data\Japan.sav'.
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 (98 thru 99=sysmis).
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072
(1=2) (2=1) (3=-1) (4=-2).
compute tradlsm = q064 + q065 + q066 + q067 + q068 + q069 + q070 + q071 + q072.
recode tradlsm (-18,-17 = -9) (-16,-15 = -8) (-14,-13 = -7) (-12,-11 = -6) (-10,-9 = -5)
(-8,-7 = -4) (-6,-5 = -3) (-4,-3 = -2) (-2,-1 = -1) (0=0)
(18,17 = 9) (16,15 = 8) (14,13 = 7) (12,11 = 6) (10,9 = 5)
(8,7 = 4) (6,5 = 3) (4,3 = 2) (2,1 = 1).

FREQUENCIES
VARIABLES=tradlsm.
GRAPH
/HISTOGRAM=tradlsm.

* Test External Validity.
recode se002 se003 se005a level1 se012a se006 se009 se017 (97,98,99 = sysmis).
recode se006 (99 = 0) (97=sysmis) (else=1).
recode se007 (98,99 = sysmis) (9=0) (8=1) (7=2) (6=3) (5=4) (4=5) (3=6) (2=7) (1=8).
*fre se002 se003 se005a level1 se007 se006 se008b se009 se017.
* No urban/rural variable.
* Only 48 respondents in agriculture sector, that variable is omitted. 
Correlate tradlsm with se002 se003 se005a se007 se006 se008b se009 se017.

* Philippines.
get file='d:\Democratization and Value Change in East Asia\Data\Eight Country 
Data\Philippines.sav'.
weight by weight.
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 (98 thru 99=sysmis).
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 
(1=2) (2=1) (3=-1) (4=-2).
compute tradlsm = q064 + q065 + q066 + q067 + q068 + q069 + q070 + q071 + q072.
recode tradlsm (-18,-17 = -9)  
(-16,-15 = -8) (-14,-13 = -7) (-12,-11 = -6) (-10,-9 = -5) 
(-8,-7 = -4) (-6,-5 = -3) (-4,-3 = -2) (-2,-1 = -1) (0=0)
(18,17 = 9)  
(16,15 = 8) (14,13 = 7) (12,11 = 6) (10,9 = 5) 
(8,7 = 4) (6,5 = 3) (4,3 = 2) (2,1 = 1).
FREQUENCIES
VARIABLES=tradlsm.
GRAPH
/HISTOGRAM=tradlsm .
* Test External Validity.
recode se002 se003 se005a level1 se012a se012a_1 se012a_2 se012a_3 se012a_4 se006 
se008b se017 (97,98,99 = sysmis).
recode se009 (000000=0) (999998,999999=sysmis).
* Variable se009 is wrongly defined as a string type variable. We changed change the 
variable type from string to numeric by hand. Central office 
should redefine the variable type in the data file as numeric.
recode se006 (90=0) (99,200=sysmis) (else = 1).
recode se007 (98,99 = sysmis) (9=0) (8=1) (7=2) (6=3) (5=4) (4=5) (3=6) (2=7) (1=8).
* fre se002 se003 se005a level1 se007 se006 se008b se009 se017 .
* No urban/rural variable.
* Need to find out how to recode occupation. 
Correlate tradlsm with se002 se003 se005a se007 se006 se008b se009 se017.

* Thailand.
get file='d:\Democratization and Value Change in East Asia\Data\Eight Country 
Data\Thailand.sav'.
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 se006 se008b se009 se017 (98 
thru 99=sysmis).
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 
(1=2) (2=1) (3=-1) (4=-2).
compute tradlsm = q064 + q065 + q066 + q067 + q068 + q069 + q070 + q071 + q072.
recode tradlsm (-18,-17 = -9)  
(-16,-15 = -8) (-14,-13 = -7) (-12,-11 = -6) (-10,-9 = -5) 
(-8,-7 = -4) (-6,-5 = -3) (-4,-3 = -2) (-2,-1 = -1) (0=0)
(18,17 = 9)  
(16,15 = 8) (14,13 = 7) (12,11 = 6) (10,9 = 5) 
(8,7 = 4) (6,5 = 3) (4,3 = 2) (2,1 = 1).
FREQUENCIES
VARIABLES=tradlsm.

GRAPH
   /HISTOGRAM=tradlsm.

* Test External Validity.
recode se002 se003 se005a level1 se007 se012a (97,98,99=sysmis).
recode se006 (0=0) (else=1).
recode se007 (0=sysmis) (9=0) (8=1) (7=2) (6=3) (5=4) (4=5) (3=6) (2=7) (1=8).
* For se007, dataset defines 0 as missing, but it should not be defined this way. We
removed missing value definition 0 by hand, central office
should fix this in dataset.
* fre se002 se003 se005a level1 se007 se006 se008b se009 se017.
* No urban/rural variable.
* Need to find out how to recode occupation.
* Only one respondent has no religious belief in Thailand.
Correlate tradlsm with se002 se003 se005a se007 se006 se008b se009 se017.

* Mongolia.
get file='d:\Democratization and Value Change in East Asia\Data\Eight Country
Data\Mongolia.sav'.
weight by sweight.
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072 (98 thru 99=sysmis).
recode q064 q065 q066 q067 q068 q069 q070 q071 q072
(1=2) (2=1) (3=-1) (4=-2).
compute tradlsm = q064 + q065 + q066 + q067 + q068 + q069 + q070 + q071 + q072.
recode tradlsm (-18,-17=-9) (-16,-15=-8) (-14,-13=-7) (-12,-11=-6) (-10,-9=-5)
(-8,-7=-4) (-6,-5=-3) (-4,-3=-2) (-2,-1=-1) (0=0)
(18,17=9) (16,15=8) (14,13=7) (12,11=6) (10,9=5)
(8,7=4) (6,5=3) (4,3=2) (2,1=1).

FREQUENCIES
   VARIABLES=tradlsm.

GRAPH
   /HISTOGRAM=tradlsm.

* Test External Validity.
recode se002 se003 se005a level1 se007 se012a se006 se008b se009 se017 (97,98,99=sysmis).
recode se006 (1 thru 4=1) (6=1) (5=0).
recode se007 (9=0) (8=1) (7=2) (6=3) (5=4) (4=5) (3=6) (2=7) (1=8).
* fre se002 se003 se005a level1 se007 se006 se008b se009 se017.
* No urban/rural variable.
* Unlike other countries, education is not by years, nor is it in a continuous scale because
5 is not higher than 4,
and it will be hard to compare regressions using this variable with regressions using the
years of education variable in other countries.
* Need to find out how to recode occupation.
Correlate tradlsm with se002 se003 se005a se007 se006 se008b se009 se017.
### Traditionalism in Eight Asian Countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Values</th>
<th>Hong Kong</th>
<th>Taiwan</th>
<th>Philippines</th>
<th>Korea</th>
<th>Japan</th>
<th>Mainland China</th>
<th>Thailand</th>
<th>Mongolia</th>
<th>Average Traditionalism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>69. For the sake of the family, the individual should put his personal interests second.</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>49.1</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Somewhat agree</td>
<td>79.8</td>
<td>69.7</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>77.8</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Somewhat disagree</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percent traditional</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>90.22%</td>
<td>86.10%</td>
<td>78.92%</td>
<td>69.88%</td>
<td>73.18%</td>
<td>91.00%</td>
<td>88.23%</td>
<td>74.25%</td>
<td>81.47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71. If there is a quarrel, we should ask an elder to resolve the dispute.</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Somewhat agree</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>62.6</td>
<td>37.6</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Somewhat disagree</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percent traditional</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>36.11%</td>
<td>68.87%</td>
<td>75.80%</td>
<td>44.13%</td>
<td>66.92%</td>
<td>72.40%</td>
<td>77.53%</td>
<td>71.43%</td>
<td>64.15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66. When one has a conflict with a neighbor, the best way to deal with it is to accommodate the other person.</td>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Somewhat agree</td>
<td>59.9</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>65.2</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Somewhat disagree</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strongly disagree</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>0.4</td>
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<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Percent traditional</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>66.42%</td>
<td>46.13%</td>
<td>45.85%</td>
<td>71.39%</td>
<td>75.54%</td>
<td>71.87%</td>
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Notes: Source: 2002 Asiabarometer

"Percent traditional" is the percent of those giving a substantive answer who agreed or strongly agreed.

"Average traditionalism" is the average percent who agree or strongly agree across all eight nations.

No DK/NA response categories in Philippines and Mongolia; DK/NA scored as missing in Thailand. Query: What about Japan?
Traditionalism Histograms (I)

Japan

Hong Kong

Taiwan

Philippines

Cases weighted by W9

Cases weighted by WEIGHT
**Traditionalism Factor Analysis**

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<td>64. Even if parents’ demands are unreasonable, children still should do what they ask.</td>
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<td>0.49</td>
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<td>72. 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 acquiesce.</td>
<td>0.639</td>
<td>0.595</td>
<td>0.574</td>
<td>0.332</td>
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<td>*</td>
<td>0.664</td>
<td>0.680</td>
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<td>72. 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 acquiesce.</td>
<td>0.627</td>
<td>0.674</td>
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<td>72. 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 acquiesce.</td>
<td>0.546</td>
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<td>70. When someone is more qualified, the opportunity should still be given to him.</td>
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<td>66. When one has a conflict with a neighbor, the best way to deal with it is to ask an elder to resolve the dispute.</td>
<td>0.633</td>
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<td>0.369</td>
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<td>68. A person should not insist on his own opinion if his co-workers disagree.</td>
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<td>0.675</td>
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<td>0.663</td>
<td>0.642</td>
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<td>67. If there is a quarrel, we should ask an elder to resolve the dispute.</td>
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<td>0.337</td>
<td>0.441</td>
<td>0.646</td>
<td>0.503</td>
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<td>0.485</td>
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<td>69. For the sake of the family, the individual should put his personal</td>
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**Notes:**

Source: Eight nation surveys, 2002.

* = question not asked.
### Traditionalism External Validity Tests

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**Notes:**
- Source: 2002 Asiabarometer
- Statistic is Pearson's R