

# Psychological Resources of Political Participation: Comparing Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland China<sup>#</sup>

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## I. Introduction

Political participation is composed of a variety of political acts that private citizens seek to influence or to support government and politics. As political acts are kinds of action directing to influence government and politics, which for most citizens are beyond the normal activities of their daily life, political participation is therefore costly and driven category of actions that citizens seldom do. Costly and rare as they are, the volume of political participation thus is spread disproportionately among citizens dependent on their available time, energy and resources to do so. Virtually, as having been well explored and documented since the 1960s along with the growth of behavioral approach in political science, participation of private citizens in politics is taken as the function of stimuli, personal factors, social position, and environmental variables, succinctly summarized in a seminal book by Lester W. Milbrath ( 1967 ) and M. L. Goel ( 1977 ) This paper then attempts to pick up those psychological factors that activate, motivate, or drive citizens to take part in political processes.

Mass political participation in three Chinese societies, namely, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Mainland China, is significant in itself, since it has rarely been studied empirically as well as comparatively. The aim of this paper is to explore how political participation in three Chinese societies is linked to psychological factors, and varied among different societies accordingly. In so doing, we attempt firstly to explore what psychological factors differentiate private citizens in their volume of political participation and their preferred mode as well. In the end, we expected to provide some grounded explanations by analyzing available survey data conducted in the three Chinese societies.<sup>1</sup>

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## II. Psychological Resources of Political Participation

From what has already been said in psychology, we should not be surprised to find a psychological explanation for individual's overt actions, be it through psychological processes that an individual is able to make sense of outside world. Presumably, those actions taking part in politics are consequently expected to require more psychological forces than other social behavior. Psychological resources of political participation are noted as those important psychological determinants of political actions. And, as widely studied and well grounded, these psychological correlates of political actions are mainly carried on by these psycho-political concepts: political efficacy (or alienation), political trust (or distrust), political involvement, and political knowledge, just to name some most important ones to be explored in our analysis.

First, political efficacy is defined as the feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact on the political process, according to Angus Campbell *et al.* (1954) in *The Voter Decides*. Undoubtedly, since the publication of classic *The American Voter* in 1960, the concept of political efficacy has become one of the most widely utilized psycho-political concepts in political behavior, and its associated measured items, however being slight revised later, are widely adopted and discussed as well. (Craig, Niemi, and Silver 1990) Political efficacy is a key concept in the explanation of why private citizens take part in politics, especially in conventional modes. In measurement, we consider Balch's (1974) analysis to further look at two embedded components of political efficacy, the internal and external efficacy, separately.

Second, political trust is an important psycho-political concept in understanding of political participation. Developed by the Michigan SRC, and enriched by Arthur Miller and Jack Citrin's debate (1974), political trust is widely applied to explain conventional political participation and, contrarily, political distrust is used to predict unconventional political participation. Citizens with higher level of political trust are those who believe that governmental officials tend to take care of people's welfare and that politics is not all dirty. On contrast, citizens with low level of political trust (or political distrust or even politically alienated) are those who believe politician tend to manipulate people, and that political leaders are corrupt and self-serving, and that

special interests wield too much power as well. As “ external political efficacy ” is about the belief that government is responsive, the feelings of political trust and the feelings of political efficacy are correlated.

Third, political involvement ( or political interest ) refers to the degree to which citizens are interested in, concerned about politics and public affairs. People who are more interested in politics are more likely to talk politics and discuss it with others; in the same vein, they are also more exposed to political stimuli and reinforced their psychological involvement in politics. Political involvement or political interest is well found as an important psycho-political characteristic correlated with political participation, however, its strength of ties varies with different participatory modes ( Verba, Nie, and Kim 1971; Milbrath and Goel 1977 ) and even fluctuates in three Chinese societies, which are culturally homogeneous but diverse in levels of socio-economic development. By political interest, we refer to psychological involvement in politics, which on the one hand is same as Milbrath and Goel’s usage ( 1977 ) and much narrower than what is conceptualized by Verba, Nie and Kim ( 1978 ) on the other. They package “ awareness of politics, interest in politics, information, and attention to media ” ( *Ibid.*:71 ) into the concept of “ psychological involvement in politics. ” However, we prefer to treat them as separate components, not only explore how political involvement relates to participatory acts, but also look at political knowledge and media exposure behave in relation to political participation as follows.

Fourth, political knowledge is related to how well people know about political world. Unlike education, which indicates the certain level of formal training and potential capability of individual in understanding of political affairs, the variable of political knowledge is designed to directly measure people’s knowledge level about the correct name-recognition of government head and of foreign political leaders. For many cases, knowledge about prominent political figures as such or political affairs in general are not limited to learn in school, and one may obtain in different ways in social interaction. For example, in a rapid changing society, those who have less education may obtain high level of political knowledge, if they have more chance to work in related lines of work and travel widely around and pay more attention to politics. However correlated, political knowledge is not equated to educational level intrinsically. If people’s educational attainment represents a trained capability

determined mainly by location in the social structure, the level of political knowledge indicates a learned capacity largely motivated by individuals.

Finally, media exposure ( by which political information is gained for most people ) is also considered as an important psycho-political variable in predicting conventional and unconventional participation. Being highly correlated with education and political knowledge variables, media exposure is to tap people's volume of information flow through watching television, reading newspapers, and listening radio. Along with the wide-spreading of available mass media, not to mention the " world-wide web internet " through electronic devices ( not included in our analysis ) that people come to know about political affairs and governmental activities inevitably relies more and more heavily on mass media accordingly. People's habit in watching television, reading newspapers and listening radio not only create a knowledgeable one-way learning but also infuse them with political information byproduct. As political information is essential for people to take part in politics, so is media exposure to provide such availability of information flow.

Our analysis as follows is to strike out some psychological explanations of political participation in the three Chinese societies. The focus is to highlight the effect of political efficacy, political trust, political involvement, political knowledge, and media exposure on political participation. In reality a person's psychological resources of any kind are intrinsically intertwined and integrated into one's personality as a whole, however, analytically being treated as separate components carried on by these studied concepts. Therefore, these psychological resources are to be, as expected, correlated in certain ways exerting various influences on different participatory acts either jointly or respectively.

### III. Political Participation in three Chinese Societies

Our analysis draws on mass survey data that form a comparative study of political participation and political culture in Mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong. Taking stock of political participation studies, especially pioneered by Verba, Nie, and Kim's ( 1971 ) adventure in the modes, political participation in three Chinese societies in our analysis has been identified and classified into six participatory modes: voting, election-related activity, contacting, adversarial appeal, and protest that are directing

to influence political process, conventionally and unconventionally. Since our dependent variable is different participatory modes and overall participation, let’s first recapitulate the shape of each participatory mode and overall participation.

In comparison, as shown in the appendix Table 1, it is significantly different in each mode of political participation among three Chinese societies. Due to a long history of election practice in Taiwan, voting participation rate in Taiwan, as Figure 1 shows, is much higher than that in Hong Kong and Mainland China. It has been well documented and confirmed that institutional constraint such as registration requirement is set hurdle to voting participation and mobilization effort promotes it. ( Verba, Nie, and Kim 1978; Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980 ) Therefore, Hong Kong’s voting participation rate is lower than China’s, even though voting in China does not give much real political choice to people. Since campaign activities are closely linked to voting participation, this shape of voting participation holds similar to that of election-related participation, as shown in Figure 2. Taiwanese’s election-related participation is the highest, and people in Hong Kong have the least volume of election-related participation.

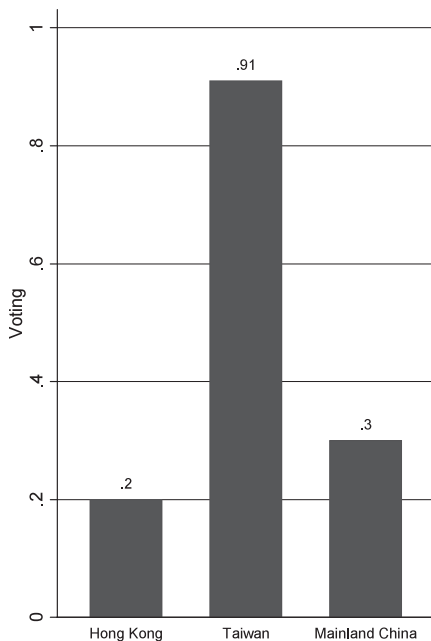


Figure 1: Voting

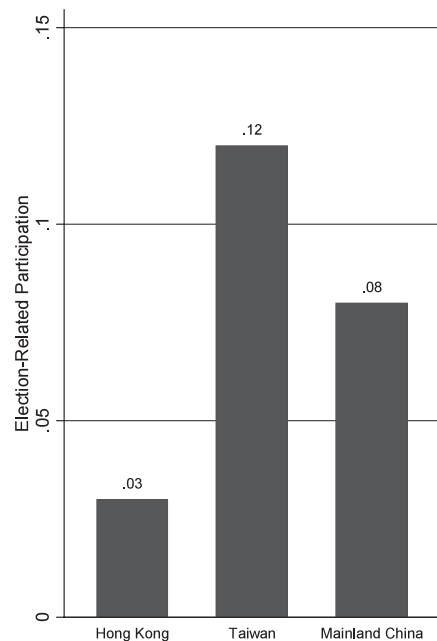


Figure 2: Election-Related Participation

Particularized Contacting is an output-oriented mode of political participation, as it is directed to influence outcomes ( Verba, Nie, and Kim 1971; Verba and Nie 1972 ) In an authoritarian society, input-oriented participation is virtually limited to support rather than demand side, however, most of people's political demand could be recast to output side, as embodied in subjective political culture. In such cases, people taking part in the political process to influence the policy outputs, such as asking for help or expressing their opinions, may go many ways: Either initiating personal contact with government official or passing them through their available personal ties and networks. As shown in Figure 3 and 4, in authoritarian Mainland China, particularized contacting and network-oriented participation are significantly higher than those in democratic Hong Kong and Taiwan. In Taiwan people's dissatisfaction of governmental output may easily translate into demand input through periodical elections, such as shown above with a higher participation rate in voting and electoral activities.

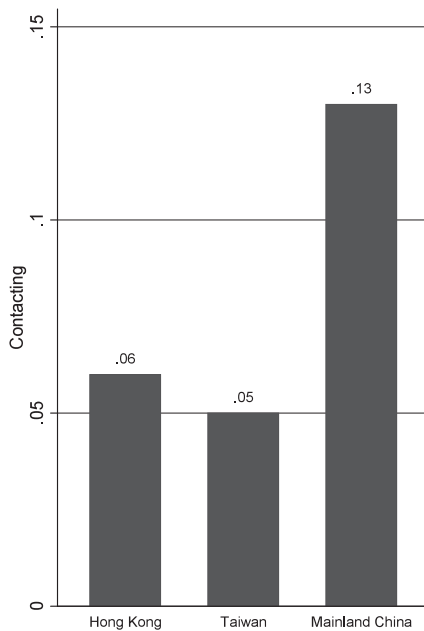


Figure 3: Contacting

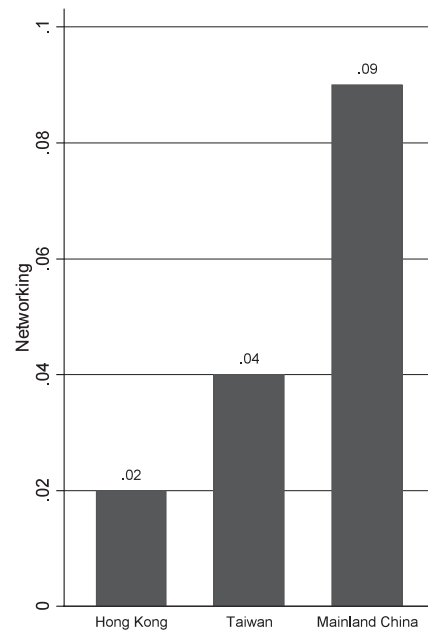


Figure 4: Networking

Moreover, as to be manifested in the following Figure 5 and 6, Hong Kong people would take adversarial and protest mode of participation to relieve their political grievances, since they have accustomed to a strong civil tradition under long history of

British rule. Adversarial appeal and protest are kinds of unconventional mode of participation, and people in Mainland China are most prohibited to take such participatory acts, which are taken as challenging and damaging legitimacy of ruling party. As expected, adversarial appeal and protest is much lower in Mainland China, accordingly.

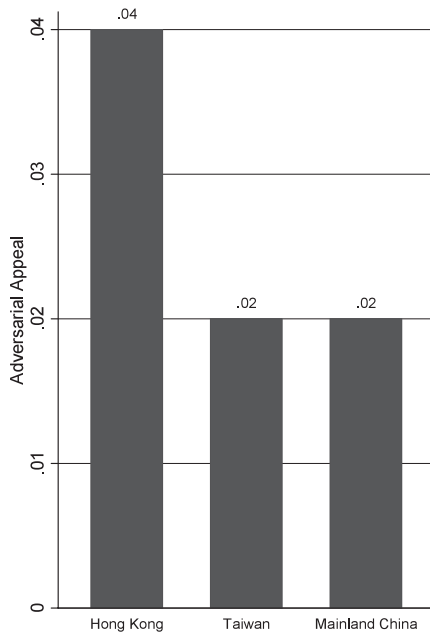


Figure 5: Adversarial Appeal

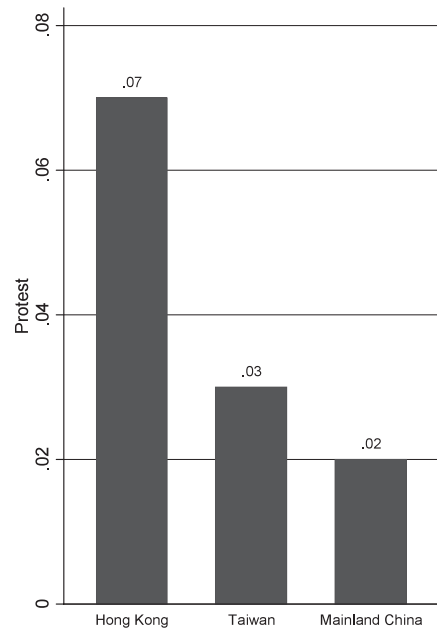


Figure 6: Protest

Finally, we turn to look at the overall political participation in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland China. As shown in Figure 7, the volume of overall political participation is compared cross-nationally based on a summated-standardized scale. It is significantly contrasting that Taiwanese people have the highest and Hong Kong people have the lowest level of political participation. Due to different items applied to measure the frequency of participatory acts and of different survey areas, it seems to need double check, even though the raw scores of each participatory mode and the overall participation are standardized. In so doing, we construct another scale of the overall political participation by doing a factor analysis of the pooled-data. Unlike the averaging of a summated scale, the mean of this factorial overall participation score is statistically set to 0, and its standard deviation is 1. As shown in Figure 8, the same

shape of political participation among three Chinese societies is also very contrasting as it is identified in Figure 7.

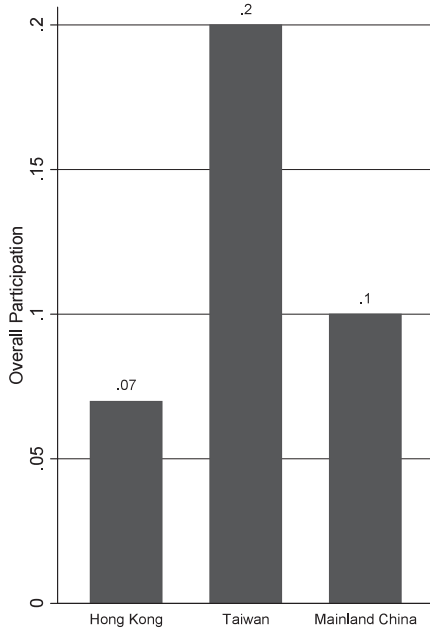


Figure 7: Overall Participation

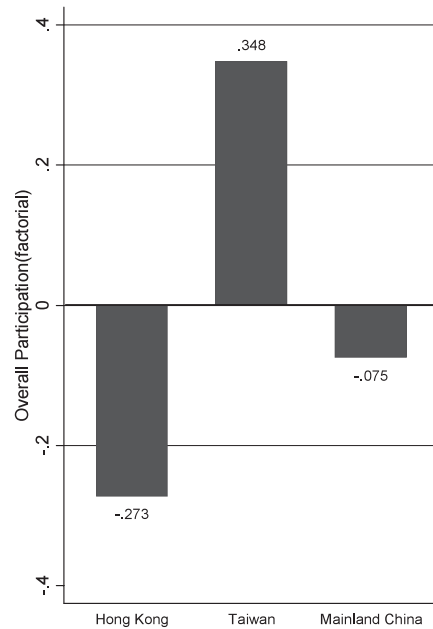


Figure 8: Overall Participation (factorial)

#### IV. Political Empowerment of People in Three Chinese Societies

Psychological resources of political participation, as we refer to political efficacy (internal and external) political trust, political involvement, political knowledge, and media exposure, are important psycho-political characteristics that activate, motivate, and drive private citizens to take part in politics. People who equipped with these psychological traits are said to have been “empowered” to play an active role in the political process in general and, if necessary, to push-pull themselves to be more frequent or intense in pursuit of their political goals. In other words, people’s political empowerment can be fairly assessed by their holding of these psycho-political characteristics.

Let’s look at each psycho-political characteristic and compare them across three Chinese societies. First as the Appendix Table 2 shows, there found significant differences in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland China for each components of political empowerment. As shown in Figure 9, people in Taiwan and Mainland China



have a higher level of internal political efficacy. However, people in Taiwan have the lowest level of external political efficacy comparing to the highest level held by their counterpart in Mainland China. The pattern of the levels of people’s internal efficacy and external efficacy is found reversed to compare Taiwan with Hong Kong case. Hong Kong people have lower level of internal efficacy might then reflect their uncertainty and inability about the democratic future before 1997 or the state of being deprived of political rights for long under the British colonial rule. Their higher level of external efficacy might also indicate the paternalistic nature of British colonial government. In contrast, in Taiwan at the time people cheered their democratic breakthrough then found to go astray without a compatible democratic accountability of the government, as indicated in Figure 10. Both relative high level of internal and external political efficacy in the case of Mainland China, however, may be a resultant of the beginning of political liberalization after Deng’s rule.

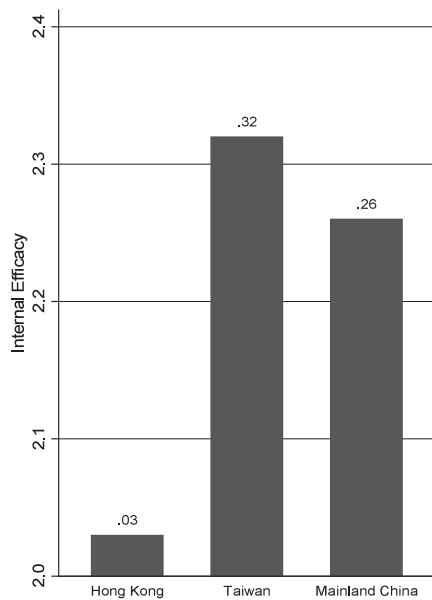


Figure 9: Internal Efficacy

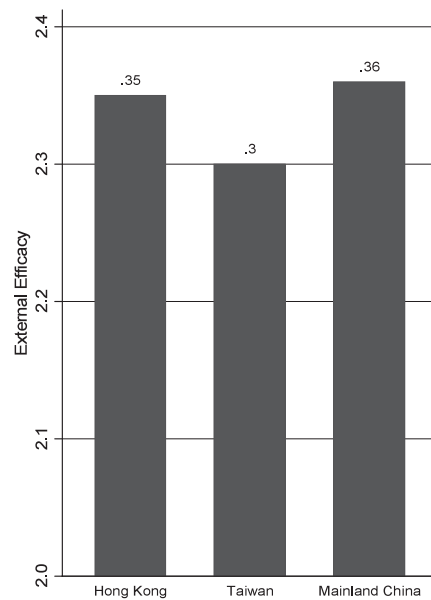


Figure 10: External Efficacy

Political trust in our measure refers to people’s evaluation of rightness of the government’s decisions and of the fitness of political systems. As expected and shown in Figure 11, people in Mainland China under an authoritarian rule are more habituated to be uncritical to their government and political system, so have the

highest level of political trust, comparing to their counterparts in Hong Kong and Taiwan, where critical citizens are consequentially nurtured along with more modernizing of the society. In Figure 12, we also found the level of political involvement is significantly high in Mainland China than in Hong Kong and Taiwan. People in Mainland China are more interested in politics and more likely to discuss politics with others. It is quite reasonable to think that living in an over-politicized society people have to be attentive to politics, as political correctness matters in their life. As society has become more modernized and the political arena become more democratic or market-oriented, politics may lose its ground in people's daily life, as in Taiwan and Hong Kong.

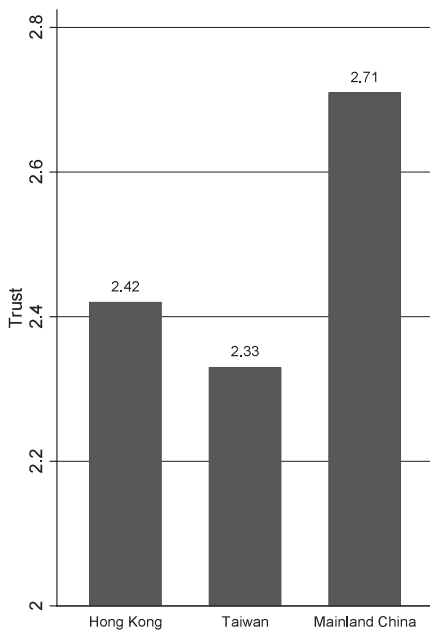


Figure 11: Trust

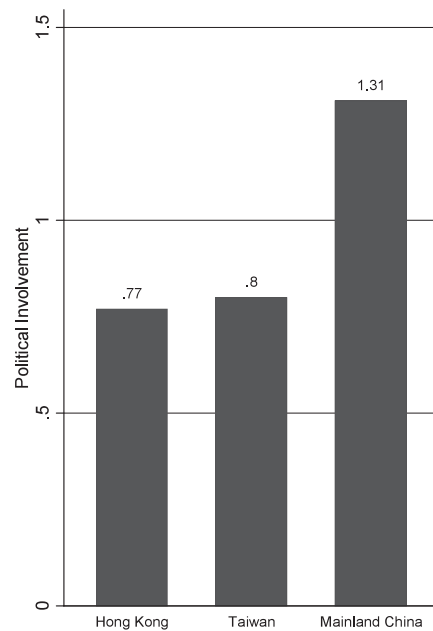


Figure 12: Political Involvement

To compare, it is noteworthy that people in Mainland China have the lowest level of political knowledge and media exposure, however, they have the highest level of political interest, as compared and shown in Figure 13 and 14. It seems hardly true that people in Mainland China are ill informed so as to become more interested in politics and talking or discussing politics with others in making up scarcity of their political knowledge. Look at the cases in Taiwan and Hong Kong the underlining reason may be the resultant of the overall level of socioeconomic development and its

availability of social learning resources such as newspapers and other wireless mass media. One of the determinants to the level of political knowledge is of course the level of formal education. In average, people in Taiwan and Hong Kong are more educated than those counterparts in Mainland China. How come the participation patterns if most of people are very interested in politics and ignorant at the same time? Maybe they are more likely to engage in the mobilized and support-oriented political participation.

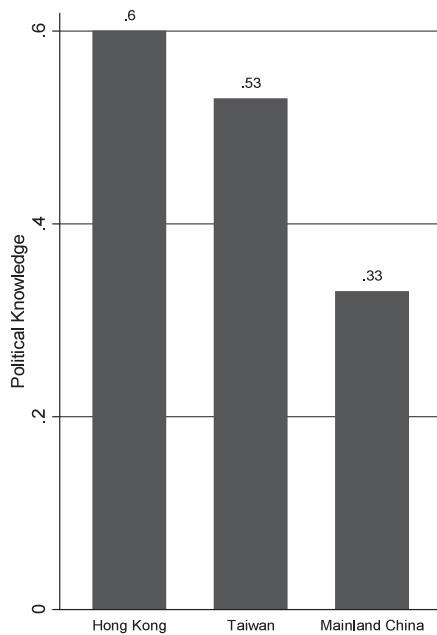


Figure 13: Political Knowledge

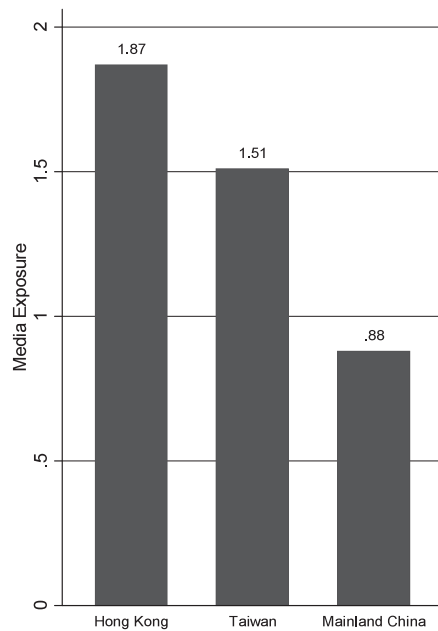


Figure 14: Media Exposure

## V. Determinants of Political Empowerment

What demographic and socioeconomic factors can explain individual difference in political empowerment in terms of internal/external political efficacy, political trust, political involvement, political knowledge and media exposure? To assess their possible determinants, we regress these psycho-political attributes on sex, age, year of education, occupation (dichotomized to be white collar vs. others), and monthly income. In summary, as shown in Table 1 through Table 6, we need only to stress some points to see the pattern of their causal relationships. Firstly, for all these psycho-political characteristics, education is the most powerful predictor across three

Chinese societies, same as those widely found and confirmed elsewhere in this area of studies that people who are more educated have stronger sense of internal and external political efficacy, political involvement, political knowledge and media exposure. However, the negative relationship between education and political trust is somewhat unexpected, to what has been found in earlier study of American case (Campbell et al. 1960; Abramson 1983) but quite reasonable in three Chinese societies. In western societies, the education-driven model has been postulated to explain the positive relationship between education and political trust, and social-deprivation model to the explanation of black's low feelings of political trust. Both models may not work in our case. Education may function as a drive for people to ask for more transparency of governmental actions and to be able to find fault with government officials. That is, in authoritarian Mainland China or transitional Hong Kong and Taiwan, higher level of education will pull political trust downward rather than push upward. Same as education, income variable also has negative effect on political trust both in Taiwan and Mainland China. Moreover, white-collar people in Hong Kong are found to have higher level of political trust, and in contrast, they have significantly lower level of political trust in Mainland China.

Table 1: OLS Estimates of Internal Efficacy

Predictor Variables	Hong Kong Beta	Taiwan Beta	Mainland China Beta
Sex ( male=1, female=0 )	.211***	.144***	.121***
Age	.062	.151***	.081***
Years of Education	.286***	.559***	.119***
Occupation ( white collar=1, others=0 )	-.020	.031	.056**
Month Family Income	.028	.041	-.074***
Adjusted R Square	.128	.309	.037
N	677	835	2,649

\* p&lt;.01, \*\* p&lt;.01, \*\*\* p&lt;.001.

Table 2: OLS Estimates of External Efficacy

Predictor Variables	Hong Kong Beta	Taiwan Beta	Mainland China Beta
Sex ( male=1, female=0 )	.007	.013	.081***
Age	-.106*	-.016	-.005
Years of Education	.210***	.211***	.110***
Occupation ( white collar=1, others=0 )	-.048	.002	-.011
Month Family Income	-.008	.032	-.048*
Adjusted R Square	.062	.051	.020
N	663	800	2,668

\* p&lt;.01, \*\* p&lt;.01, \*\*\* p&lt;.001.

Table 3: OLS Estimates of Political Trust

Predictor Variables	Hong Kong Beta	Taiwan Beta	Mainland China Beta
Sex ( male=1, female=0 )	.081	.024	- .029
Age	.057	.215***	.132***
Years of Education	-.232***	-.145**	-.340***
Occupation ( white collar=1, others=0 )	.089*	-.009	-.080***
Month Family Income	-.019	-.094*	-.096***
Adjusted R Square	.053	.128	.243
N	627	697	2,505

\* p&lt;.01, \*\* p&lt;.01, \*\*\* p&lt;.001.

Table 4: OLS Estimates of Political Involvement

Predictor Variables	Hong Kong Beta	Taiwan Beta	Mainland China Beta
Sex ( male=1, female=0 )	.185***	.214***	.170***
Age	-.007	.000	-.032
Years of Education	.362***	.430***	.360***
Occupation ( white collar=1, others=0 )	.016	.079**	.039*
Month Family Income	.067	.033	.060***
Adjusted R Square	.219	.308	.229
N	719	956	3,293

\* p&lt;.01, \*\* p&lt;.01, \*\*\* p&lt;.001.

Table 5: OLS Estimates of Political Knowledge

Predictor Variables	Hong Kong Beta	Taiwan Beta	Mainland China Beta
Sex ( male=1, female=0 )	.363***	.261***	.218***
Age	.065	.035	.087***
Years of Education	.320***	.545***	.504***
Occupation ( white collar=1, others=0 )	.012	.055*	.112***
Month Family Income	.050	.012	.137***
Adjusted R Square	.274	.422	.446
N	719	956	3,293

\* p&lt;.01, \*\* p&lt;.01, \*\*\* p&lt;.001.

Table 6: OLS Estimates of Media Exposure

Predictor Variables	Hong Kong Beta	Taiwan Beta	Mainland China Beta
Sex ( male=1, female=0 )	.086*	.140**	.039*
Age	.122**	.057	.081***
Years of Education	.345***	.494***	.398***
Occupation ( white collar=1, others=0 )	-.020	.054	.180***
Month Family Income	.047	.055	.145***
Adjusted R Square	.107	.301	.302
N	719	956	3,093

\* p&lt;.01, \*\* p&lt;.01, \*\*\* p&lt;.001.

Secondly, sex is the second important predictor variable in the understanding of political empowerment of Chinese people. The effect of gender difference on internal political efficacy, political involvement, political knowledge, and media exposure is significant, and the pattern of relationship that the male hold stronger of these psycho-political characteristics than the female do is unanimous across three Chinese societies. However, as Table 2 shows, the significant relationship between gender and external political efficacy is only found in the case of Mainland China, which may further indicate the belief that politics as a male-dominant business is not only prevalent but even stronger in Mainland China.

Thirdly, the effect of age variable on the psycho-political characteristics is case dependent, and the pattern is more similar in both Mainland China and Taiwan. Age effect on internal political efficacy and political trust are found significant both in Mainland China and Taiwan, where the old than the young are more likely to have higher level of internal political efficacy and political trust. In Hong Kong, age variable serves as a significant predictor of external political efficacy, and inversely the younger tend to have higher level of political trust. In China, the older are more likely to have higher level of political knowledge. The positive effect of age on media exposure is significant for both Hong Kong and Mainland China cases but not Taiwan.

Fourthly, in Mainland China income variable behaves as a significant predictor for all these components of political empowerment, but its direction of influence on the political efficacy is exceptional, as Table 1 and 2 show, people with higher income have lower level of internal and external political efficacy. Maybe, this finding is mainly caused by the fact that too many missing cases and/or faulty report of income by respondents.

Finally, turn to assess to how well these demographic and socioeconomic variables in predicting the variations of individual psycho-political characteristics. Our regression models, though simplified and parsimonious by considering a few predictors, function well as shown by their R-square coefficients in Table 1 through Table 6. However, a further elaboration of explanatory model still rooms large for some cases, such as those shown in Table 1, 2 and 3, there needs more explanatory variable to specify the reason why individuals are different in their feelings of internal political efficacy in Mainland China, of political trust in Hong Kong, and of external political efficacy in all three

Chinese societies.

## VI. Psychological Resources of Political Participation

As stated in the opening, political actions are kinds of resource-driven human behavior. In study of American political participation, Verba and Nie (1972) develop the classic standard SES model of political participation, which has long been widely applied ever since. Psychological resources of political participation are addressed to explore what they call “process of politicization” that link higher socioeconomic status with political participation. As we shall see later, the standard socioeconomic model may not work well in three Chinese societies, however; its “process of politicization” component part of the model stands out and kicks off most effect of socioeconomic status on political participation. This truncated socioeconomic model is what we prefer to call it as the “political empowerment model,” as the process of politicization is directed to emphasize those psycho-political characteristics that empowered people to engage in politics.

In the following, we deal with different participatory modes in separate and come back to look at the overall participation in three Chinese societies. First, on voting participation and its variation is uniformly explained by age, political involvement, and media exposure across three Chinese societies, as reported in Table 7. Moreover, in the case of Mainland China political trust also has significant predictive power for voting participation. As mentioned earlier, Chinese’s political trust is extraordinarily higher than that of Hong Kong people and Taiwanese, and that it leads people to vote in the state-led elections is quite natural. Second, the election-related participation or campaign activities as shown in Table 8 are significantly predicted by external efficacy and political involvement in Hong Kong. Campaign activities are effectively explained by sex, political involvement and media exposure in Taiwan, and election-related activities are influenced by age, internal and external political efficacy, political involvement, and media exposure in Mainland China. The political involvement is the single and most important cross-national determinant of election-related participation.

Third, political involvement is also the cross-national predictor of people particularized contacting, as Table 9 shows. In Taiwan, people with higher income are also more likely to have higher rate of contacting with government officials in pursuit

Table 7: OLS Estimates of Voting Participation

Predictor Variables	Hong Kong Beta	Taiwan Beta	Mainland China Beta
Sex ( male=1, female=0 )	- .056	- .024	.042
Age	.113*	.142**	.147***
Years of Education	- .014	.013	.004
Occupation ( white collar=1, others=0 )	- .047	.014	- .014
Month Family Income	- .049	.013	.023
Internal Efficacy	.056	- .064	- .022
External Efficacy	.042	.039	.005
Political Trust	.004	.024	.074**
Political Involvement	.182***	.114*	.075**
Political Knowledge	.036	- .061	- .015
Media Exposure	.172***	.098@	.147***
Adjusted R Square	.085	.016	.046
N	627	697	2,205

\* p<.01, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001. @ p=.054

of their benefits. In Mainland China the rate of particularized contacting is more likely increased with individual older age, higher level of internal efficacy, and more media exposure. Fourth, the networking-related participation is a special subset of particularized contacting and both modes of participation are exceptional high in Mainland China shown in Figure 3 and 4. As it goes indirectly through personal ties and social networks rather than personal relationship, effective network-oriented participation is thus built on the crony relationship, not only is it less frequent but always unavailable in an atomized modern society such as Hong Kong and Taiwan. As Table 10 shows, individual political involvement is the only factor that conduces to increase networking participation in Taiwan's and probably does so in Hong Kong's case. Since Mainland China has a high volume of networking participation, besides the most conducive effect of political involvement, people with higher levels of internal and external political efficacy and political trust are also more likely to engage in networking participation.

Fourth, as mentioned earlier both adversarial appeal and protest modes of participation are found higher in Hong Kong among three Chinese societies, political involvement is still the major factor that has significant effect on these unconventional participation cross-nationally. In addition to effect of political involvement, Hong Kong people who with lower level of political trust are also more likely to engage in



Table 8: OLS Estimates of Election-rated Participation

Predictor Variables	Hong Kong Beta	Taiwan Beta	Mainland China Beta
Sex ( male=1, female=0 )	- .053	.088*	.030
Age	- .030	.042	.090***
Years of Education	- .081	.021	- .013
Occupation ( white collar=1, others=0 )	.083	.064	.016
Month Family Income	.021	.029	.025
Internal Efficacy	.081	.041	.090***
External Efficacy	.102*	.018	.047*
Political Trust	- .037	- .030	.059*
Political Involvement	.172***	.316***	.219***
Political Knowledge	- .027	- .012	- .042
Media Exposure	.064	.105*	.137***
Adjusted R Square	.061	.219	.109
N	627	697	2,205

\* p<.01, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001.

Table 9: OLS Estimates of Contacting

Predictor Variables	Hong Kong Beta	Taiwan Beta	Mainland China Beta
Sex ( male=1, female=0 )	- .005	.013	.046*
Age	- .005	.091@	.079**
Years of Education	.096	.019	.059
Occupation ( white collar=1, others=0 )	.082	.006	- .014
Month Family Income	- .002	.105**	.007
Internal Efficacy	.013	.051	.069**
External Efficacy	.001	.028	- .018
Political Trust	- .056	- .017	- .029
Political Involvement	.157**	.256***	.135***
Political Knowledge	- .042	- .051	.001
Media Exposure	.053	.021	.069**
Adjusted R Square	.064	.089	.066
N	627	697	2,205

\* p<.01, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001. @ p=.056

Table 10: OLS Estimates of Networking

Predictor Variables	Hong Kong Beta	Taiwan Beta	Mainland China Beta
Sex ( male=1, female=0 )	.006	.021	.021
Age	.040	- .046	- .020
Years of Education	.042	- .049	.061#
Occupation ( white collar=1, others=0 )	.076	.008	.017
Month Family Income	.024	.055	.043
Internal Efficacy	- .020	.050	.050*
External Efficacy	.055	.046	- .051*
Political Trust	.017	.015	- .070**
Political Involvement	.098@	.191***	.158***
Political Knowledge	- .076	- .018	- .054
Media Exposure	.038	.021	.024
Adjusted R Square	.012	.048	.063
N	627	697	2,205

\* p<.01, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001. ( @ p=.052, # p=.053 )

adversarial appeal, and protesting participation is also significantly associated with younger age and higher external political efficacy. The positive effect of external efficacy on protest participation in Hong Kong need further elaboration here, since its sign are not consistent to those in the cases of Taiwan and Mainland China. Theoretically, people who have stronger feelings of external efficacy are more likely follow governmental actions, however, at the time of our survey Hong Kong people already known their returning back to Mainland China, and their higher feelings of Hong Kong administration's responsiveness or stronger belief in fitness of existing Hong Kong political system may push them to engage more in protesting, especially in human right issues.

In Taiwan those who have higher income level are more likely to engage in adversarial appeal, while less political trust drives higher up the rate of going protest. In the case of Mainland China, adversarial appeal is more positively affected by higher level of education, income, and internal political efficacy and, of course, political involvement, but negatively by external efficacy. Besides the positive effect of political involvement, People in Mainland China who are male, with low levels of political trust and political knowledge, and more exposed to mass media are also more likely to go protesting.

Finally, turn to the overall participation. In Hong Kong, the overall participation

Table 11: OLS Estimates of Adversarial Appeal

Predictor Variables	Hong Kong Beta	Taiwan Beta	Mainland China Beta
Sex ( male=1, female=0 )	.016	.010	.008
Age	-.052	.018	.045
Years of Education	-.041	.037	.066*
Occupation ( white collar=1, others=0 )	.075	.003	.010
Month Family Income	-.042	.093*	.057*
Internal Efficacy	.011	.039	.057*
External Efficacy	.045	.035	-.054*
Political Trust	-.081*	.000	.014
Political Involvement	.242***	.126**	.053*
Political Knowledge	-.042	-.048	-.001
Media Exposure	.078	.037	.002
Adjusted R Square	.081	.035	.018
N	627	697	2,205

\* p<.01, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001.

Table 12: OLS Estimates of Protest

Predictor Variables	Hong Kong Beta	Taiwan Beta	Mainland China Beta
Sex ( male=1, female=0 )	-.031	-.017	.046*
Age	-.125**	-.005	-.039
Years of Education	-.039	.051	.025
Occupation ( white collar=1, others=0 )	.049	.027	-.035
Month Family Income	-.043	.012	-.010
Internal Efficacy	-.001	.084	.018
External Efficacy	.119**	-.034	-.039
Political Trust	-.075	-.079*	-.057*
Political Involvement	.263***	.143**	.114***
Political Knowledge	-.036	-.035	-.067*
Media Exposure	.052	.018	.055*
Adjusted R Square	.119	.053	.027
N	627	697	2,205

\* p<.01, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001.

rate is mainly determined by external political efficacy, political involvement, and medial exposure. In Taiwan, the volume of overall participation is affected by age, income, political involvement, and media exposure. The rate of overall participation in Mainland China is influenced by sex, age, internal political efficacy, political involvement, and media exposure. As shown in Table 13, it is obviously that political involvement is the most powerful predictor for the volume of overall participation, and

Table 13: OLS Estimates of the Overall Participation

Predictor Variables	Hong Kong Beta	Taiwan Beta	Mainland China Beta
Sex ( male=1, female=0 )	- .050	.025	.054*
Age	.022	.100*	.103***
Years of Education	-.007	.019	.046
Occupation ( white collar=1, others=0 )	.048	.036	.000
Month Family Income	-.040	.077*	.041
Internal Efficacy	.049	.028	.076***
External Efficacy	.096*	.044	-.015
Political Trust	-.054	-.017	.008
Political Involvement	.316***	.324***	.227***
Political Knowledge	-.025	-.066	-.050
Media Exposure	.163***	.103*	.140***
Adjusted R Square	.174	.161	.126
N	627	697	2,205

\* p<.01, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001.

media exposure is the second one.

To recall, the standard SES model of political participation, as Verba and Nie propose, is hardly held to apply to three Chinese societies as we have shown those variables that represent socioeconomic status such as education, occupation and income are only sparsely and context contingently exerting direct effects on various modes of participation, and they are surely absent in the explanation of overall participation. What stands out in predicting the rate of various participatory acts and the overall participation in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland China is those psycho-political characteristics highly with their core of “political involvement.” As Table 14 shows, in the case of Hong Kong internal political efficacy, political involvement, political knowledge, and media exposure are highly correlated and comprised to a factor, in Taiwan’s case political trust (as it negatively correlated) or political distrust added to, and in Mainland China’s case similar to that of Taiwan but to drop internal political efficacy. Whether there is one or two factors extracted, these composite factors are highly correlated with the volume of overall political participation.

## VII. Conclusion

Our analysis treated different modes of participation and the overall volume of political participation as dependent variables, respectively, to see how psycho-political

Table 14: Factor Analysis of Psycho-political Resources (varimax rotation)

Psycho-political characteristics	Hong Kong		Taiwan	Mainland China	
	Factor loadings		Factor loadings	Factor loadings	
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 1	Factor 2
Internal Efficacy	.517	.351	.671	.052	.835
External Efficacy	-.018	.805	.287	.038	.551
Political Trust	-.070	-.582	-.410	-.734	.186
Political Involvement	.744	.277	.763	.600	.470
Political Knowledge	.772	.005	.759	.816	.120
Media Exposure	.687	-.207	.710	.754	.189
Eigenvalues	1.995	1.130	2.364	2.335	1.109
% of Variance	31.585	20.484	39.396	35.614	21.784
Valid cases	665		763	2041	
Pearson Correlation between Factors and the Overall Participation Scale					
Overall Participation	.302**	.158***	.322***	.201***	.198***

\*\*\*  $p < .001$ . ( 2-tailed )

characteristics are related to them, and follow the standard socioeconomic model to include demographic and socioeconomic variables in our causal analysis. Our data analysis show the participatory acts in three Chinese societies are more psychological pushed than socioeconomic pulled. Of course the process of politicization not only matter as shown in the standard model of political participation, and it should be more a dominant factor in pushing higher up people's participatory acts of different modes.

As found in our analysis, Taiwan has long history of election practice, so Taiwanese have higher rate of voting and election-related participation. With stronger civil tradition people in Hong Kong have higher level of unconventional participation such as adversarial appeal and protest. People in Mainland China then have higher level of output-oriented participation as contacting or networking participation. Since the shape of political participation in three Chinese societies is different the relative importance of psychological resources of participation is also varied accordingly.

Individual psycho-political characteristics as embodied in internal political efficacy, external political efficacy, political involvement, political knowledge and media exposure, are also constrained by socioeconomic environments where one is a member. The components of political empowerment are therefore varied and distributed unevenly across three Chinese societies.

To sum up, psychological resources of political participation such as involvement, efficacy, and skill are more important than socioeconomic status in determining the rate of political participation in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Mainland China. The model of political participation in three Chinese societies is more a truncated rather than a full socioeconomic model, and we tentatively propose it as the political empowerment model of political participation.

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### Notes

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1 This is part of a larger project 'Political Culture and Political Participation in Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong'. A stratified multistage area sampling procedure with probabilities proportional to size measures (PPS) was employed to select the sample, and survey conducted in mainland China (between September 1993 and June 1994), Taiwan (between July and August 1993) and Hong Kong (during May-July, 1993). We are grateful to the following institutions for funding the various stages of the project: the National Science Foundation (NSF-SBR-94-96313), the Henry Luce Foundation, and the China Times Foundation.

Appendix Table 1:  
Comparison of Participatory Acts in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland China

Survey Area		Voting	Election-Related	Contacting	Networking	Adversarial Appeal	Protest	Overall Participation
Hong Kong	Mean	.1992	.0286	.0609	.0207	.0364	.0665	.0687
	N	892	892	892	892	892	892	892
	Std. Dev.	.34429	.10995	.16833	.08858	.08984	.17027	.09677
Taiwan	Mean	.9101	.1235	.0508	.0383	.0168	.0328	.1954
	N	1402	1402	1402	1402	1402	1402	1402
	Std. Dev.	.28610	.19069	.15406	.14965	.07671	.10553	.09545
Mainland China	Mean	.3010	.0825	.1275	.0906	.0198	.0167	.1029
	N	3,287	3,287	3,287	3,287	3,287	3,287	3,287
	Std. Dev.	.20250	.12526	.18061	.19888	.09059	.07755	.08718
Total	Mean	.4378	.0842	.0976	.0663	.0217	.0287	.1207
	N	5,581	5,581	5,581	5,581	5,581	5,581	5,581
	Std. Dev.	.37390	.14555	.17602	.17619	.08742	.10622	.10138
Mean Test	Eta	.738***	.204***	.168***	.075**	.168***	.412***	.443***

\*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001.

Appendix Table 2:  
Comparison of Psycho-political Characteristics in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland China

Survey Area		Internal Efficacy	External Efficacy	Political Trust	Political Involvement	Political Knowledge	Media Exposure
Hong Kong	Mean	2.0317	2.3508	2.4255	.7724	.6010	1.8737
	N	820	794	732	892	892	892
	Std. Dev.	.44568	.52138	.40040	.63439	.29242	.89015
Taiwan	Mean	2.3227	2.3074	2.3327	.7998	.5316	1.5143
	N	1162	1093	907	1402	1402	1402
	Std. Dev.	.61315	.60159	.40115	.74330	.37508	.88313
Mainland China	Mean	2.2584	2.3637	2.7095	1.3147	.3349	.8809
	N	2604	2653	2485	3287	3287	3287
	Std. Dev.	.42631	.42030	.38743	.69370	.31794	.86985
Total	Mean	2.2342	2.3479	2.5762	1.0987	.4268	1.1987
	N	4586	4540	4124	5581	5581	5581
	Std. Dev.	.49346	.48818	.42661	.74385	.34799	.96190
Mean Test	Eta	.199***	.048*	.391***	.348***	.322***	.412***

\*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001.