

China’s Ideological Spectrum*

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Abstract

The study of ideology in authoritarian regimes—of how public preferences are configured and constrained—has received relatively little scholarly attention. Using data from a large-scale online survey, we study ideology in China. We find that public preferences are weakly constrained, and the configuration of preferences is multi-dimensional, but the latent traits of these dimensions are highly correlated. Those who prefer authoritarian rule are more likely to support nationalism, state intervention in the economy, and traditional social values; those who prefer democratic institutions and values are less likely to be nationalistic or support traditional social values but more likely to support market reforms. This latter set of preferences appears more in provinces with higher levels of development and among wealthier and better educated respondents. These findings suggest preferences are not simply split along a pro-regime or anti-regime cleavage, and indicate a possible link between China’s economic reform and societal cleavages.

Keywords: ideology, authoritarianism, political cleavage, China, factor analysis

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Online Appendix

Table of Contents

A	The Zuobiao Survey	A-2
A.1	Zuobiao Questions	A-2
A.2	Descriptive Statistics	A-8
B	Confirmatory Factor Analysis	A-12
B.1	Modeling and Estimates	A-12
B.2	Diagnostics	A-14
B.3	Additional Provincial Correlates	A-15
C	The Asian Barometer Survey (ABS)	A-16
C.1	ABS Attitudinal Questions	A-16
C.2	Descriptions of the ABS Data	A-18
C.3	Additional Results with the ABS Data	A-19

A The Zuobiao Survey

A.1 Zuobiao Questions

The *zuobiao* survey contains 50 questions. The ordering of these questions is randomized for each respondent who takes the survey. We categorize these 50 questions into seven categories. Each of the categories are explained below, and all the questions belonging to each category are listed. The number before each question is the original question ID in the original *zuobiao* data.

1. Political Institutions: Questions in the category of political institutions are those that pertain to preferences over the type of political, legal, and media institutions that are appropriate for China. Specifically, these questions focus on preferences for democratic institutions, including universal enfranchisement, multi-party competition, information and media freedom, and due process. Specific questions include:

#1 “People should not have universal suffrage if they have not been educated about democracy.” 如果人民没有受过民主教育，他们是不应该拥有普选权的

#2 “Universality of human rights take precedence over sovereignty.”¹ 人权高于主权

#3 “When events that have major repercussions for the safety and security of people occur, the government should freely disseminate information even if information disclosure increases the risks of unrest.” 发生重大社会安全事件时，即使认为信息公开会导致骚乱的风险，政府仍应该开放信息传播

#4 “Western multiparty systems are unsuitable for China in its current state.” 西方的多党制不适合中国国情

#5 “Indiscriminately imitating (systems of) western-style freedom of speech will lead to social disorder in China.” 在中国照搬西方式的言论自由会导致社会失序

#10 “Even if procedural rules are violated in the process of investigation and evidence gathering, those who have actually committed crimes should be punished.” 哪怕经历了违反程序规定的审讯和取证过程，确实有罪的罪犯也应被处刑

#12 “It is acceptable to besmirch the images of national leaders and founding leaders in literary and artistic works.” 国家领导人及开国领袖的形象可以作为文艺作品的丑化对象

¹This question is included in the “Political Institutions” category rather than “Individual Freedoms” category because it relates to the question of how human rights should be balanced against sovereignty, not about what individual level behaviors should be protected.

#13 “When laws fail to fully constrain criminal behaviors, people have the right to impose their own punishments for these behaviors.” 当法律未能充分制止罪恶行为时，人民群众有权自发对罪恶行为进行制裁

#14 “Media should be allowed to represent the voice of a particular social stratum or interest group.” 应当允许媒体代表某一特定阶层或利益集团发言

#17 “Lawyers should do their utmost to defend clients even if the client has committed a crime.” 律师即使明知被辩护人的犯罪事实也应当尽力为其进行辩护

2. Individual Freedom: Question related to “Individual Freedom” are those pertaining to whether the state should intervene in individual behavior and the private domain, or whether there are individual-level choices that should be protected from state intervention. Questions in this category relate to educational choices, religious freedoms, sexuality and reproductive rights, as well as other issues of individual autonomy. Specific questions include:

#6 “It is preferable to let universities recruit students by themselves than to have a unified national college entrance examination system.” 由高校自主考试招生比全国统一考试招生更好

#7 “Religious adherents should be allowed to conduct missionary work in nonreligious spaces.” 应该容许宗教人士在非宗教场所公开传教

#8 “Primary school, secondary school, and college students should all participate in government organized military training.” 无论中小学生或大学生，都应参加由国家统一安排军训

#24 “Wasting food is an individual freedom.”² 浪费粮食也是个人的自由

#44 “The fundamental standard to evaluate the value of a work of art is whether it is liked by the masses.”³ 判断艺术作品的价值的根本标准是看是不是受到人民大众喜爱

#45 “Even with population pressures, the state and the society have no right to interfere in the decision to have a child, or how many children to have.” 即使有人口压力，国家和社会也无权干涉个人要不要孩子，要几个孩子

²This question evaluates beliefs about the limits of individual autonomy and whether individual freedom refers to protections for all types of individual behavior.

³This question related to individual freedom because it pertains to whether individuals can set their own standards for evaluating art, or they are dictated by the government.

3. Free Market: Questions in the category of “Free Market” evaluate preferences for the state or the market as the main mechanism of resource allocation, including attitudes towards price controls, private ownership, and redistribution. This category includes questions on state regulation unless the question includes references to capital and labor (workers, peasants), in which case it is placed in the “Capital and Labor” category because of the normative connotations associated with communism and Maoism. Specific questions include:

- #21 “The minimum wage should be set by the state.” 最低工资应由国家规定
- #25 “If the price of pork is too high, the government should intervene.” 如果猪肉价格过高，政府应当干预
- #27 “Education should be public to the greatest extent.”⁴ 教育应当尽可能公立
- #29 “Attempting to control real estate prices will undermine economic development.” 试图控制房地产价格的行为会破坏经济发展
- #30 “The primary means to improve the lives of the low-income people is to give them fiscal subsidies and support.” 改善低收入者生活的首要手段是国家给予财政补贴和扶持
- #37 “Individuals should be able to own, buy and sell land.” 私人应当可以拥有和买卖土地
- #40 “Natural monopolies that emerge out of market competitions are harmless.”⁵ 市场竞争中自然形成的垄断地位是无害的

4. Capital and Labor: Question in the category of “Capital and Labor” evaluate perceptions of distributive justice and the effects of China’s economic reforms, especially wealth inequalities, in the context of China’s Marxist and Maoist heritage. A few of the questions in this category relate to the preferences for state intervention in markets; however, they are included in the category of “Capital and Labor” instead of “Free Market” because they use terms such as class, capital, and labor (workers, peasants) that carry normative connotations associated with class struggle under Maoist rule. Specific questions include:

- #22 “The fruits of China’s economic development since reform and opening up are enjoyed by a small group of people; most people have not received much benefit.” 中国改革开放以来的经济发展的成果都被一小群人占有了，大多数人没得到什么好处

⁴The context for the question is the privatization of education. Education has traditionally been public in China, but private educational providers are growing and has brought with it increasing debates over whether the state should regulate the education industry.

⁵This question indirectly assesses whether the state should intervene to regulate natural monopolies, which can be done through price controls, yardstick competition, and preventing the formation of monopolies.

- #31 “A rich person deserves better medical services.” 有钱人理应获得更好的医疗服务
- #33 “People who make money through gains from financial investments contribute less to the society than people make money through labor.” 靠运作资金赚钱的人对社会的贡献比不上靠劳动赚钱的人
- #34 “It is better to sell state-owned enterprises to capitalists than to let them go bankrupt.” 与其让国有企业亏损破产，不如转卖给资本家
- #36 “The process of capital accumulation is always accompanied by harm to the working class.” 资本积累的过程总是伴随着对普通劳动人民利益的伤害
- #38 “The government should adopt higher grain purchasing prices to boost the income of peasants.” 政府应当采用较高的粮食收购价格以增加农民收入

5. Economic Sovereignty and Globalization: Questions of “Economic Sovereignty and Globalization” related to preferences on the extent to which China should cede some control of its economic activities, wealth and natural resources to foreign or societal interests, or whether economic activities that relate to national interest should remain firmly under the control of the state. Questions pertain to economic protectionism as well as state ownership of assets crucial to national interest. This category is related to questions of “Nationalism” but differs due to its focus on the economic realm. Specific questions include:

- #26 “A high tariff should be imposed on imported goods that are also produced domestically to protect domestic industries.” 应当对国外同类产品征收高额关税来保护国内民族工业
- #39 “Foreign capital in China should enjoy the same treatment as national capital.” 在华外国资本应享受和民族资本同样的待遇
- #28 “The interests of state-owned enterprises are part of the national interest.” 国有企业的利益属于国家利益
- #35 “Sectors related to national security and important to the national economy and people’s livelihoods must be controlled by state-owned enterprises.” 那些关系到国家安全、以及其他重要国计民生的领域，必须全部由国有企业掌控
- #23 “In the decision-making of major (infrastructure) projects, individual interests should give way to social interests.”⁶ 在重大工程项目的决策中，个人利益应该为社会利益

⁶While this question balances individual and societal interests, it does not fall under the “Individual Freedom” category about its is not about protection of specific individual-level behaviors. Instead it is about whether major construction projects, which are often described by the regime as a matter of importance to China’s continued economic development, should eclipse individuals concerns.

6. Traditionalism: Question in the category of “Traditionalism” pertain to preferences for traditional values, norms, and practices, especially related to Confucianism, and preferences for non-traditional views towards sexual freedom and same-sex marriage. Specific questions include:

- #32 “High income earners should disclose the sources of their income.”⁷ 高收入者应该公开自己的经济来源
- #41 “Two adults should be free to engage in voluntary sexual behavior regardless of their marital status.” 两个成年人之间自愿的性行为是其自由，无论其婚姻关系为何
- #42 “One should not openly comment on the shortcomings of their elders.” 不应公开谈论自己长辈的缺点
- #43 “The modern Chinese society needs Confucianism.” 现代中国社会需要儒家思想
- #46 “The Eight Diagrams (Bagua) in The Book of Changes (Zhouyi) can explain many things well.” 周易八卦能够有效的解释很多事情
- #47 “The perspective of traditional Chinese medicine on human health is superior to that of modern mainstream medical science.” 中国传统医学对人体健康的观念比现代主流医学更高明
- #48 “It is unnecessary to push forward the simplification of Chinese characters.” 汉字无需人为推行简化
- #49 “Traditional Chinese classics should be the basic education material for children.” 应当将中国传统文化的经典作品作为儿童基础教育读物
- #50 “I will recognize the relationship between my child and a same-sex partner if it is a voluntary choice.” 如果是出于自愿，我会认可我的孩子和同性结成伴侣关系

⁷This question does not fall into the category of “Market Regulation” because it does not specify any role for the state. This question does not fall into the category of “Capital and Labor” because the focus of the question is disclosure about sources of income, rather than income levels. Confucianism warns against greed and exploitation. High income is not problematic in and of itself, but to guard against greed, high income earners should disclose their sources of income.

7. Nationalism: Questions of “Nationalism” pertain to preferences on the importance of protecting China’s national interests, China’s relationship with the West, and whether China should aggressively advance and defend its national and territorial interests. Specific questions include:

- #9 “National unity and territorial integrity are the highest interest of society.” 国家的统一和领土完整是社会的最高利益
- #11 “The state has an obligation to provide foreign aid.”⁸ 国家有义务进行对外援助
- #15 “If it has sufficient state capabilities, China has the right to take any action to defend its national interests.” 如果国家综合实力许可，那么中国有权为了维护自己的利益而采取任何行动
- #16 “Force should be used to reunify Taiwan with China if conditions permit.” 条件允许的话应该武力统一台湾
- #18 “Chinese citizens should be allowed to hold foreign citizenship.” 应该允许中国公民同时具有外国国籍
- #19 “It is impossible for western countries led by the United States to tolerate the rise of China into a major power.” 以美国为首的西方国家不可能真正容许中国崛起成为一流强国
- #20 “The state should take measures to train and support athletes so they can win glory for the country in various international competitions.” 国家应当采取措施培养和支持体育健儿在各种国际比赛场合为国争光

⁸Foreign aid is not understood as a moral obligation but as a way of projecting China’s power. See, for example, [Copper \(1976\)](#).

A.2 Descriptive Statistics

Table A1. Descriptive Statistics of *Zuobiao* Data
(Constructed Sample of 10,000 Observations)

No	Question	Mean	SD	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	People should not have universal suffrage if they have not been educated about democracy.	2.17	0.86	0.24	0.42	0.28	0.06
2	Universality of human rights take precedence over sovereignty.	2.66	0.93	0.12	0.30	0.38	0.20
3	When events that have major repercussions for the safety and security of people occur, the government should freely disseminate information even if information disclosure increases the risks of unrest.	2.62	0.92	0.11	0.36	0.33	0.19
4	Western multiparty systems are unsuitable for China in its current state.	2.11	0.76	0.20	0.53	0.23	0.04
5	Indiscriminately imitating (systems of) western-style freedom of speech will lead to social disorder in China.	2.60	0.83	0.09	0.35	0.42	0.13
6	It is preferable to let universities recruit students by themselves than to have a unified national college entrance examination system.	2.65	0.88	0.09	0.35	0.38	0.18
7	Religious adherents should be allowed to conduct missionary work in nonreligious spaces.	2.42	0.79	0.13	0.37	0.44	0.06
8	Primary school, secondary school, and college students should all participate in government organized military training.	2.56	0.87	0.13	0.30	0.44	0.12
9	National unity and territorial integrity are the highest interest of society.	2.84	0.92	0.08	0.26	0.38	0.27
10	Even if procedural rules are violated in the process of investigation and evidence gathering, those who have actually committed crimes should be punished.	2.41	0.72	0.11	0.41	0.45	0.03
11	The state has an obligation to provide foreign aid.	2.44	0.85	0.15	0.35	0.41	0.09
12	It is acceptable to besmirch the images of national leaders and founding leaders in literary and artistic works.	2.51	0.85	0.13	0.33	0.43	0.11
13	When laws fail to fully constrain criminal behaviors, people have the right to impose their own punishments for these behaviors.	2.54	0.81	0.10	0.38	0.41	0.11
14	Media should be allowed to represent the voice of a particular social stratum or interest group.	2.23	0.87	0.24	0.35	0.37	0.05
15	If it has sufficient state capabilities, China has the right to take any action to defend its national interests.	2.81	0.85	0.06	0.29	0.43	0.22
16	Force should be used to reunify Taiwan with China if conditions permit.	2.55	0.85	0.09	0.42	0.34	0.15

Table A1. Descriptive Statistics of *Zuobiao* Data
(Constructed Sample of 10,000 Observations)

No	Question	Mean	SD	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
17	Lawyers should do their utmost to defend clients even if the client has committed a crime.	2.60	0.96	0.15	0.30	0.35	0.20
18	Chinese citizens should be allowed to hold foreign citizenship.	2.43	0.79	0.08	0.51	0.30	0.11
19	It is impossible for western countries led by the United States to tolerate the rise of China into a major power.	2.21	0.76	0.13	0.61	0.18	0.08
20	The state should take measures to train and support athletes so they can win glory for the country in various international competitions.	3.02	0.84	0.06	0.17	0.47	0.31
21	The minimum wage should be set by the state.	2.47	0.85	0.11	0.44	0.32	0.13
22	The fruits of China's economic development since reform and opening up are enjoyed by a small group of people; most people have not received much benefit.	2.58	0.67	0.05	0.37	0.53	0.05
23	In the decision-making of major (infrastructure) projects, individual interests should give way to social interests.	2.52	0.76	0.11	0.33	0.50	0.06
24	Wasting food is an individual freedom.	2.43	0.80	0.11	0.43	0.37	0.08
25	If the price of pork is too high, the government should intervene.	2.43	0.86	0.16	0.35	0.40	0.09
26	A high tariff should be imposed on imported goods that are also produced domestically to protect domestic industries.	2.35	0.76	0.14	0.42	0.41	0.04
27	Education should be public to the greatest extent.	2.40	0.77	0.11	0.46	0.37	0.07
28	The interests of state-owned enterprises are part of the national interest.	2.77	0.70	0.03	0.28	0.56	0.12
29	Attempting to control real estate prices will undermine economic development.	2.05	0.71	0.19	0.61	0.17	0.04
30	The primary means to improve the lives of the low-income people is to give them fiscal subsidies and support.	2.75	0.92	0.08	0.35	0.31	0.26
31	A rich person deserves better medical services.	2.31	0.78	0.12	0.54	0.26	0.08
32	High income earners should disclose the sources of their income.	2.84	0.91	0.06	0.34	0.32	0.29
33	People who make money through gains from financial investments contribute less to the society than people make money through labor.	2.71	0.84	0.09	0.26	0.49	0.15
34	It is better to sell state-owned enterprises to capitalists than to let them go bankrupt.	1.95	0.80	0.31	0.45	0.21	0.03
35	Sectors related to national security and important to the national economy and people's livelihoods must be controlled by state-owned enterprises.	2.88	0.71	0.04	0.21	0.59	0.16
36	The process of capital accumulation is always accompanied by harm to the working class.	2.52	0.82	0.09	0.41	0.38	0.12

Table A1. Descriptive Statistics of *Zuobiao* Data
(Constructed Sample of 10,000 Observations)

No	Question	Mean	SD	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
37	Individuals should be able to own, buy and sell land.	2.61	0.88	0.09	0.38	0.35	0.18
38	The government should adopt higher grain purchasing prices to boost the income of peasants.	2.71	0.83	0.08	0.29	0.47	0.16
39	Foreign capital in China should enjoy the same treatment as national capital.	2.01	0.79	0.28	0.47	0.22	0.03
40	Natural monopolies that emerge out of market competitions are harmless.	2.30	0.76	0.13	0.49	0.33	0.05
41	Two adults should be free to engage in voluntary sexual behavior regardless of their marital status.	2.20	0.83	0.23	0.38	0.35	0.04
42	One should not openly comment on the shortcomings of their elders.	2.90	0.84	0.04	0.29	0.40	0.27
43	The modern Chinese society needs Confucianism.	2.33	0.81	0.12	0.54	0.24	0.10
44	The fundamental standard to evaluate the value of a work of art is whether it is liked by the masses.	2.58	0.82	0.13	0.25	0.53	0.09
45	Even with population pressures, the state and the society have no right to interfere in the decision to have a child, or how many children to have.	2.11	0.71	0.18	0.55	0.24	0.02
46	The Eight Diagrams (Bagua) in The Book of Changes (Zhouyi) can explain many things well.	2.68	0.87	0.09	0.32	0.41	0.18
47	The perspective of traditional Chinese medicine on human health is superior to that of modern mainstream medical science.	2.75	0.75	0.05	0.29	0.53	0.14
48	It is unnecessary to push forward the simplification of Chinese characters.	2.21	0.86	0.19	0.48	0.23	0.09
49	Traditional Chinese classics should be the basic education material for children.	2.81	0.69	0.03	0.27	0.57	0.13
50	I will recognize the relationship between my child and a same-sex partner if it is a voluntary choice.	2.72	0.74	0.06	0.28	0.55	0.12

Note: This table shows the mean, standard deviation (SD) of the responses, the proportion of responses for each of the four options: “Strongly Disagree” (1), “Disagree” (2), “Agree” (3), and “Strongly Agree” (4) to each of the 50 questions in *zuobiao* survey (with the constructed sample of 10,000 observations).

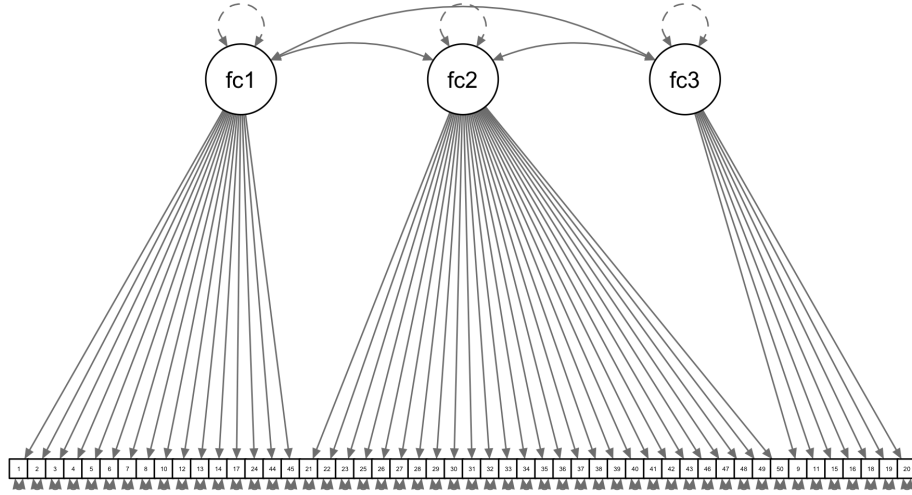
Table A2. Regional Compositions of the *Zuobiao* Data:
Original vs. Resampled

Province	<i>Original</i>		<i>Resampled</i>	
	#Obs.	Pct.	#Obs.	Pct.
Beijing	96,529	20.96	345	3.45
Tianjin	10,860	2.36	171	1.71
Hebei	9,589	2.08	406	4.06
Shanxi	9,023	1.96	234	2.34
Inner Mongolia	1,441	0.31	231	2.31
Liaoning	9,183	1.99	513	5.13
Jilin	4,800	1.04	213	2.13
Heilongjiang	5,996	1.30	404	4.04
Shanghai	37,321	8.10	435	4.35
Jiangsu	30,714	6.67	706	7.06
Zhejiang	25,995	5.64	544	5.44
Anhui	9,314	2.02	278	2.78
Fujian	11,617	2.52	315	3.15
Jiangxi	5,533	1.20	165	1.65
Shandong	16,346	3.55	710	7.10
Henan	8,890	1.93	445	4.45
Hubei	16,610	3.61	449	4.49
Hunan	10,051	2.18	389	3.89
Guangdong	41,782	9.07	1,392	13.92
Guangxi	7,251	1.57	170	1.70
Hainan	1,365	0.30	90	0.90
Chongqing	7,460	1.62	172	1.72
Sichuan	18,118	3.93	363	3.63
Guizhou	3,171	0.69	116	1.16
Yunnan	3,431	0.74	238	2.38
Tibet	70	0.02		
Shaanxi	3,765	0.82	240	2.40
Gansu	2,252	0.49	126	1.26
Qinghai	300	0.07		
Ningxia	461	0.10		
Xinjiang	1,961	0.43	140	1.40
Hong Kong	4,310	0.94		
Overseas	45,055	9.78		
Total	460,563	100.00	10,000	100.00

B Confirmatory Factor Analysis

B.1 Modeling and Estimates

Figure A1. CFA: Model A



This figure illustrate the structural equation model used in the confirmatory factor analysis (Model A). “fc1,” “fc2,” and “fc3” represent three latent factors and the numbers in the squares at the bottom correspond to the original question numbers in the *zuobiao* survey.

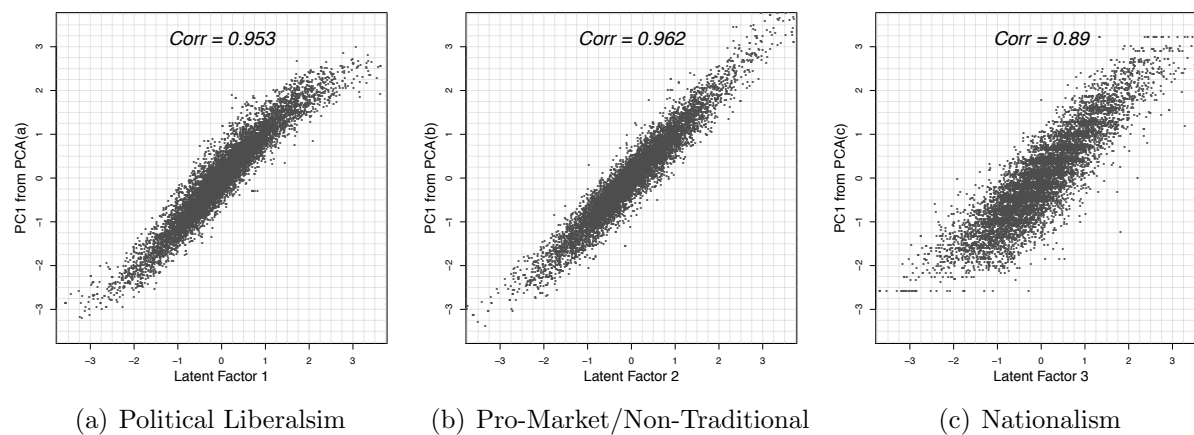
Table A3. Estimated Coefficients of the CFA (Model A)

Latent Factor 1			Latent Factor 2			Latent Factor 3		
No.	Coef.	S.E.	No.	Coef.	S.E.	No.	Coef.	S.E.
1	-0.210	(0.014)	21	-0.367	(0.012)	9	-0.744	(0.007)
2	0.682	(0.008)	22	-0.363	(0.012)	11	-0.488	(0.011)
3	0.718	(0.007)	23	-0.300	(0.014)	15	-0.500	(0.010)
4	-0.349	(0.012)	25	-0.463	(0.011)	16	-0.555	(0.010)
5	-0.303	(0.012)	26	-0.211	(0.015)	18	0.587	(0.010)
6	0.680	(0.008)	27	-0.443	(0.012)	19	-0.376	(0.012)
7	0.491	(0.011)	28	0.250	(0.014)	20	-0.651	(0.010)
8	-0.591	(0.009)	29	0.436	(0.013)			
10	-0.196	(0.014)	30	-0.397	(0.011)			
12	0.730	(0.007)	31	0.308	(0.014)			
13	-0.263	(0.014)	32	-0.006	(0.016)			
14	0.140	(0.015)	33	-0.590	(0.010)			
17	0.666	(0.008)	34	0.459	(0.011)			
24	-0.365	(0.012)	35	-0.561	(0.009)			
44	0.560	(0.011)	36	-0.626	(0.008)			
45	0.217	(0.014)	37	0.537	(0.011)			
			38	-0.408	(0.012)			
			39	0.464	(0.012)			
			40	0.216	(0.014)			
			41	0.333	(0.012)			
			42	-0.313	(0.014)			
			43	-0.435	(0.012)			
			46	-0.713	(0.007)			
			47	-0.393	(0.013)			
			48	-0.671	(0.008)			
			49	-0.249	(0.015)			
			50	0.374	(0.012)			

Note: Standard errors are in the parentheses. Each coefficient represents standard-deviation increase (or decrease if the number is negative) in the response to a question due to a one standard-deviation increase in the corresponding latent factor.

B.2 Diagnostics

Figure A2. Correlation between Latent Factors and PCs

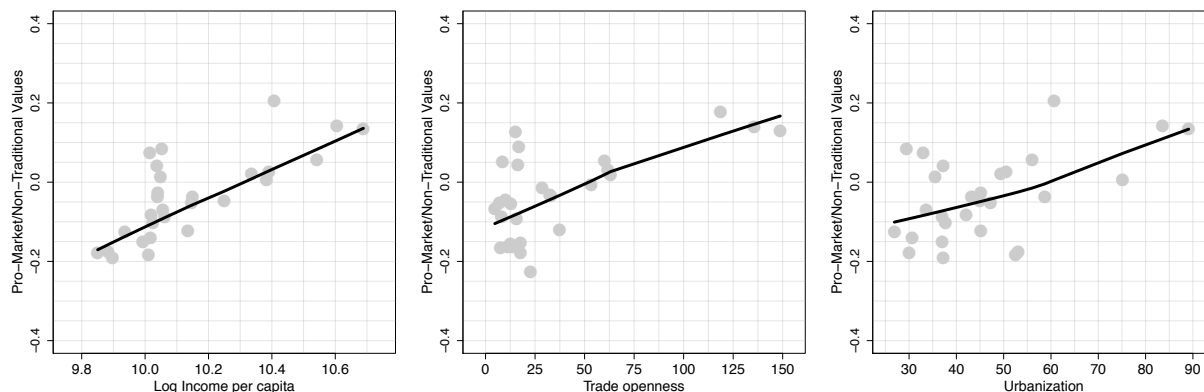


The above figures show the correlations between latent factors estimated from the CFA Model (Model A) and the first principal components from three separate PCAs that use questions corresponding to the respective latent variables. For example, in Figure (a), 18 questions related to political liberalism and individual freedom are used in the PCA, not but the other 32 questions.

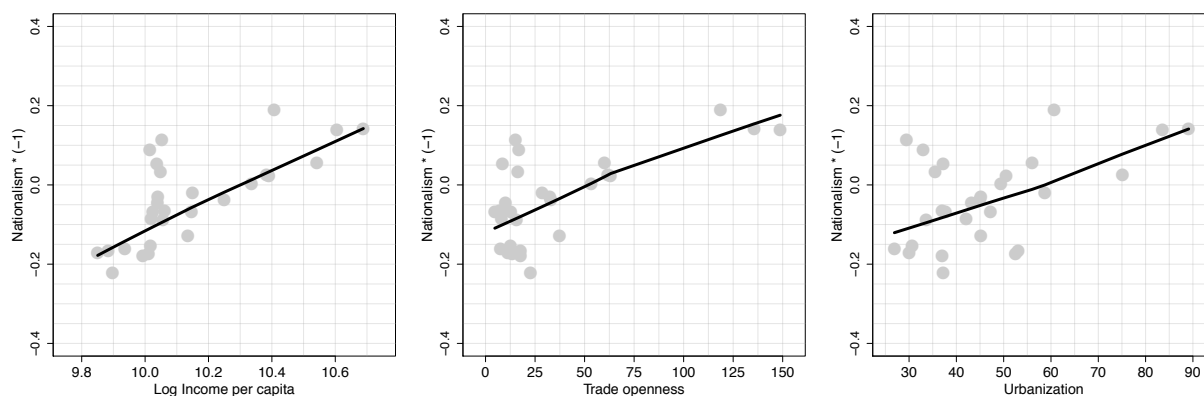
B.3 Additional Provincial Correlates

Figure A3 shows the correlations between ideological measures (2nd and 3rd dimensions) and developmental indicators at the regional level.

Figure A3. Correlates of Provincial Ideological Measures
Second and Third Dimensions



(a) Second Dimension



(b) Third Dimension

C The Asian Barometer Survey (ABS)

C.1 ABS Attitudinal Questions

The questions we use to form an ideological measure based on the ABS data, as well as their coding rules, are listed in Table A4. We use two criteria to select these questions. First, we include questions pertaining to preferences for political institutions, political values, policies, and social values, but not evaluations of government performance or the current political events. Second, we exclude questions with terminology that has multiple meanings in the Chinese context, such as “democracy.” Based on our analysis in the main text, as well as an exploratory factor analysis on ABS data, we group the questions into two categories: (1) preferences related to politics (*political category*) and (2) preferences for social values and trade (*social/economic category*).

Table A4. Coding Rules for the ABS Data

No.	Question	Coding Rule
Category 1: Political		
74	Statement (a): Government leaders should implement what people want. vs. Statement (b): Government leaders should do what they think is best for the people.	1 = Strongly prefer (a) to (b); 2 = prefer (a) to (b); 3 = prefer (b) to (a); 4 = strongly prefer (b) to (a).
75	Statement (a): The government is our servant; the people should tell government what needs to be done. vs. Statement (b): The government is like our parents; it should decide what is good for the people.	Same as above.
76	Statement (a): The media should have the right to publish news and opinions free from government control. vs. Statement (b): The government should have the power to prevent the media from publishing things that might be politically destabilizing.	Same as above.
77	Statement (a): People should look after themselves and be primarily responsible for their own success in life. vs. Statement (b): The government should bear the main responsibility for taking care of the well-being of the people.	Same as above.
78	Statement (a): Political leaders are chosen by the people through open and competitive elections. vs. Statement (b): Political leaders are chosen on the basis on their virtue and capability even without election.	Same as above.
79	Statement (a): We should allow multiple parties compete and represent different political interests. vs. Statement (b): We should have only one party to represent the interests of all people.	Same as above.
129	We should get rid of the People’s Congress and elections and have a strong leader to make decisions.	1 = Strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = agree; 4 = Strongly Agree.
131	We should have the military to govern the country.	Same as above.

Table A4. Coding Rules for the ABS Data

No.	Question	Coding Rule
132	We should have technocrats to make decisions on behalf of the people.	Same as above.
139	Women should not be involved in politics as much as men.	Same as above.
140	People with little or no education should have as much say in politics as those who are highly-educated.	Same as above.
141	Government leaders are like the head of a family; we should all follow their decisions.	Same as above.
142	The government should decide whether certain ideas should be allowed to be discussed in the society.	Same as above.
143	Harmony of the community will be disrupted if people start to organize groups.	Same as above.
144	When courts make decisions on important cases, they should accept the view of the local government.	Same as above.
145	If the government is constantly being constrained by the legislature, it cannot possibly accomplish great things.	Same as above.
146	If we have political leaders who are morally upright, we can let them decide everything.	Same as above.
147	If people have too many different opinions, the society will be chaotic.	Same as above.
148	When the country is facing a difficult situation, it is ok for the government to disregard the law in order to deal with the crisis.	Same as above.
Category 2: Social/Economic		
50	For the sake of the family, an individual should put his personal interests second.	1 = Strongly disagree; 2 = disagree; 3 = agree; 4 = Strongly Agree.
51	We should sacrifice our individual interest for the sake of the group's collective interest.	Same as above.
52	For the sake of national interest, individual interest could be sacrificed.	Same as above.
53	When dealing with others, developing a long-term relationship is more important	Same as above.
54	When dealing with others, one should not only focus on immediate interest but also plan for future.	Same as above.
55	Even if parents' demands are unreasonable, children still should do what they ask.	Same as above.
56	When a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law come into conflict, even if the mother-in-law is in the wrong, the husband should still persuade his wife to obey his mother.	Same as above.
57	Being a student, one should not question the authority of their teacher.	Same as above.
58	In a group, we should avoid open quarrel to preserve the harmony of the group.	Same as above.
59	Even if there is some disagreement with others, one should avoid the Conflict.	Same as above.
60	A person should not insist on his own opinion if his co-workers disagree with him.	Same as above.

Table A4. Coding Rules for the ABS Data

No.	Question	Coding Rule
61	Wealth and poverty, success and failure are all determined by fate.	Same as above.
62	If one could have only one child, it is more preferable to have a boy than a girl.	Same as above.
63	When dealing with others, one should not be preoccupied with temporary gains and losses.	Same as above.
151	Our country should defend our way of life instead of becoming more and more like other countries	Same as above.
152	We should protect our peasants and workers by limiting imports of foreign goods.	Same as above.
153	Imported foreign goods are hurting the local economy.	Same as above.

C.2 Descriptions of the ABS Data

Table A5 shows the basic descriptive statistics of ABS respondents' profiles. As we can see, the gender, age, education distributions are closer to those of the Chinese population than the raw *zuobiao* data.

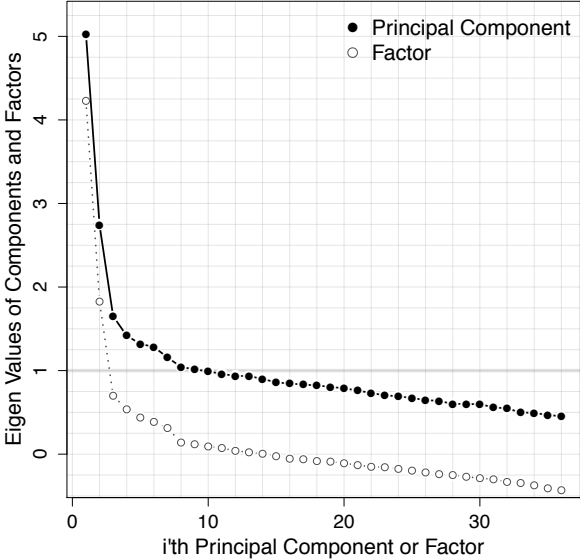
Table A5. Descriptive Statistics

Variable	#Obs.	Mean	S.D.	Min.	Max.
Female	3,405	0.47	0.50	0	1
Age	3,405	45.0	15.6	18	92
Middle school or above	3,389	0.60	0.49	0	1
High school or above	3,389	0.29	0.45	0	1
College or above	3,389	0.09	0.28	0	1
Rural resident	3,405	0.53	0.50	0	1

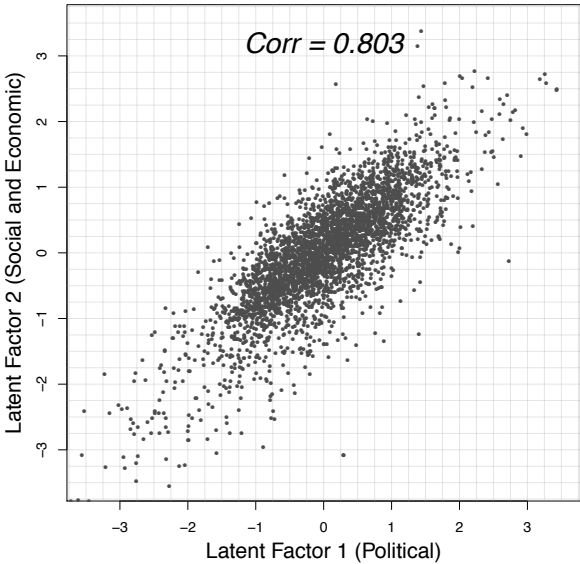
C.3 Additional Results with the ABS Data

Figure A4 shows the additional results with the ABS data. Figure A4(a) shows the scree plots with both a principal component analysis and a exploratory factor analysis. We see that two components/factors stand out. Figure A4(b) is a scatterplot of the two estimated latent factors based on a confirmatory factor analysis, of which factor structure is specified in Table A4.

Figure A4. Correlation Matrix



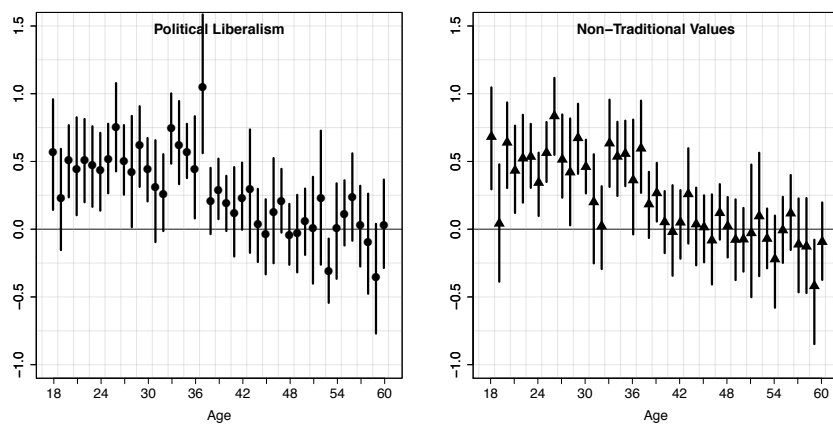
(a) Scree plot



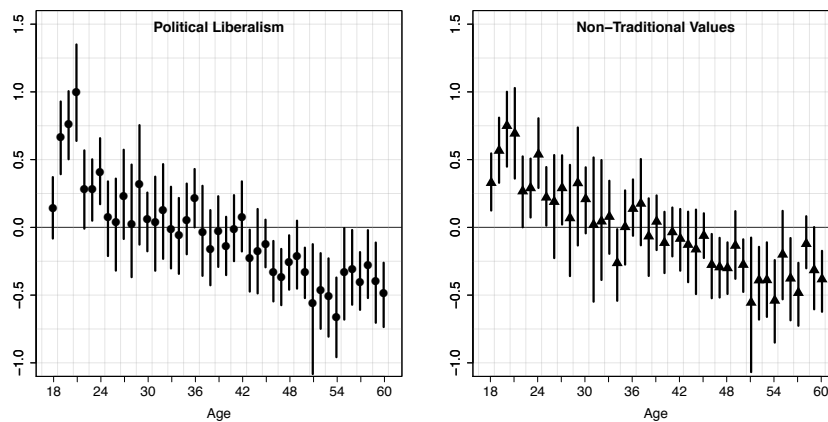
(b) Latent factors

Figure A5 shows the relationship between the ideological measures and age by urban and rural areas with the ABS sample. We see that, in the urban sample, both ideological measures are almost flat in the age range of 18–36, while in the rural areas, younger cohorts seems to have consistent more liberal/non-traditional attitudes than older cohorts.

Figure A5. Ideological Measures and Age:
Urban vs. Rural



(a) Urban



(b) Rural