An aerial, high-angle view of a city skyline, likely Shanghai, featuring the Oriental Pearl Tower and numerous skyscrapers. The image is darkened to serve as a background for the text.

# “后物质主义” 范式： 述评、质疑、经验研究及理论补正

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2019.5 @ RUC

# 关于我

- 2006-10 中国人民大学 社会与人口学院 社会学 本科
- 2010-17 多伦多大学 社会学 博士
- 2017-19 加拿大萨斯喀彻温大学 社会学系 助理教授
- 2019- 澳门大学 社会学系 助理教授

# 研究领域

Public Opinion  
公众意见

Social Movements  
社会运动

East Asia & China  
东亚政治

# Research Interests (I) Social Movements

- Social Media and Mobilization
  - 2014 Robert Brym, Melissa Godbout, Andreas Hoffbauer, Gabe Menard, and **Tony Huiquan Zhang**, “Social Media in the 2011 Egyptian Uprising.” *British Journal of Sociology* 65(2): 266-92.
    - This paper won the BJS Biennial Best Paper Prize in Oct 2016.
- Meteorological Factors, Mobilization and Political Opportunity Theory
  - 2016 **Tony Huiquan Zhang**, “Weather Effect on Social Movements: Evidence from New York City and Washington D.C., 1960-1995.” *Weather, Climate, and Society* 8(3): 299-311.

# Research Interests (2) Chinese Politics

- Princelings in China, 1977-2017
  - 2019 Tony Huiquan Zhang, “The Rise of the Princelings in China: Career Advantages and Collective Elite Reproduction,” **Journal of East Asian Studies**.
  - Won the Best Student Paper Award in 2017 CSA Annual Meeting
  - Won the Chiang-Ching-Kuo Foundation Research Grant for 2018-19 school year, USD: 16,000
- Political Status, Urban-Rural Divide and Subjective Well-being, revise and resubmit at **Chinese Sociological Review**
- Social Media and Online Governance in China (in progress)

# Research Interests (3) Public Opinion

- Ph.D. Dissertation Study, its Chapter 2 on postmaterialism and liberalism in China
  - 2017 Tony Huiquan Zhang, Robert Brym, and Robert Andersen, “Postmaterialism and Liberalism in China.” **Chinese Sociological Review**, 49(1), 65-87.
- Today’s talk - Chapter 3, a comparative study of societal effects on value changes
  - 2019 Tony Huiquan Zhang and Robert Brym, “Tolerance of Homosexuality in 88 Countries: Education, Political Freedom and Liberalism,” **Sociological Forum**. (DOI:10.1111/socf.12507)
  - A derivative project received a Revise & Resubmit at the **Social Science Journal**.
- Chapter 4 on China’s nationalism education campaign, and the value consequences
  - A derivative project is under review at **Public Opinion Quarterly**.

# 提纲

- “后物质主义”（Post-materialism）理论简述
- 文献述评和理论质疑
- 博士论文研究
  - 理论补充及提出竞争性假设
  - 方法贡献
  - 经验研究及发现
  - 结论和讨论

# **What is Post-materialism?**

## 价值观研究中的“后物质主义”理论范式



# 二战后的社会变迁

- 传统的、以阶级为基础的社会动员在减弱（至少在西欧和北美等发达资本主义社会）。
- 无论是政党政治和利益集团游说活动(institutional)，还是社会运动（extra-institutional），都呈现多元价值观、多元目标、多元参与人群的分化、复杂化趋势。
- E.g. 性别为基础的女权主义运动、性少数群体运动；环境保护为主要政纲的全球性绿党崛起。

# 二战后的社会变迁

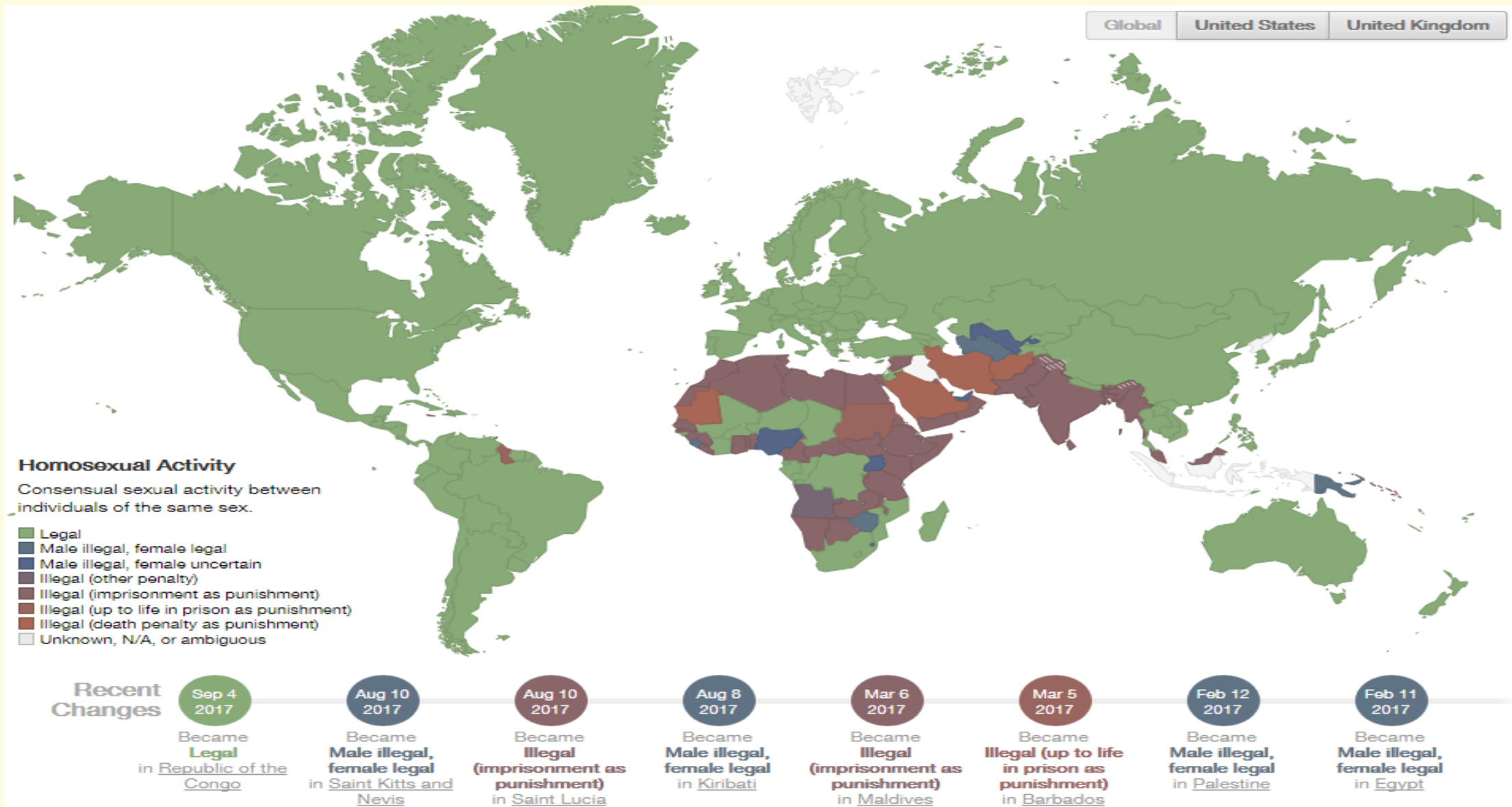
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# Some works on the “death of class” debate

- Van der Waal, Jeroen, Peter Achterberg, and Dick Houtman. "Class is not dead—it has been buried alive: class voting and cultural voting in postwar western societies (1956–1990)." *Politics & Society* 35.3 (2007): 403-426.
- Clark, Terry Nichols. "The breakdown of class politics." *Civil Society and Class Politics*. Routledge, 2017. 31-56.
- Manza, J., Hout, M., & Brooks, C. (1995). Class voting in capitalist democracies since World War II: dealignment, realignment, or trendless fluctuation?. *Annual review of sociology*, 21(1), 137-162.
- Caínzos, M., & Voces, C. (2010). Class inequalities in political participation and the ‘death of class’ debate. *International Sociology*, 25(3), 383-418.
- Andersen, R., & Heath, A. (2002). Class matters: the persisting effects of contextual social class on individual voting in Britain, 1964–97. *European sociological review*, 18(2), 125-138.



# 例证：性少数群体的社会运动



# 现象

- 物质利益和阶级身份在西方政治中作为议题的地位相对下降；
- 女性与性少数群体权益、少数民族和原住民权益、环境保护、反战、反核乃至动物权益、文化多样性保育等“非物质利益”议题，地位相对上升，在某些社会、时期甚至成为主导议题；
- 相比于战前出生的人群，上述转变在战后出生的年轻人群（cohorts）中更为明显。

- 为什么阶级不再是政治动员的核心？
- 为什么以往“不成问题的问题”现在成为西方政治的重要议题？——环保、女权、性少数、动保、反核.....

# 解释

- Ronald Inglehart and his “post-materialism” thesis
  - Inglehart, R. (1977 / 1990). The silent revolution: Changing values and political styles in advanced industrial society.
  - Inglehart, R., & Abramson, P. R. (1994). Economic security and value change. *American political science review*, 88(2), 336-354.
  - Inglehart, R., & Baker, W. E. (2000). Modernization, cultural change, and the persistence of traditional values. *American sociological review*, 19-51.
  - Inglehart, R., & Norris, P. (2017). Trump and the xenophobic populist parties: The silent revolution in reverse. *Perspectives on Politics*, 15(2), 443-454.



# **Postmaterialism**

# 基本论点

- 个人层面

- 富裕 => 核心关切升级

- 基于马斯洛需求层次理论的需求进阶说——二战后，在西方发达国家，绝对贫困问题基本解决，物质需求不再成为最广大人群的主要顾虑。

- 青少年时期教育、同侪影响与价值观塑造

- 社会层面

- 总体安全感上升

- 经济繁荣、失业率走低与福利社会
    - 犯罪率下降

- 人口的代际更替

- 年轻、成长于安逸环境的一代逐渐代替战前老龄人口

# **Problems and Critiques of Postmaterialism**

## 后物质主义理论范式的问题和质疑

# 现代化理论

- 经济决定论的危险——亨廷顿和1990年代以来的文化转向
- 不同地区文化体现差异（但迄今为止，对文化的操作化仍然比较简单，且普遍存在西方中心主义视角）；
- 对历史发展方向有一种“目的论”预设， teleological assumption —— 假设殊途同归、假设线性增长、社会进步不可避免。
  - 如： 弗朗西斯福山在九零年代红极一时的历史终结论。

# 西方中心主义

- 至少截至2000年代的诸多经验研究，基本是基于OECD、西欧北美社会的经验数据做出结论。然而基于此的许多发现，却被当作普遍规律进行理论概括。
  - 富裕、受教育、高阶层一定更加进步吗？会不会仅仅是西欧北美的特例？
  - 价值观变迁在非基督教文明、在非“自由民主制”社会环境是否服从类似的规律？
  - 非基督教文明，被现代化理论描述成某种“更落后”、有待“进步”和“开化”的文明。

# 方法论上的区群谬误

- 决定价值观“进步化”的根本因素，究竟是个体富裕，还是社会环境的普遍富裕？
  - 例如：
    - 富裕社会中的穷人会否支持进步主义价值？
    - 贫困社会中的富人会否支持进步主义价值？

# 二十一世纪的经验挑战

- 后物质主义理论本身已经蕴含了自我否定的因素。
  - 经济发展会导致价值观进步；那么，经济停滞、倒退和不平等激化则会导致价值观倒退。（底特律锈带与特朗普当选、欧洲难民危机与右翼抬头）
  - 新兴经济体（金砖国家、东南亚国家）并未按照理论预测拥抱所谓“进步主义”价值观。

总结：  
后物质主义理论需要更新的经验证据、  
更全面的理论补正。



# 我在博士论文中提出的应对方案

- 摒弃一元、线性、历史决定论、目的论的预设；价值观除了“进步”，亦可“后退”，甚至有多维度变迁的可能（例如：台湾地区民进党；美国工人阶层拥抱特朗普——保守和激进，左翼右翼议题的奇异组合）。
- 经验案例的扩充和比较研究——非西方、非发达、非所谓“自由民主”社会的实证数据
- 社会层次 + 个人层次的综合考量和效应识别 —— HLM多层线性模型

**Education, Political Freedom and Support for Liberal Values**

# Outline

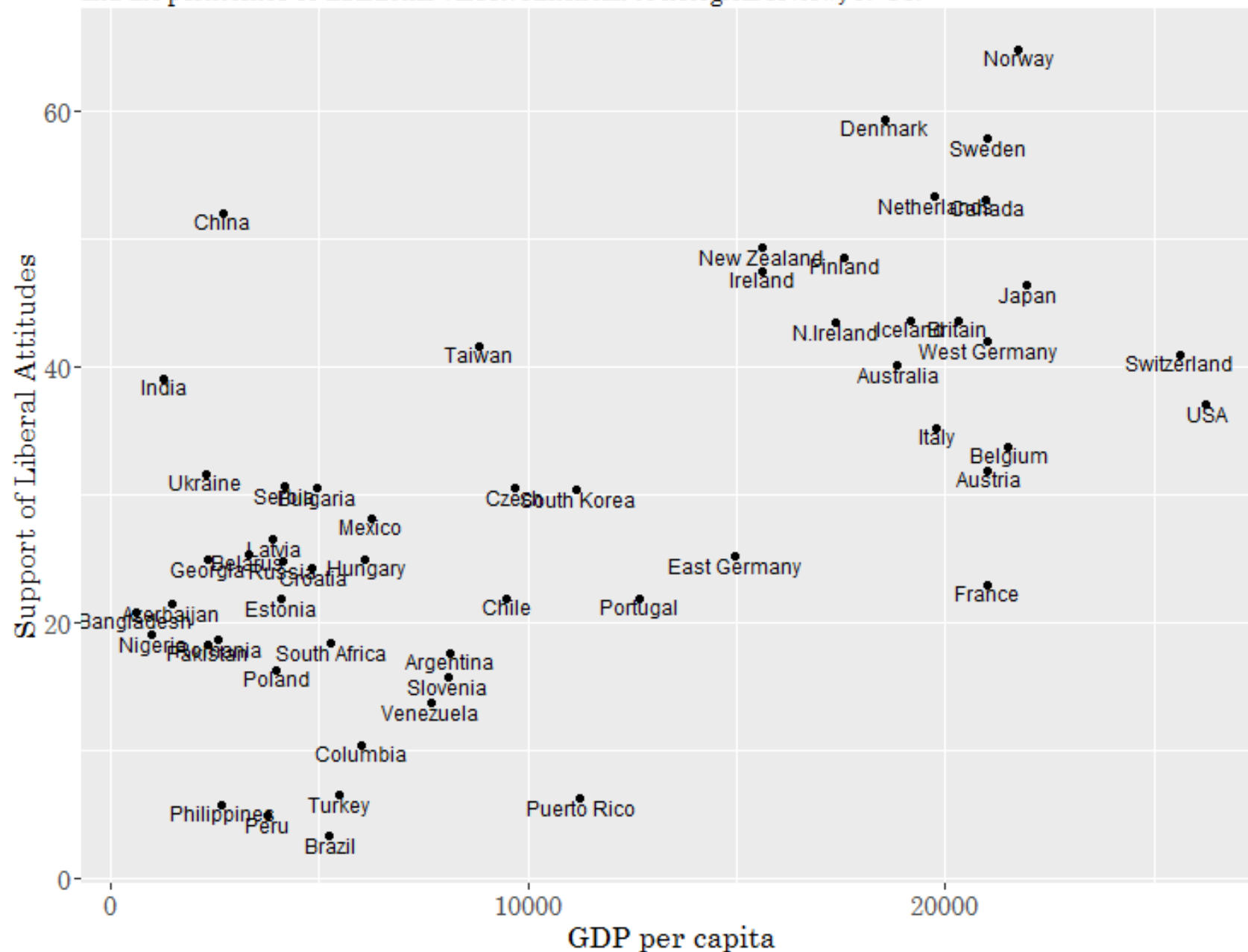
- Context
- Research Hypotheses
- Data and Methods
- Findings
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# Value Shift towards Liberalism

- The rise of “a broad syndrome of interrelated beliefs representing a coherent worldview” (Welzel and Inglehart 2009, p.129) since the 1960s:
  - self-expressionism supersedes survival
  - gender equality trumps patriarchy
  - tolerance replaces conformity
  - autonomy is valued over authority
  - rational-secular opinions replace traditional-religious ones

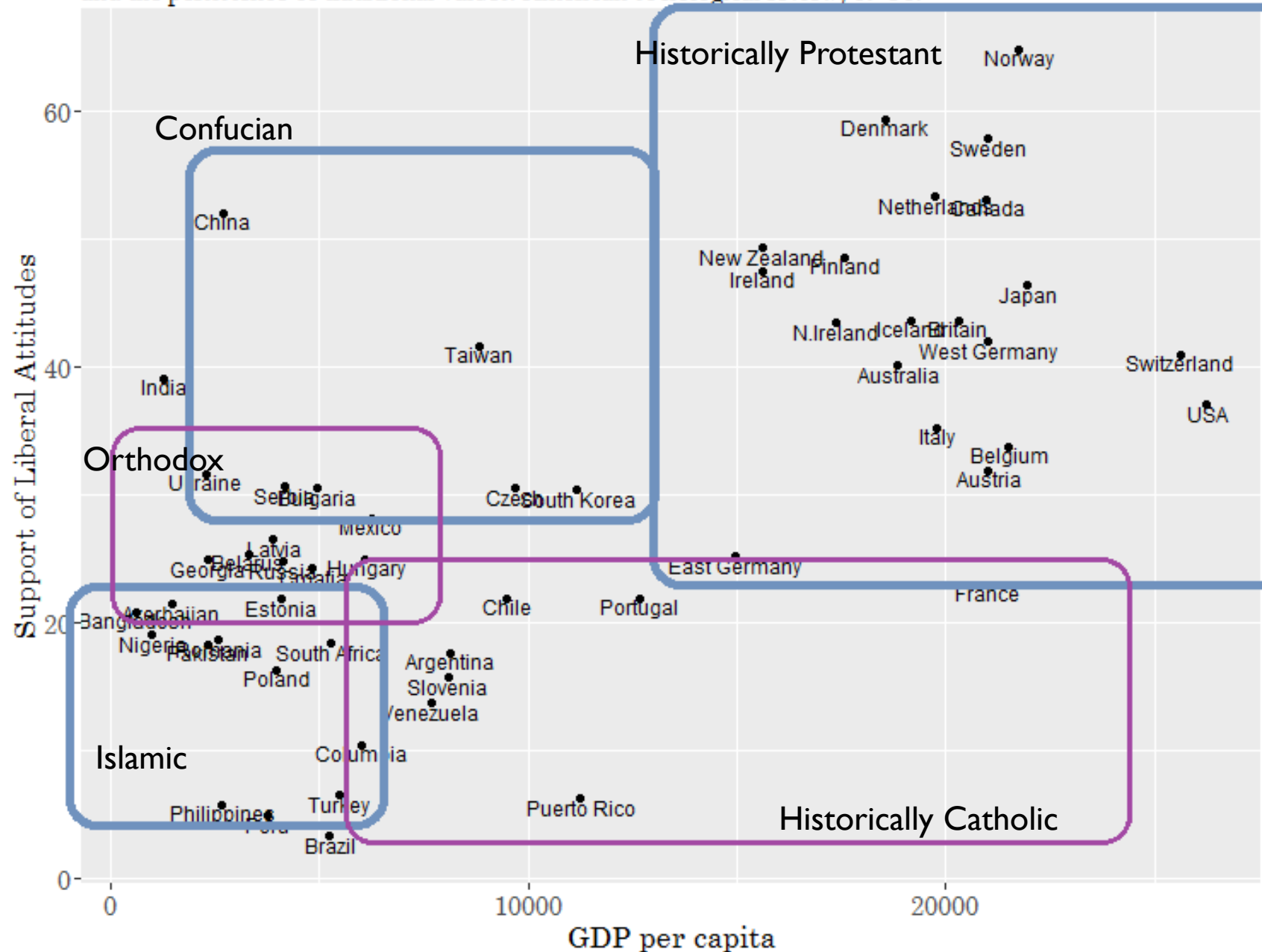
# Economic and Cultural Explanation of Value Liberalization

Graph adapted from: Inglehart, R., & Baker, W. E. (2000). Modernization, cultural change, and the persistence of traditional values. *American sociological review*, 19-51.



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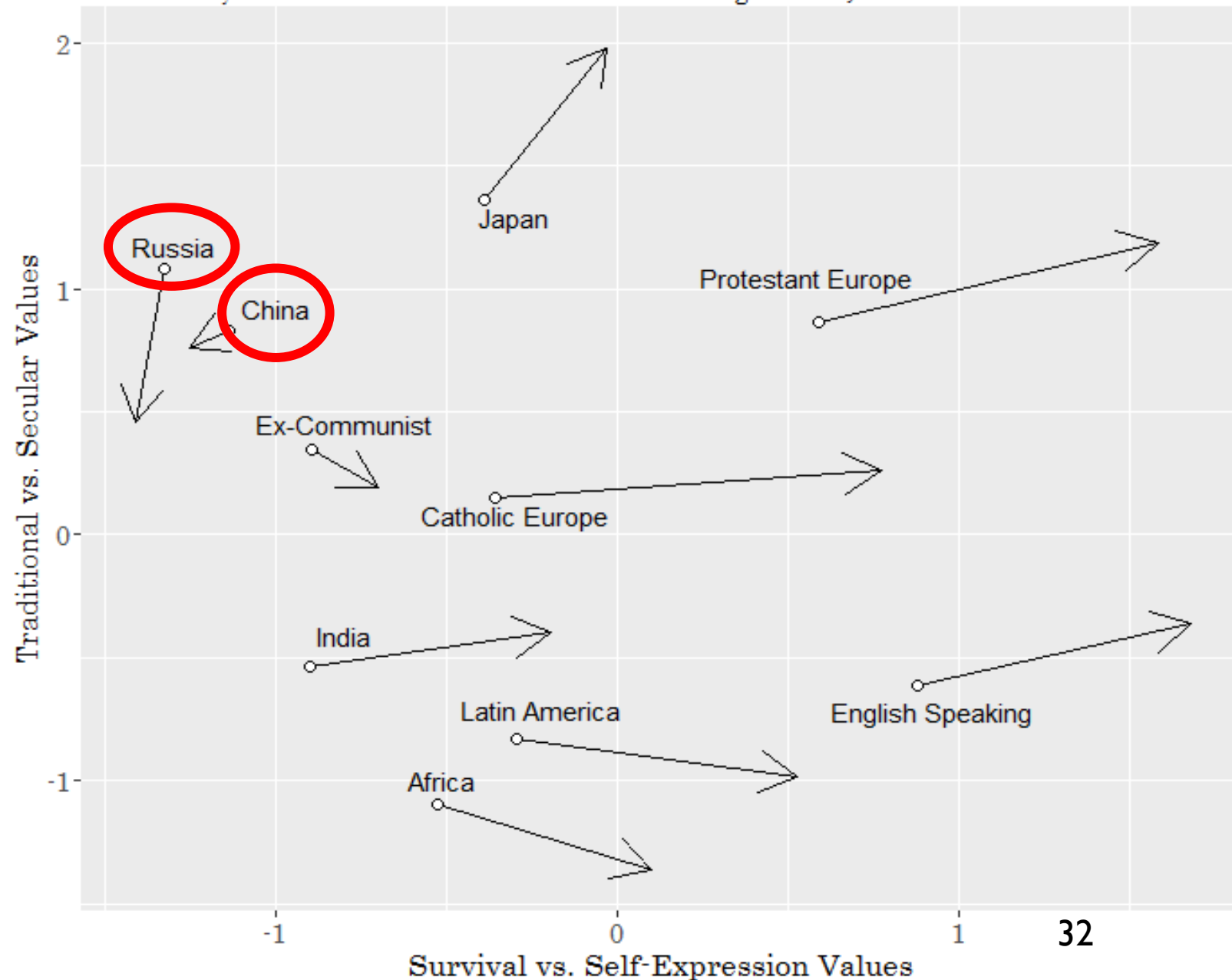


# Explanations for the Rise of Liberal Attitudes

	Individual Level	Contextual Level
Economic Factors	Income and other indicators of economic well-being; Class status / occupational status	Societal affluence Inequality
Cultural Factors	Religious affiliation and levels of commitment	Dominant religion Cultural background

## Value Change from 1981 to 2007, WVS data

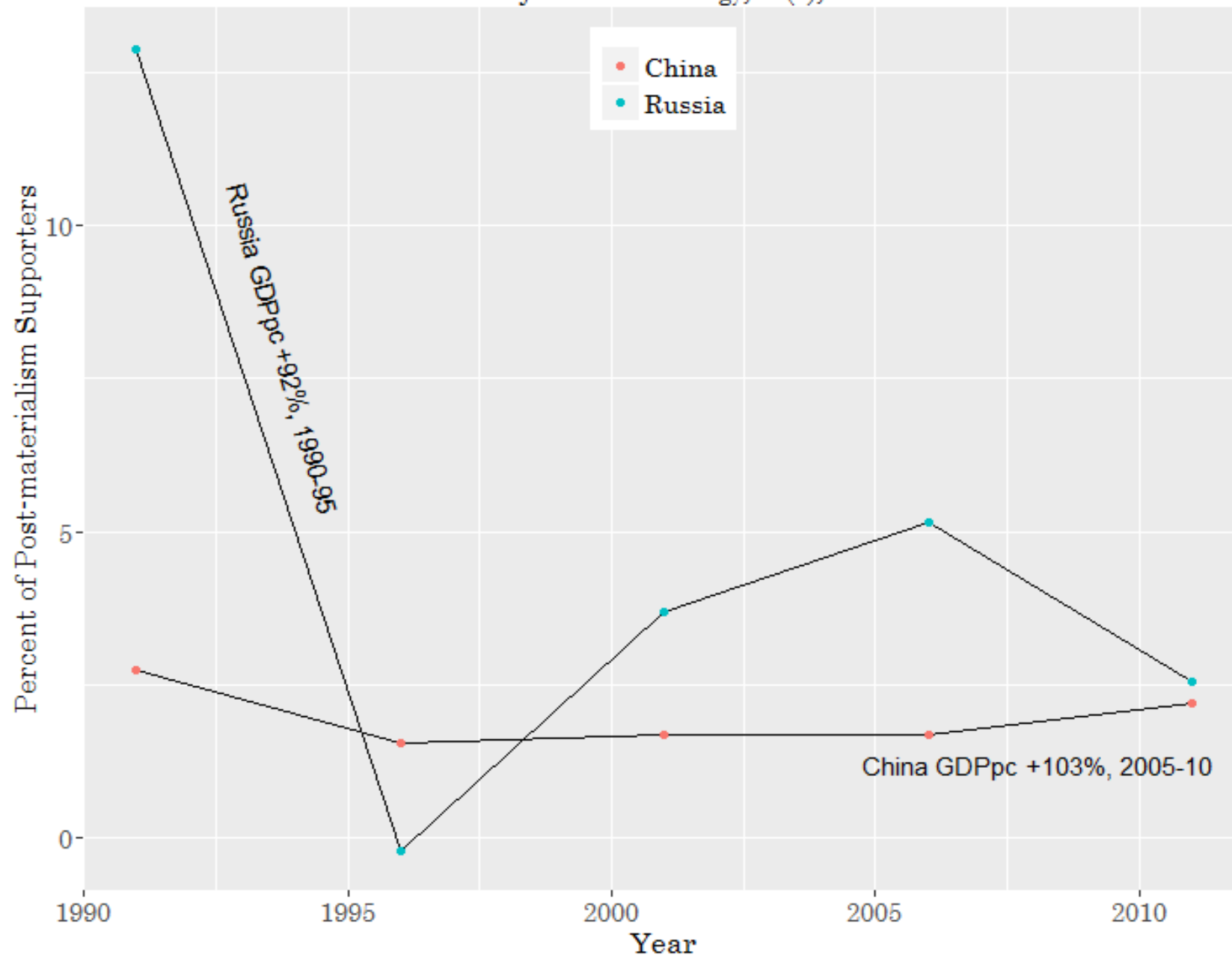
Graph adapted from: Inglehart, R., & Welzel, C. (2009). How development leads to democracy: What we know about modernization. *Foreign Affairs*, 33-48.





## Economic Success, Value Stagnation

Graph adapted from: Brym, R. (2016). After Postmaterialism: An Essay on China, Russia and the United States. Canadian Journal of Sociology, 41(2), 195.



# Exceptional Cases: China and Russia

- Both experienced long-term economic growth for 15-30 years.
- Both have some cultural neighbours who successfully “merged” into the mainstream pattern predicted by theorists like Inglehart and Fukuyama.
- What characteristics explain their common reluctance to embrace liberal values? What do they share and other countries do not?
- **Political Freedom**

# Outline

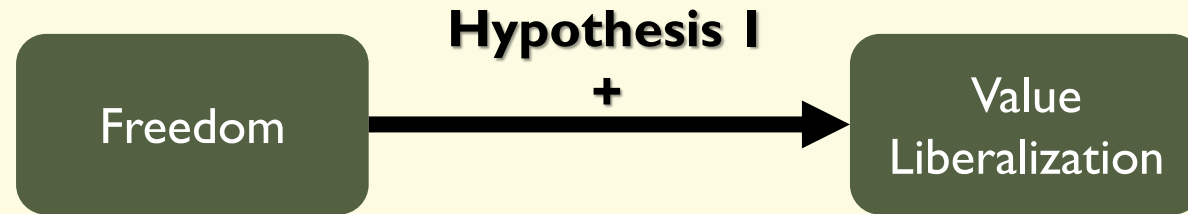
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# 研究问题：为什么某些国家会不一样？

- 假设：

- 重要的环境变量/调节变量 —— 国家的政治制度环境
- 环境如何作用于个人？我的假设：教育系统

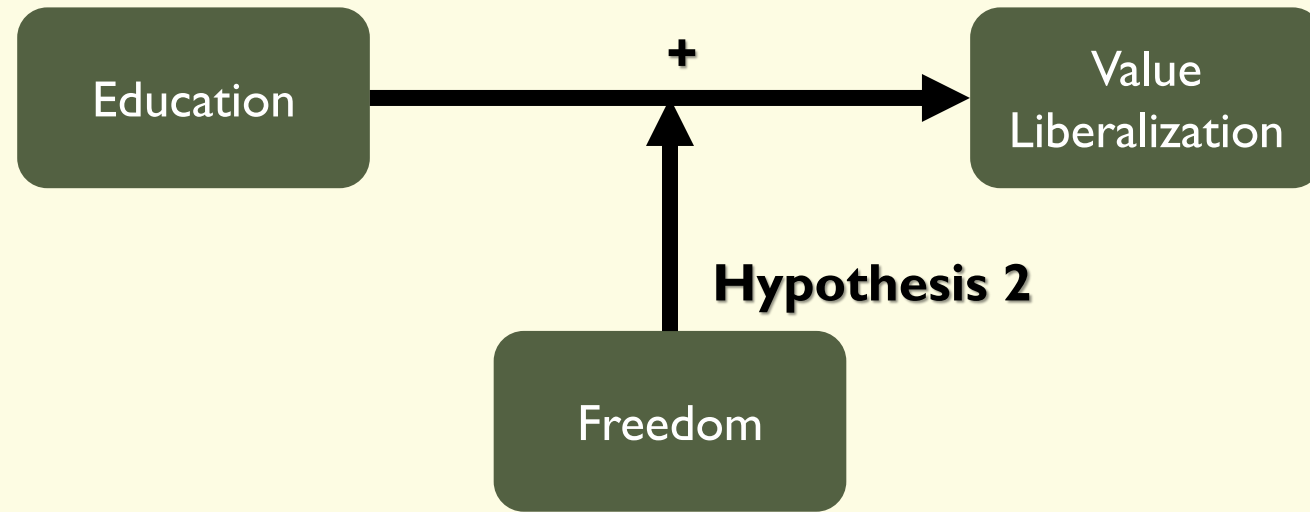
# Research Hypotheses



- Hypothesis I: Political freedom positively correlates with liberal values.
  - Free and non-free societies are fundamentally different when it comes to value formation.
    - Freedom of speech and media (Jiang 2012)
    - Selective reward mechanism (Acemoglu et al. 2004)
    - Propaganda and mass mobilization of nationalism (Weiss 2014)
    - Personal cults (Pavasović Trošt 2014)
    - Mass persuasion in education systems (Zhao 1998)

# My Arguments

- ⊗ The Inglehart thesis is inadequate in explaining value shift.
  - ✓ I introduce political freedom as an additional explanation.
- 
- ⊗ Education has been assumed to be consistently liberalizing across societies.
  - ✓ I hypothesize education's role varies greatly in different societies with different levels of political freedom.



- Numerous studies have argued education plays a positive role in liberalizing citizens.
  - *Adamczyk and Pitt 2009; Andersen and Fetner 2008; Halstead 1996; Callan 1997; Treas 2002; Ohlander et al. 2005.*
- Yet most work is based on findings from the North American and Western European societies – similar in economic, cultural and political contexts.
- Could it be negative?

# Context of Research: Education's Role

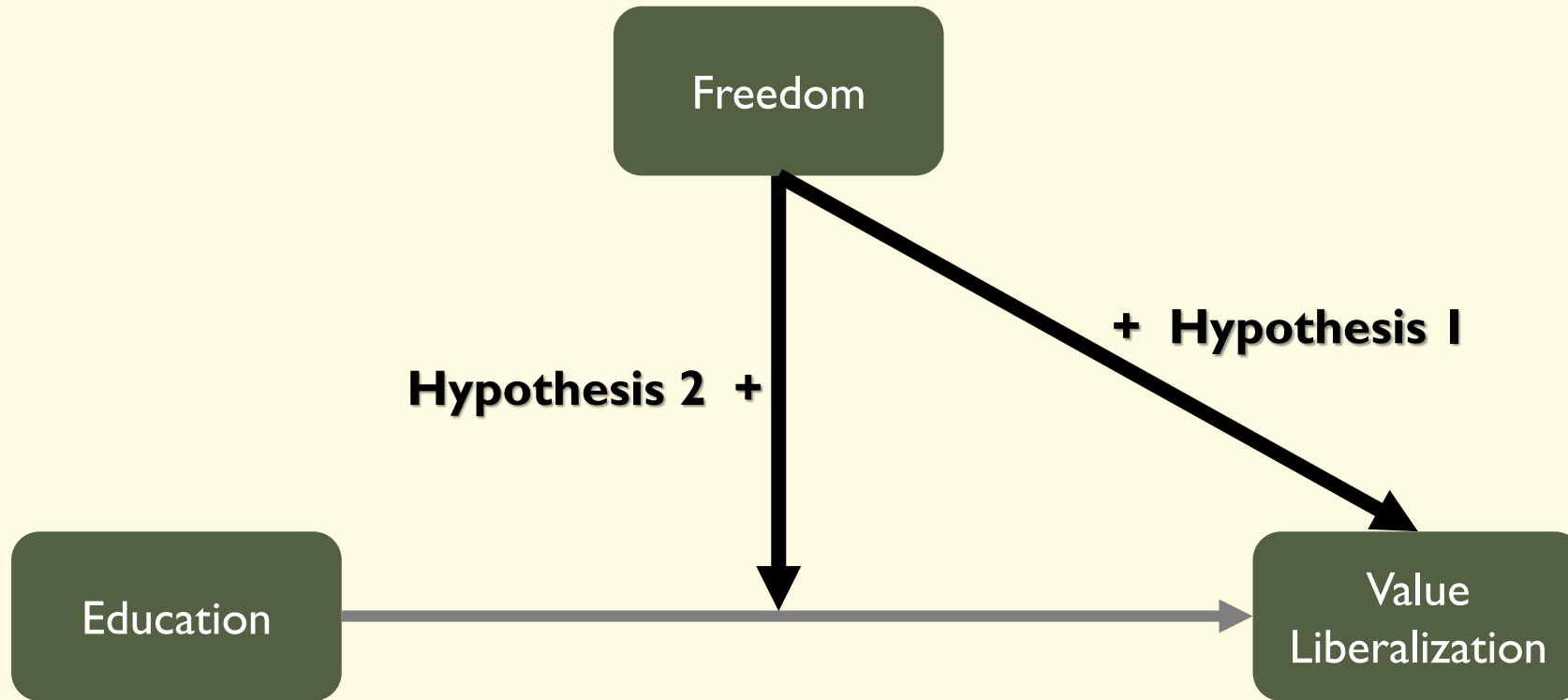
- Could it be negative?
  - Education is deeply influenced by the government:
    - Funding, policy, guidelines, curricula, textbooks...
    - Propaganda and mass persuasion (Saha 2010)
    - Information censorship – teaching history selectively in education (Nash et al. 2000 “*History on trial: Culture wars and the teaching of the past*”)
    - Intentional mobilization of populism and nationalism in higher education systems (Zhao 1998)
- Under certain social contexts, education's effect could be moderated.



# Research Hypotheses

- Hypothesis 2: Political freedom moderates education's liberalizing effect. Education's liberalizing effect is weaker in unfree societies than in free societies.

# Research Hypotheses



# Outline

- Context
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# World Values Survey

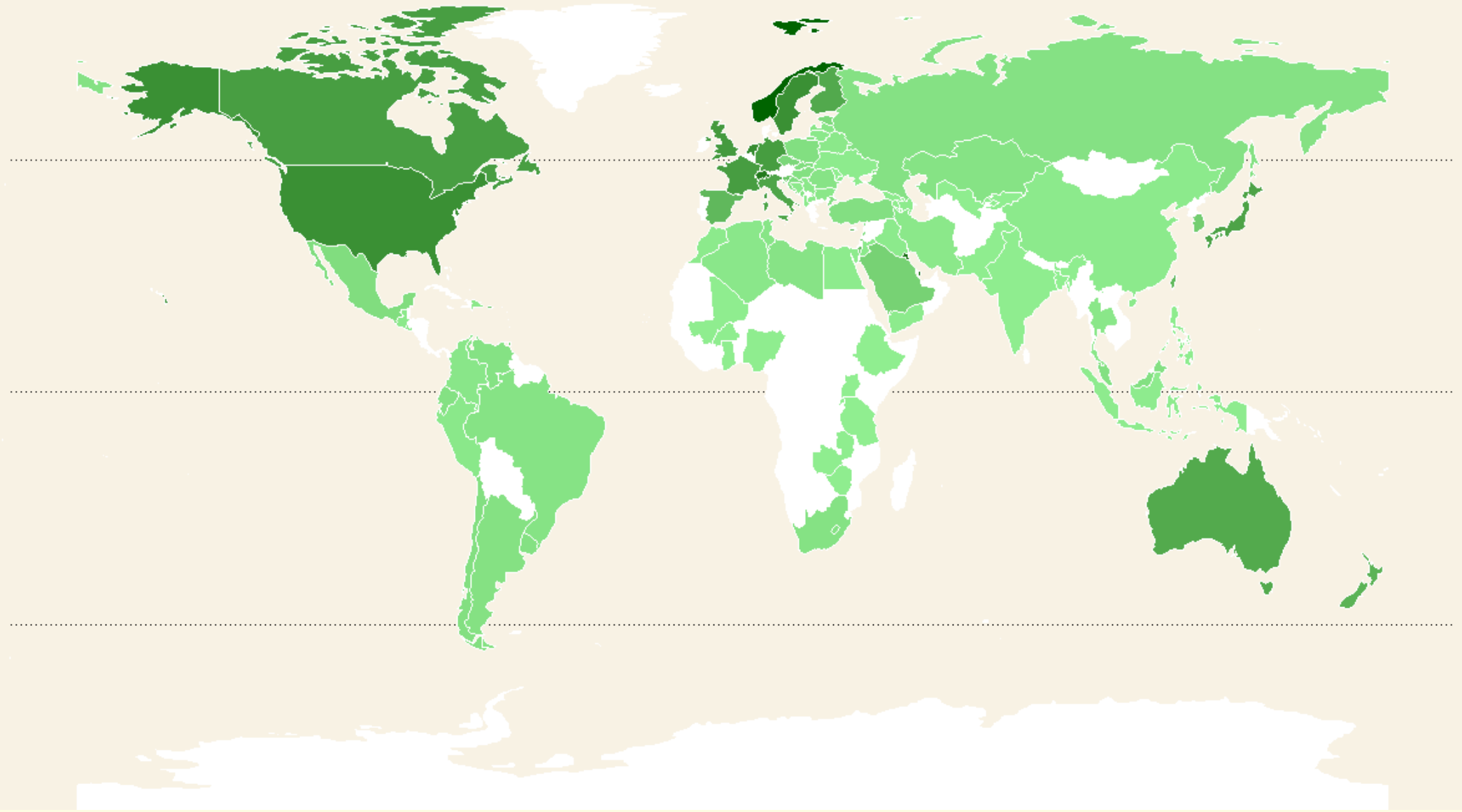
- WVS: 1981 – 2014
  - Six waves, 340000+ cases within nearly 100 societies.
  - Country-level missing information: excluded.
  - A total of 88 societies in the final analysis.
    - Ensures comparability over economic development, cultural background and political freedom context.

# Contextual Level Variables: Economic Factors

- GDP per capita (World Bank 2015)
  - *PPP adjusted and measured in constant 2005 US dollars.*
- Gini coefficient from the standardized world income survey (Solt 2009; 2014)
  - *Household disposable income, post-transfer.*

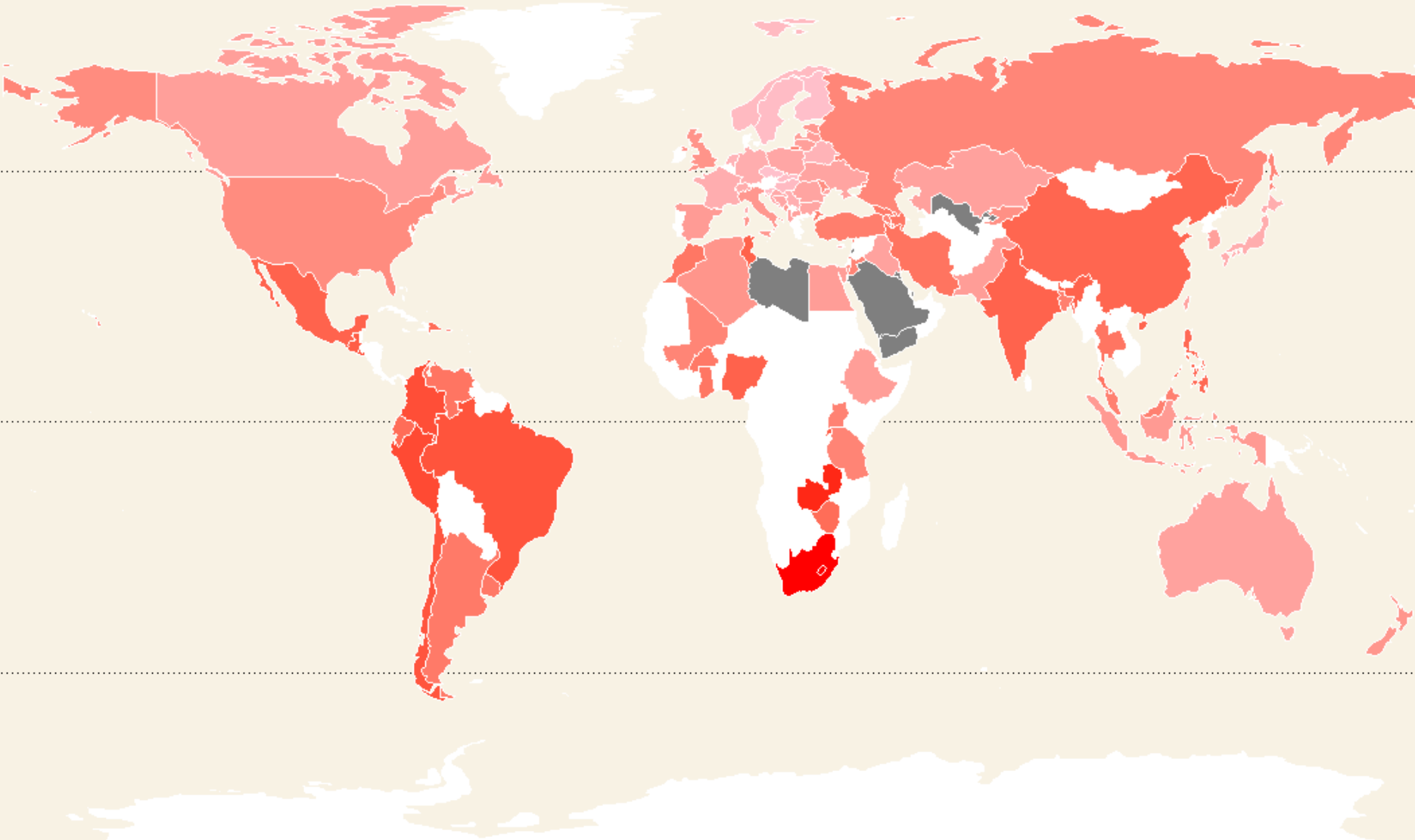
# Societies in the WVS: GDP per capita

GDPPC   
20000 40000 60000



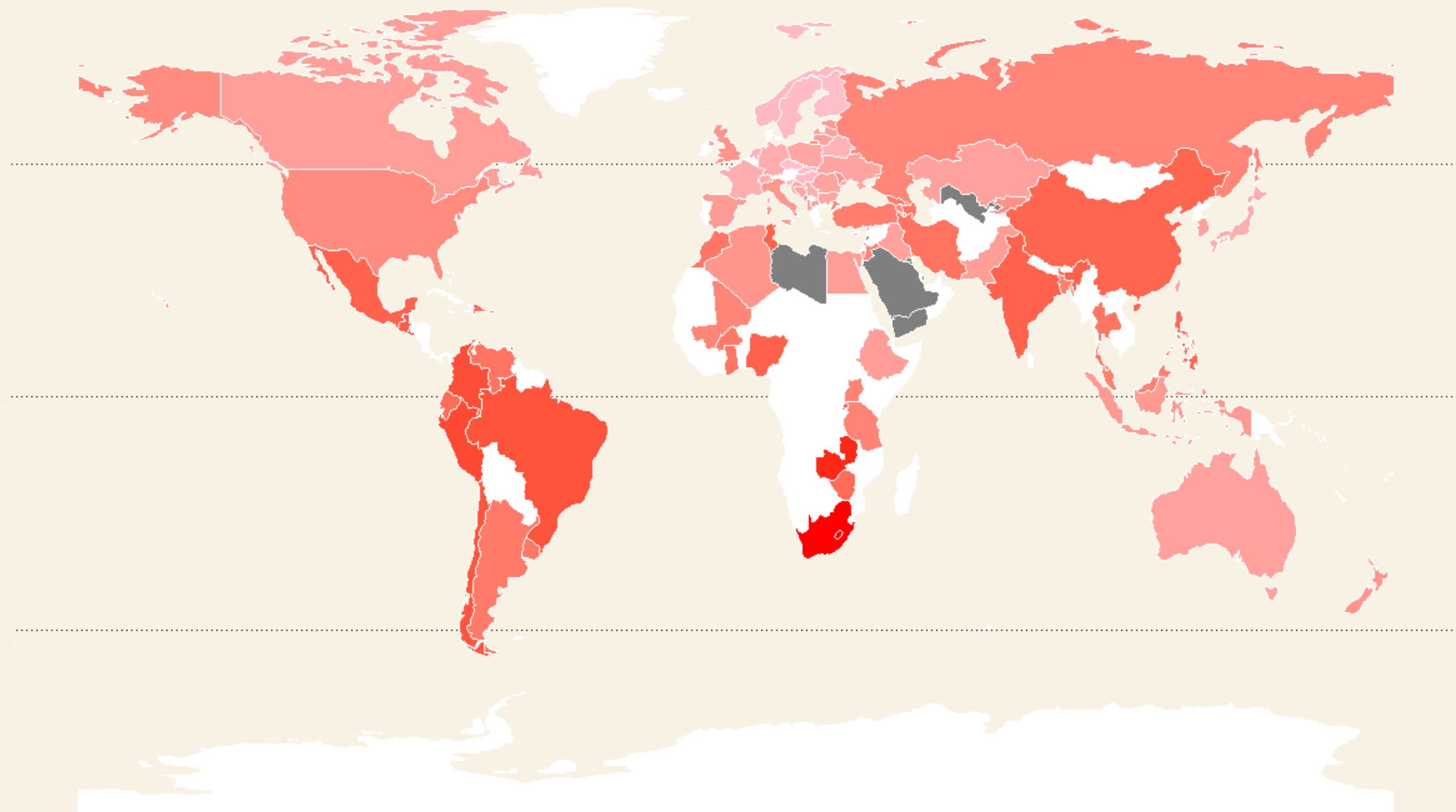
# Societies in the WVS: GINI

GINI



A world map illustrating the GINI index for various countries. The map uses a color scale from light pink to dark red to represent the GINI index, with a legend at the top right showing values 30, 40, and 50. The map includes horizontal dashed lines for the Tropic of Cancer and the Tropic of Capricorn. The GINI index is generally higher in countries in the Middle East, North Africa, and parts of South America, while it is lower in countries in North America, Europe, and Australia.

30 40 50



# Contextual Level Variables: Culture

- Seven cultural zones controlled as suggested by Huntington (1993) and Schwartz (2006)
  - (1) Western / West Europe and North America (the reference group);
  - (2) Catholic / Latin America;
  - (3) Orthodox / East Europe and Russia
  - (4) Islamic / Middle East and North Africa;
  - (5) Africa (Sub-Sahara);
  - (6) Indian / South Asia;
  - (7) Confucian / East and South East Asia.



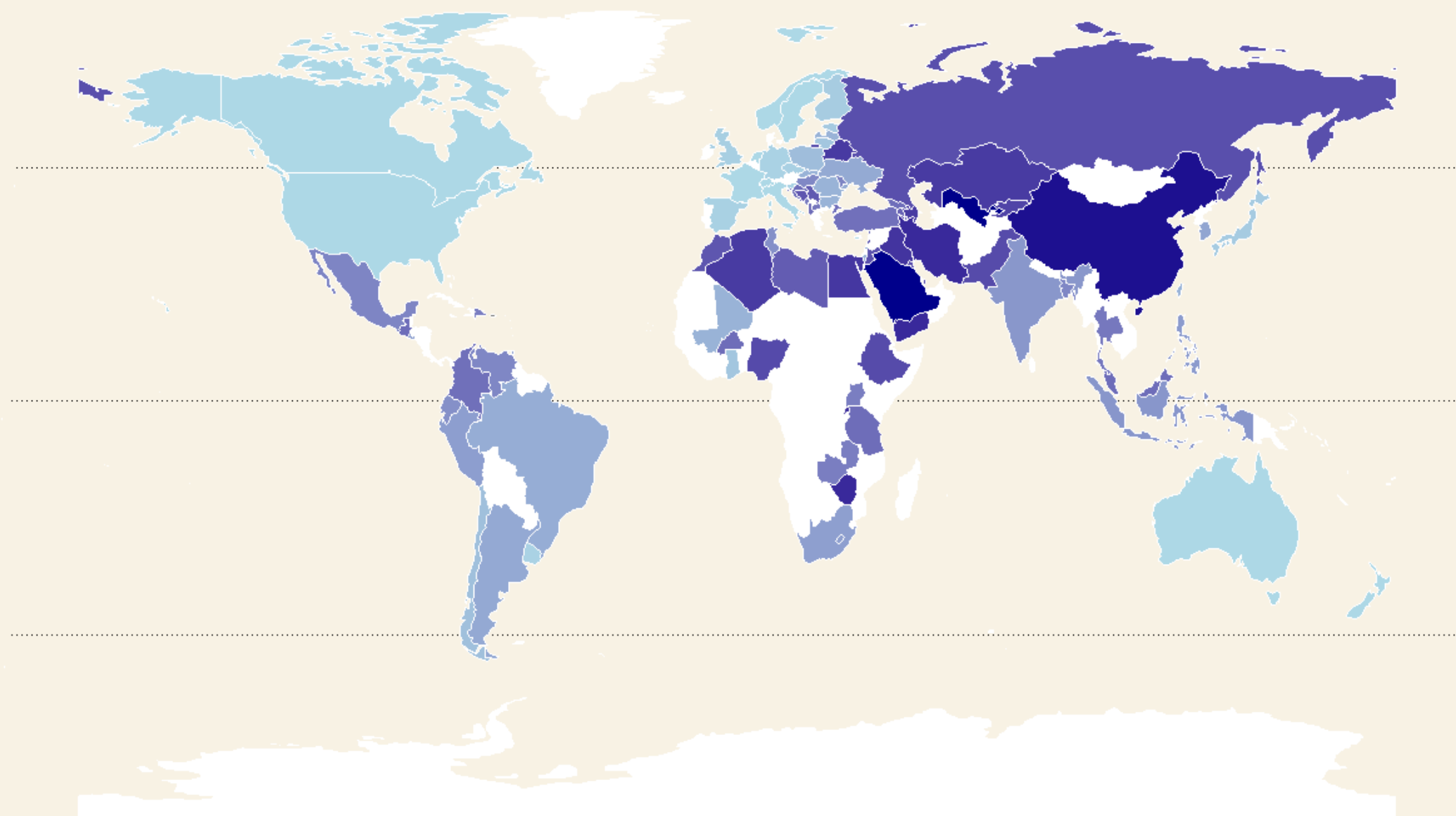
# Contextual Level Variables: Political Freedom

- Focal variable at the contextual level
  - **Freedom House's Political Freedom Index (2015)**
    - Measures the authenticity of elections, the representativeness and responsiveness of government/legislation, freedom of speech/media, etc. (Freedom House 2015)
  - 1 – 7 scale with .5 point intervals

# Societies in the WVS: Political Freedom

FREESCORE

1 2 3 4 5 6 7



# World Values Survey: IVs

- Controls
  - Demographics
    - Age (18-99)
    - Gender (dummy, 0=female, 1=male)
    - Religious affiliation (categorical)
    - Marital status (categorical)
    - Occupational status (categorical)

# World Values Survey: IV - Education

- Focal variable at the individual level
  - 5 levels of education
    - None or little
    - Elementary completed
    - Secondary completed
    - High school completed
    - University and above

# Dependent Variables

- Collective actions as legitimate (public)
  - Pro-authoritarian and social stability or favouring civil rights and social change? (Brym et al. 2014; Inglehart and Welzel 2005; Zhang, Brym and Andersen 2017)
- Tolerance of homosexuality (private)
  - Pro-traditionalism and conservatism, or favouring personal freedom and self-expressionism? (Inglehart and Baker 2000; Adamczyk and Pitt 2009; Andersen and Fetner 2008)
- All converted to 1-10 scale, where 10 represents the most liberal attitude.

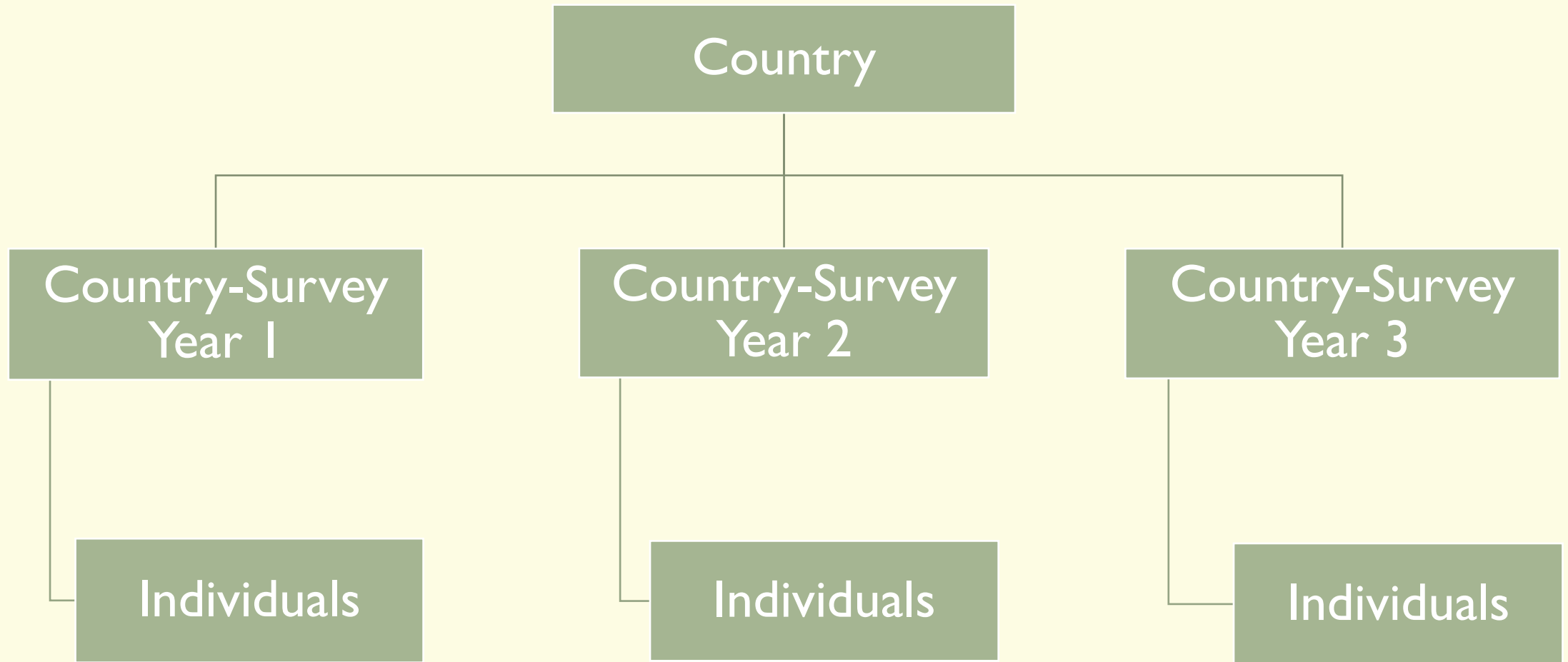
# Missing Information and Robustness

- Multiple imputations based on chained equation method (Allison 2002)
- Robustness of Estimates/Significance: 5% and 1% resampling

# Hierarchical Linear Models (HLM)

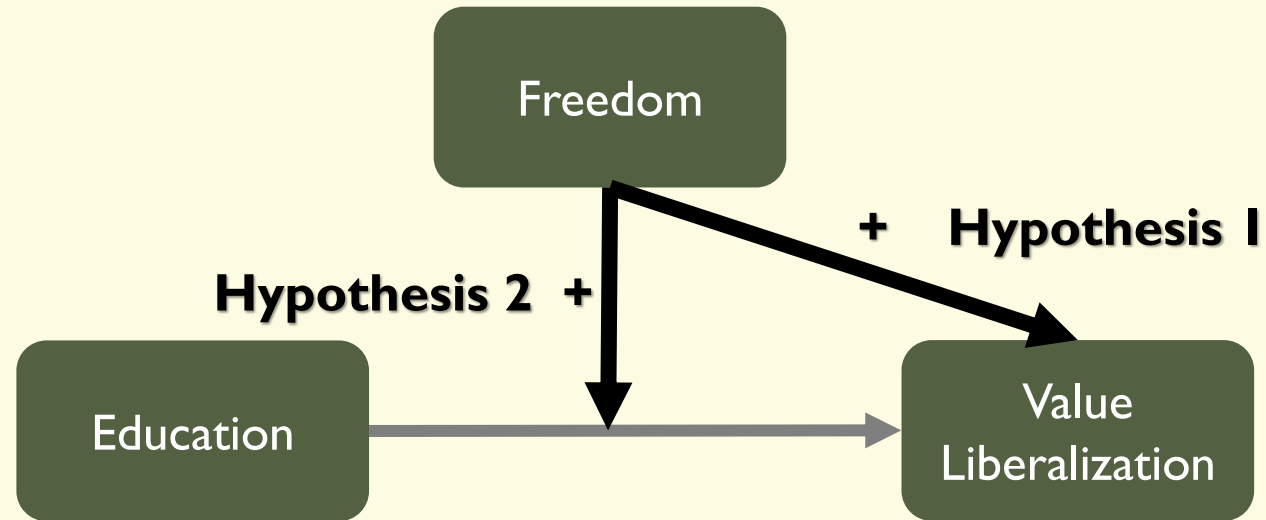
- Why HLM?
- Structure of Models
  - Individuals (level 1) nested in country-year (level 2); then nested in country (level 3).

# Hierarchical Linear Models (HLM)





# Models



- Model 1: All individual level predictors + Freedom (Hypothesis 1)
- Model 2: Model 1 + Freedom \* Education interaction (Hypothesis 2)
- Model 3: Model 2 + Other contextual controls
- All findings are from the final model – Model 3.

# Outline

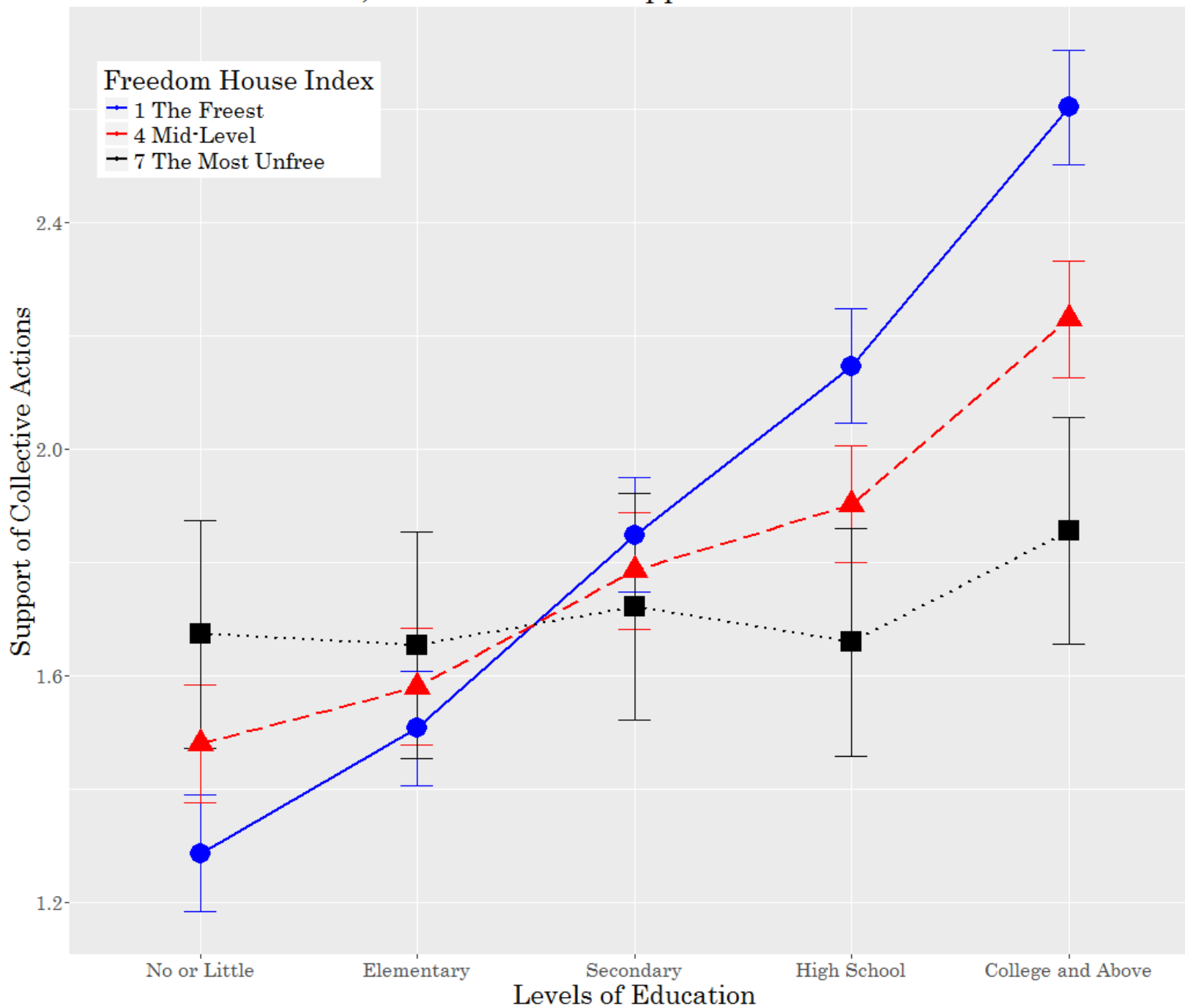
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# Freedom, Education and Support of Collective Actions

More  
Liberal  
~10

Pro -Collective  
action

Less  
Liberal  
~1

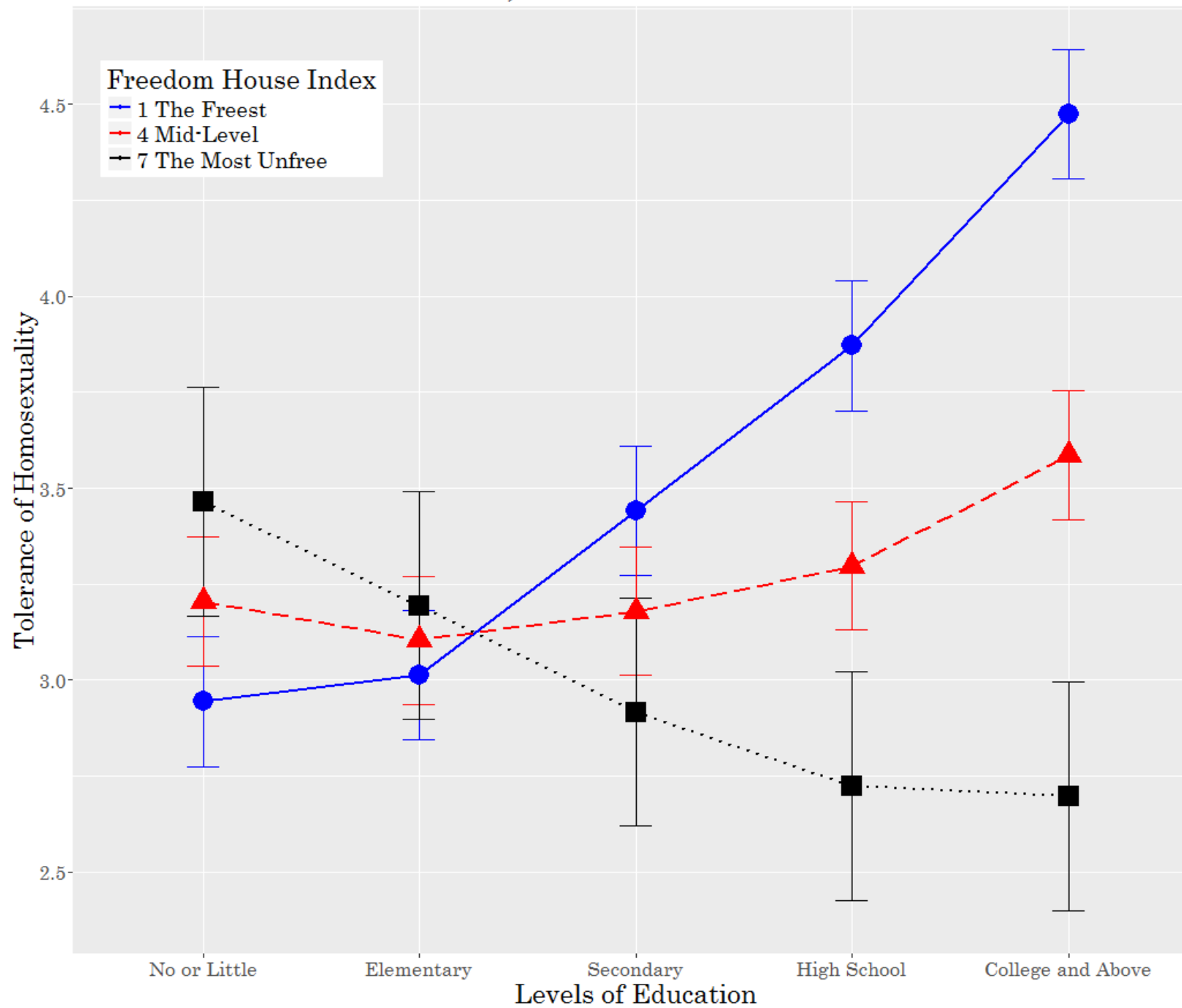


# Freedom, Education and Tolerance

More  
Liberal  
~10

Pro -  
Homosexuality

Less  
Liberal  
~1



# More Dependent Variables...

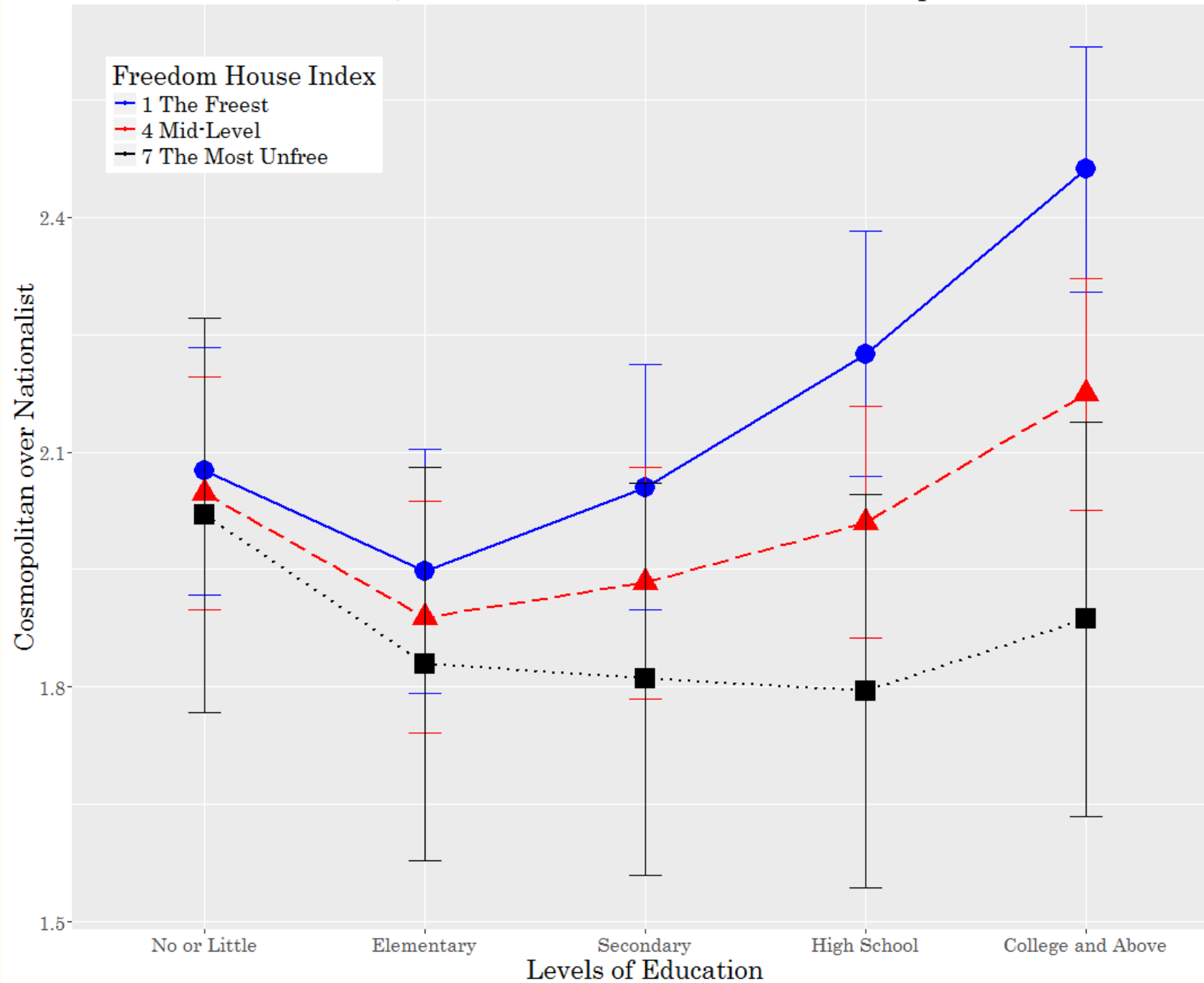
- Nationalism vs. Cosmopolitanism
  - Con vs. Pro Free Abortion
  - Obedience vs. Disobedience to Authority
  - Disagree vs. Agree on Gender Equality in Labour Market
- 
- All standardized and converted to 1-10 scale, where 10 represents the most liberal attitude.

# Freedom, Education and Nationalism/Cosmopolitan

More  
Liberal  
~10

Cosmopolitan  
over  
Nationalism

Less  
Liberal  
~1

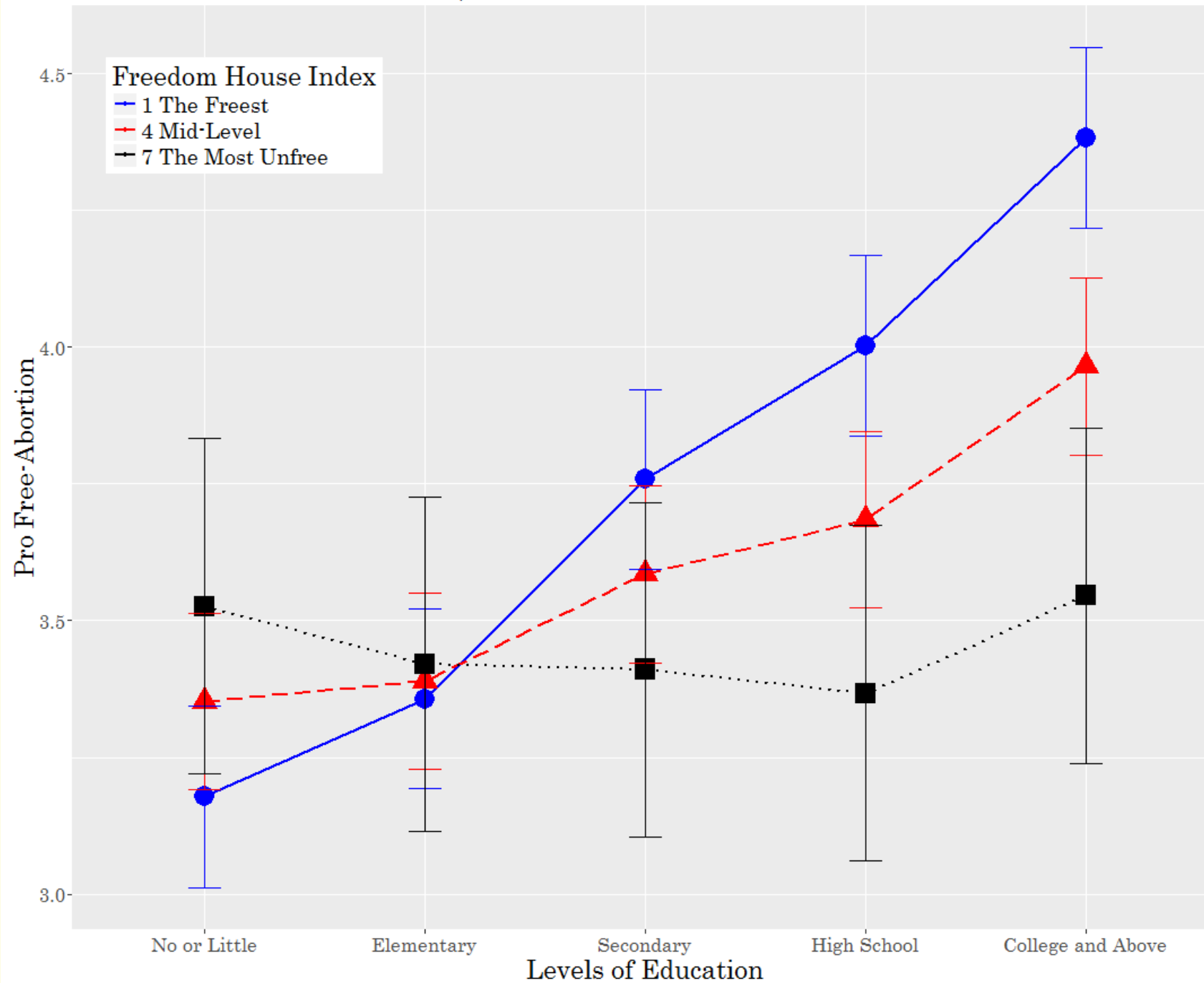


# Freedom, Education and Pro Free-Abortion

More  
Liberal  
~10

Pro Free Abortion

Less  
Liberal  
~1

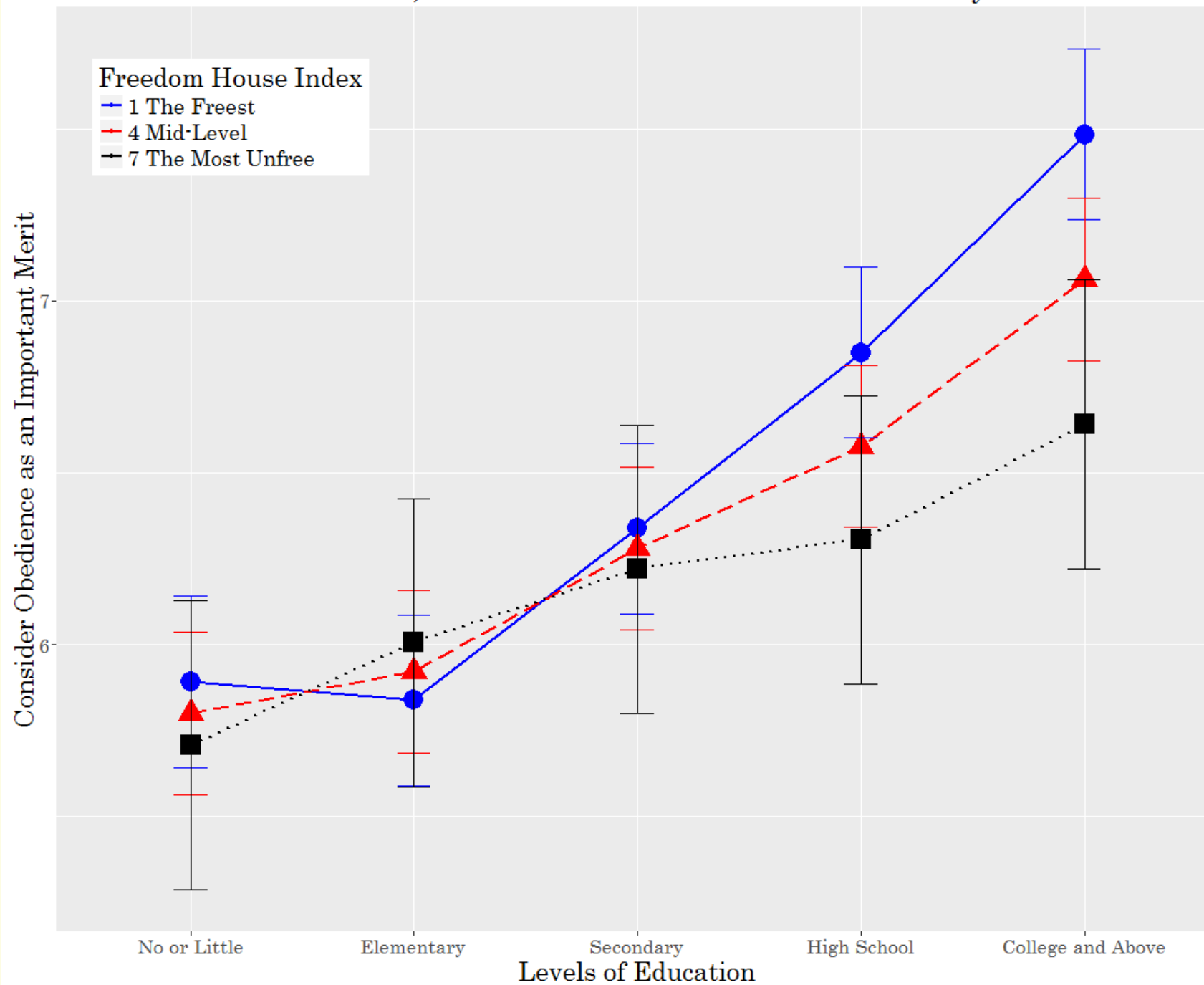


# Freedom, Education and Obedience to Authority

More  
Liberal  
~10

Against  
Obedience

Less  
Liberal  
~1

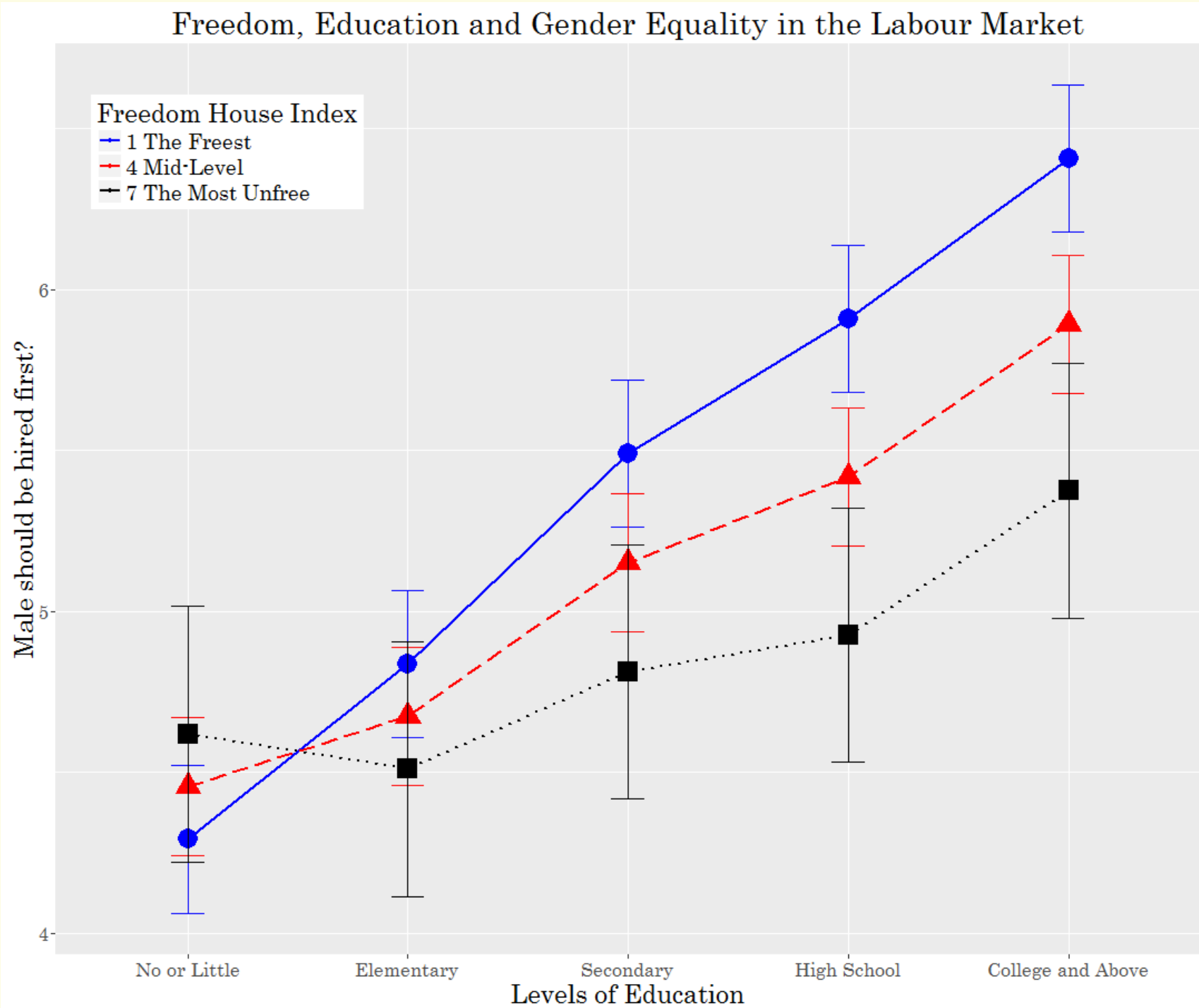




More  
Liberal  
~10

Pro Female  
Employment Rights

Less  
Liberal  
~1



# Outline

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# Summary

- ⊗ The Inglehart thesis is inadequate in explaining value shift.
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- ⊗ Education has been assumed to be consistently liberalizing across societies.
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# Implications

- Education
  - It is not about “quality of education”.
    - GDP controlled; some non-democratic societies have high quality of education.
  - Education isn’t neutral.
    - Sociological traditions of conflict theorists (Marx, Gramsci) and functionalists (Durkheim, Parsons).
- Political Freedom Context
  - Non-democratic regimes actively seek to remain in power.

# 教育的作用

- 定量社科研究中（特别是当案例局限于西欧北美社会时），教育一般被认为与各类进步社会指标“单调正相关”。但教育绝非价值无涉；甚至可以传播教化反智、反进步的观念（例：欧美社会关于进化论教育、疫苗注射、性教育的争议）。
- 回归经典社会思想家的智慧：
  - 马克思论False Consciousness；
  - 涂尔干关于社会道德共识的功能分析——帕森斯的AGIL分析中教育系统作为价值观再生产的主要工具；
  - 西马：葛兰西论文化霸权；法兰克福学派对现代大众媒体的批判

# Take-Away Messages

- This study questions Inglehart's thesis using two exceptional cases, Russia and China.
- It argues that political freedom matters in value formation; political freedom has both a main effect and a moderating effect on education's role.
- The study has important implications for public opinion studies, education and democratization studies.

# 研究局限性

- 本研究虽然对后物质主义理论进行了某种批判和补正，但仍然基本沿用了理论框架，并未对解决理论框架本身的根本局限。
  - 例如——是否有某种普遍的“政治自由”定义和测量？“进步主义”价值观是否可以跨文化比较？



# THANK YOU !

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**Tony Huiquan Zhang**