

# **Protest or Not?: Comparing Protest Participation between China and Western Democratic Countries<sup>1</sup>**

YU Jingjing

**Abstract:** From the perspectives of social psychology, political process theory and new class theory, this paper compares protest participation and its mechanism between China and western democratic countries. The author finds that there are very big differences between these two kinds of countries in protest participation. Compared with high protest participation in western democratic countries, protest action in China is rare in the whole population, but protest potential is very high. Factors influencing protest participation are also different. In China, small employees and professionals are the main protest action participants, while dissatisfaction and higher education could only contribute to higher protest potential. In western democratic countries, both social psychology factors and political process factors influence protest action significantly, however, only education affects protest potential significantly in this model.

**Key words:** protest politics, social psychology, political process, new class

---

<sup>1</sup> This paper is prepared for Asia Barometer study 2011, and thanks for Prof. SONODA Shigeto and his affiliated research institute, who generously allows the use of a full set of Asian Barometer survey data. The author would like to extend gratitude for Prof. LIU Xin, Dept of Sociology, Fudan University, for his warmest support and instruction during the process. The author's fellows FAN Xiaoguang offered lots of suggestions during several discussions and thanks for his great help in the paper.

## **Introduction**

Since 1960s, a large amount of mass political movements have attracted scholars' attention. This extends the study of political participation from institutional political activities like election to noninstitutionalized political behaviors, such as protest politics, and a lot of studies explain it from the perspective of social psychology, political process theory, social network and mass media etc. ( Barnes, Kaase, et al.,1979; Muller and Jukam, 1983; Bean, 1991; Opp,2000) . However, cross national comparative studies on protest politics only focus on western democratic countries ( Barnes, Kaase, et al.,1979; Norris,Walgrave and Aelst,2005), which is of course not enough for us to understand protest politics completely, especially when considering the importance of political context. This paper aims at using AsiaBarometer survey data to compare protest participation and influence factors between China and western democratic countries to extend cross national comparative study of protest politics.

## **Protest Participation**

In democratic system, political participation is designed to be participating in election, and then the masses could realize their political rights through voting to reflect democratic principle. However, election itself is a kind of elite politics, only the rich or who are sponsored by the rich could join in campaign activities. Ruling class theory by Mosca suggests that in any society, the ruling class making the minority of the whole population dominate the ruled class who are the majority in the population, and the few people who form the ruling class together must have the superiority on physical resources, knowledge and even moral. These qualities are highly accepted by the whole society and make a great deal of influence (莫斯卡, 2002) . This division of ruling class and ruled class means that the essence of democratic politics is still a kind of elite politics. Regarded as lacking ability to participate in politics, the mass could only take part in politics by voting in democratic system. However, large amounts of empirical studies find that different from elite class, the mass fail to realize democratic principle through voting. The constitutional right to free and equal participation for all has far reaching effects for existing elite structure, elite circulation, interest aggregation, and interest representation (Kaase and Marsh, 1979) . With the spread of education and the coming of post-industrialization, the mass taking part in protest actions to strive for their rights with high aspiration for classical democratic ideal and equalization dream ( Barnes and Kaase, 1979) . Following this social trend, numerous scholars change their focus from traditional institutional participation to noninstitutionalized, nonelectoral political action, an emphasis that reflects the prominence of protest in the mass politics of Western democracies after the 1960s ( Kaase and Marsh, 1979) .

In comparative study of mass participation in five western democracies, Kaase & March defines unconventional political participation as the behavior that does not correspond to the norms of law and custom that regulates political participation under a particular regime (Barnes and Kaase, 1979). The form of it could be signing a petition, writing letters to newspapers, joining in boycotts and attending demonstrations etc. As these nonconventional political participations usually aim at expressing their dissatisfaction toward governments, companies or other organizations and protecting their citizen rights, we can also call them “protest politics”. In western democracies, protest participation, especially low-level protest action is normal political behavior now and has turned to be one of the most important political participation channels for the mass (Bean, 1991). According to empirical studies, it is those who have already voted in election that also participate in protests, meaning that the strength of protest action is not from the antistate rebels but from the conventional participants. In contemporary China, all kinds of individual or collective social movements also take place very often, influenced by increasing education level, improvement of civic consciousness and various social conflicts in the process of economic development(赵鼎新, 2006). Under this circumstance, there is no doubt that we should pay more attention to protest study, especially cross-national research to understand more about it. Meanwhile, we should always understand that study on social movement doesn't mean personal support for social movement by scholars; on the contrary it plays an active role in social management as through deep study we could understand more general regulation of social movements which will help improve the ability of government to manage it (赵鼎新, 2006).

Currently, there are two main focuses in the study of protest politics: influence factors on protest participation and cross national comparative study. In the discussion about participation mechanism, most researches start from the perspective of social psychology theory, social trends, resource mobilization, political process, framing theory, social organization theory and so on. For now, most comparative studies only contain western democratic countries (Barnes, Kaase, et al.,1979; Norris,Walgrave and Aelst,2005), lacking comparison between different regimes. However, despite micro and middle level factors like emotion, resource, organization and mobilization, macro social factors also affect protest participation. Among these entire macro social factors regime plays an important role in protest participation condition. In different regime types, government may treat this phenomenon differently and use quite different policies to deal with protest actions. Just as mentioned above, protest participation are different between China and western democratic, so we have to extend protest participation comparative study to different social context.

Above all, this paper compares protest participation condition and its influence factors between China and western democracies. It might make contributions in two aspects: firstly,

extending comparative research of political participation between different regimes, which could find disparate protest condition and patterns; secondly, developing study on protest politics in China - as most scholars in this area do research on specific events or particular types (赵鼎新, 2007; 于建嵘, 2010), analyzing participation in the whole population based on national social survey is still rare.

By “protest participation” this paper contains two kinds of participation, protest action and protest potential. Protest potential is the individual propensity to engage in unconventional forms of political behavior as a means of political redress, namely-and in brief-the use of such tactics as petitions, demonstrations, boycotts, rent or tax strikes, unofficial industrial strikes, occupation of buildings, blocking of traffic, damage to property, and personal violence (Marsh&Kaase, 1979). It is obvious that protest action and protest potential are quite different, for this reason, this paper will take both protest action and protest potential into consideration instead of making the two together as one index.

As the main aim of this paper is to find different influence factors between two kinds of countries, the next part reviews previous study by social psychology theory and political process theory. I will propose several corresponding hypotheses under this analytical framework, but as I don't aim at forecasting how these factors will influence protests in different kinds of political settings now, I will just propose several general hypotheses, which will not consider different influence mechanisms in this part. I will discuss the difference in data analysis part.

### Social psychology theory

The function of emotional factors like grieves, discontent, alienation in social movements is always one of the debating focuses. Two basic assumptions of micro level explanation on collective action participation in traditional collective action theories are: the participants are irrational and emotion plays an important part in the process of collective actions. However, this social psychology explanation based on emotional factors is strongly criticized by the later resource mobilization theory and political process theory. They stress that the participants of collective action and social movement are rational, emotional factors in a society could be treated as constant, and scholars could only explain social movements through other perspectives. (赵鼎新, 2006) But since the mid-nineties, the stress of emotional factors come back, and the explanation of resource mobilization was doubted. Walsh concluded that the “evidence is thus accumulating against the common RM assumptions that grievances can either be ignored or treated as constants” (see Opp, 2000). In the study of the effects of deteriorating or adverse living

conditions on political protest after the collapse of communism in East Germany, Opp find that discontent with a resource deficit has positive correlation to protest, and it is not a resource deficit but discontent with a particular deficit increases incentives to protest (Opp, 2000). This paper supports social psychology perspective and treats all kinds of dissatisfaction in life as the factors which can't be neglected in protest politics study. Furthermore, following Snow's critical that "Too much attention is focused on grievances per se, and on their social psychological manifestations, to the neglect of the fact that grievances or discontents are subject to differential interpretation, and the fact that variations in their interpretation across individual, social movement organizations, and time can affect whether and how they are acted upon"(Snow, 1986), this paper distinguishes three levels dissatisfaction: dissatisfaction on personal living condition, dissatisfaction on public affairs and dissatisfaction on civil rights. From this perspective, I suppose that all kinds of dissatisfaction could lead to more protest action and higher protest potential:

Hypothesis 1a: people who are more dissatisfied with their personal living condition have more probability to take part in protest action.

Hypothesis 1b: people who are more dissatisfied with their personal living condition have higher protest potential.

Hypothesis 2a: people who are more dissatisfied with social problems and public affairs have more probability to take part in protest action.

Hypothesis 1b: people who are more dissatisfied with social problems and public affairs have higher protest potential.

Hypothesis 3a: people who are more dissatisfied with their civil rights have more probability to take part in protest action.

Hypothesis 3b: people who are more dissatisfied with their civil rights have higher protest potential.

### **Political Process and New Class Perspective**

Resource Mobilization and Political Process theory propose fierce criticism on traditional social psychology and mass society theory by Kornhauser: firstly, from their view, emotional factors should be treated as constant, instead of explanatory variable for protest participation; secondly, protest action is not a kind of pathological social behavior, but a challenge made by the mass when facing grim realities or repressive political system, and the participants are rational; thirdly, middle-level organizations are not the pressing power of political participation, on the

contrary, they are the active participations in political actions(赵鼎新, 2006). After further amendment of resource mobilization, political process theory becomes dominant in social movement study.

Tilly proposes political model and mobilization model in *From Mobilization to Revolution*, in his view, political opportunities, powerful organization and resources are necessary factors for successful collective actions (Tilly, 1978). In the study of the black's movement McAdam adds Cognitive Liberation to Tilly's model. He thinks that social change could encourage the happening of social movement through the expansion of political opportunities and the increase of social movement organization's strength. Besides this, the participants must experience cognitive liberation process, during which they recognize that things considered reasonable before don't make sense anymore, after then they would have the motivation to take part in protest politics (McAdam, 1982).

On the basis of process political theory, we could find that they highly stress the importance of social movement organization. SMOs do play an important role in western democratic countries, however, when it comes to China, we find that at least now, there are very few SMOs in China and in most protest cases you can hardly find the participation of SMOs, let alone as leading power. What's more, in AsiaBarometer Survey Data there are no questions about social movement organization participation, so it is not possible to do it this way. Nevertheless, political process is still a useful tool for us to explain protest participation when combining it with class theory to analysis which class might be the main force to protest in the whole population.

The new class thesis rests on the idea that the postindustrial transition has transformed the basis of social stratification, thus inverting traditional political alignments and creating new based for political protest among knowledge workers(Jenkins & Wallace, 1996). Gouldner uses "culture capital" to define new class. Culture capital is independent to material production field and the ownership of it is the base to be a member of new class. Different from general human capital, culture capital is special "culture of critical discourse", making the intellectual master deeper understanding of the whole society than other classes(古尔德纳, 2001). In the conclusion of Brint and Macy's study, Jenkins & Wallace find that the new class is not anticapitalist or oppositional, but it does hold more liberal social values than the general population (Jenkins & Wallace, 1996).

Combining political process and new class theory together, we could anticipate that the new class have more protest participation as they possess more material resources than the working class, have more free and flexible time and share the special "culture of critical discourse" which will push them to protest for more liberty. More hypotheses could be deducted from this logic:

Hypothesis 4a: the new class participates more in protest action.

Hypothesis 4b: the new class has more protest potential.

In political process theory, social trends and cognitive liberation also affect protest participation. The most commonly discussed trend is increased education, which may contribute to protest through two routes: first, education socializes people toward greater tolerance and thus increases their support for civil liberties and direct political expression; second, education increases political efficacy and thus the likelihood of political participation (Jenkins&Wallace, 1996). Above all, the following hypotheses are raised:

Hypothesis 5a: people who have received higher education have more probability to participate in protest action.

Hypothesis 5b: people who have received higher education have more protest potential.

Hypothesis 6a: people who have higher level of cognitive liberation have more probability to participate in protest action.

Hypothesis 6b: people who have higher level of cognitive liberation have more protest potential.

## **Method and Measurement**

### **Data**

This study uses the data from AsiaBarometer Survey Data, which is the largest Asia comparative study dataset. This survey has so far been taken 5 waves, respectively on 2003, 2004, 2006, 2007 and 2008, totally including more than 30 countries. The structured questionnaire integrates contents such as family life, consumption preference, socio-political attitude and action, life satisfaction etc (Zhu Yan, 2010). This paper uses the data of China (2006, 2008), America (2008), Japan (2004, 2006, 2008) and Australia (2008). In order to increase sample size, I merge cases of China and Japan in different years.

### **Dependent variable**

Previous research on protest participation usually study from two aspects: protest action or protest potential. Protest potential is the individual propensity to engage in unconventional forms of political behavior as a means of political redress, namely-and in brief-the use of such tactics as petitions, demonstrations, boycotts, rent or tax strikes, unofficial industrial strikes, occupation of buildings, blocking of traffic, damage to property, and personal violence (Marsh&Kaase, 1979).

This research will take both protest action and protest potential into consideration, and involve both action and attitude.

The measure of protest participation in AsiaBarometer survey data is as follows:

“I'm going to read out some different forms of political action that people can take, and I'd like you to tell me, for each one, whether you have actually done any of these things, whether you might do or would never, under any circumstances, do it.

——a. Signing a petition to improve conditions;

——b. Joining in boycotts;

——c. Attending lawful demonstrations”

As this paper will contain both protest action and protest potential and combining three questions would lose this information, I only choose the first question-Signing a petition to improve conditions as the dependent variable.

In choosing countries to compare, as this paper focuses on the differences between China and Western Democracies, I combine America, Australia and Japan together as the Western Democracies. There are two reasons for doing so: first, considering political regime, these three countries are all western democratic countries and keep a longer and more stable democratic system; the second reason is about the data, if just cases of China and America are compared or even cases of America and Australia are merged together, there will not be enough to establish Multinomial Logistic Model.

### **Independent variable**

**Dissatisfaction** This paper examines three levels of dissatisfaction: dissatisfaction on personal living condition, dissatisfaction on public affairs and dissatisfaction on civil rights.

There are questions measuring satisfaction level for every aspect in life, the respondents were asked to score them from very satisfied (1) to very dissatisfied (5). I add up the score of Housing (q22), Household income (q26) and Health (q27) to be the measurement of dissatisfaction on personal living condition. By totalling up the score of public safety, the condition of the environment, social welfare system and the democratic system, the measurement of dissatisfaction on public affairs is produced, ranging from 4 to 20. The measurement of dissatisfaction on civil rights is based on the scale about civil rights. The question is “How satisfied are you with the current scope of the following rights in your country? - a.The right to vote; b.The right to participate in any kind of organization; c.The right to gather and demonstrate; d.The right to be



informed about the work and functions of government; e.Freedom of speech; f.The right to criticize the government”. 1 is very satisfied, and 4 is very dissatisfied. Through adding up the score of 6 questions, a continuous variable ranging from 6 to 24 is generated to measure dissatisfaction on civil rights. For all these three indexes, the higher the score, the less the respondent feels satisfied.

**New Class** The definition of the new class has been seriously muddled by disagreement about who belongs to this class exactly. In this paper, the new class is the intellectual, or name it the professional. In the need of identifying the significant higher participation by the professional, the comparison with other classes is necessary. I use Wright’s general framework for the analysis of class structure to divide classes. Wright analyses contradictory locations within class structure by three interconnected dimensions of domination and subordination within production. Each of these dimensions involves a social relation of domination and subordination with respect to some particular resources within respect to some particular resources within production: money capital, physical capital and labor. Basing on this, he divides people into six classes: bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, proletariat, managers and supervisors, small employers and semi-autonomous wage-earners, the last three are in the contradictory locations within class relations. Semi-autonomous wage-earners locate between petty bourgeoisie and proletariat, possessing specialized skills or knowledge. (Wright, 1980) They are the “new class” concerned in this paper. Referring to Lin, Thung-hong’s way to classify class structure in Wright’s way in AsiaBarometer Survey Data, this paper divides classes into Capitalist, Self-employed, Worker, Manager, Small employee and Semi-autonomous employee. Among them Semi-autonomous employee include self-employed professionals (self-employed doctors, lawyers, writers, etc.) and employed professionals or specialists (hospital doctors, employed lawyers, engineers, etc.). Figure 1 shows the framework of class structure.

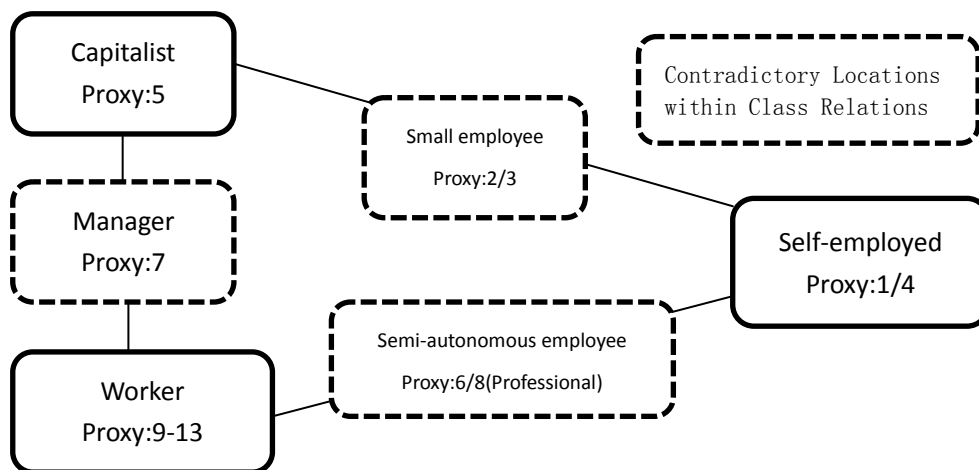


Figure 1. The Neo-Marxist Class Typology and Proxies in AsiaBarometer (Lin, 2010)

Education: education is an ordinal variable – low is coded as 1, middle is coded as 2 and high is coded as 3.

The measurement of Cognitive Liberation is through the following two questions: “Please tell me for each of the following statements whether you think it can always be justified, never be justified, or something in between - Homosexuality; Abortion” . 1 is never justifiable and 10 is always justifiable. By adding up the score of the two questions, the index of cognitive liberation is produced, and the higher the score, the higher the cognitive liberation level.

Control variables are age and gender. Age is a continuous variable. Male is coded as 1 and Female is coded as 2.

Since the dependent variables, independent variables and control variables are missing more or less in some cases, the valid research sample is 4152 cases, including 1717 Chinese cases and 2435 democratic country cases. The descriptive statistical report of the analytical sample is shown in Table 1:

Table 1. Descriptive statistical report: China Vs. Western Democratic Countries

Variables	China	Western Democratic Countries
Age	37.99	43.2
Gender		
- Male	0.59	0.57
- Female	0.41	0.43
Education		
- Low	0.36	0.06
- Middle	0.30	0.38
- High	0.34	0.56
Class Structure		
- Capitalist	0.016	0.017
- Small Employer	0.068	0.071
- Self-Employed	0.262	0.029
- Semi-autonomous employee	0.116	0.177
- Manager	0.044	0.044

- Worker	0.495	0.663
Satisfaction on personal living condition	7.76	6.71
Satisfaction on public affairs	12.00	10.74
Satisfaction on civil rights	15.00	10.72
Cognitive liberation	6.70	10.27
Political action_Signing a petition		
- Have done	0.064	0.544
- Might do	0.638	0.354
- Would never do	0.298	0.102
N	1717	2435

### Data Analysis Method

I use Multinomial Logistic Regression Model to compare the differences of participation mechanism between China and Western Democracies. Descriptive data in figure 1 has already reflexed the differences of participation condition between them, so I establish two Multinomial Logistic Regression models-one for China and one for Western Democracies to compare their effect factors.

### Results

According to Table 1, in the whole population protest action is rare-only 6.4% people signed a petition to improve condition before, but protest potential is very high-63.8% people think that they might join in the activity. At the same time, both protest action and protest potential are quite high in western democracies – as many as 54.4% people say they have the action before and 35.4% express that they might participate in signing petition. In general, the level of protest participation in western democratic countries is very high, while in China, only a very small proportion of people had protest action before in the whole population but protest potential is high.

Table 2 shows different influence mechanism for China and western democratic countries.

Firstly, let's see the results of China. I use “would never do” in the dependent variable as the reference category. In “had done” category, only class and gender have significant influence. Compared with working class, semi-autonomous employee – namely the professional had participation in protest action more, which is as about 2.244 times as the working class – this is in line with hypothesis 4a. Small employers also have more protest action – which is as about 2.276

times as the working class. Although I don't think about this in the course of hypothesis, it is easy to understand from political process theory. Before the reform and opening up, private economy was forbidden in China. After then, the government allows and encourages the development of private economy gradually. Small employers could be regarded as "the excluded class" before, since they have been getting more and more political opportunities, they might have more protest participation. What's more, their interest demands are growing and they have more resources to join in political activities. Besides class, gender also affects protest action significantly. Men have more protest actions, and it is as much as 1.646 times as women's. From the result of "might do" category, dissatisfaction on public affairs, dissatisfaction on civil rights and education have significant effects. Those who are not satisfied with public affairs and civil rights have more protest potential. A standard deviation growth of dissatisfaction on public affairs increase 5.7% protest potential and the number for dissatisfaction on civil rights is 3.3%. Moreover, education is also a significant contributing factor, the higher the education level, the greater the protest potential. People who received high level education choose "might do" 1.35 times as people who received middle level education and 1.44 times as those with low level education.

On the base of the result, influence factors for western democratic countries are quite different. "would never do" in the dependent variable is still the reference category. In "had done" category, most hypotheses are supported – dissatisfaction on public affairs, dissatisfaction on civil right, new class, cognitive liberation and education all have significant influence on protest action. Among three types of dissatisfaction, the effect of dissatisfaction on public affairs is the greatest - a standard deviation growth of dissatisfaction on public affairs increases protest action by 11.5%. The effect of dissatisfaction on civil rights is just against hypothesis 3a, reflecting that people who are not satisfied with their current civil rights are less likely to join in protest action. Why people who are more satisfied with their civil rights would be more likely to participate in protest activities? One possible explanation is that protest politics has already been normal in western democratic countries and it is a kind of necessary supplement for institutional political participation. The government allows citizens to express what they want through protest action, for this reason, satisfaction on civil rights is not in conflict with protest action. On the contrary, they are highly consistent in western democracies. Dissatisfaction on personal living condition has no significant influence. Viewing from class perspective, semi-autonomous employee – namely the professional

Tabel 2. Multinomial Logistic Regression of Protest Participation between China and Democratic Countries

	China				Western Democratic Countries			
	1 vs 3		2 vs 3		1 vs 3		2 vs 3	
	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)	B	Exp(B)
Satisfaction								
—public affairs	.065	1.067	.056**	1.057	.109***	1.115	.028	1.029
—personal life	-.106	.900	-.031	.970	-.052	.949	-.017	.983
—civil rights	.052	1.053	.032*	1.033	-.121***	.886	-.025	.975
Cognitive liberation	-.010	.990	.009	1.009	.067***	1.069	.019	1.019
Social Class								
—Capitalist	-.681	.506	-.400	.671	1.062	2.893	1.540	4.665
—Small Employer	.822*	2.276	-.040	.961	.069	1.071	-.346	.708
—Self-Employed	.483	1.622	.002	1.002	.143	1.154	.171	1.187
—Semi-autonomous employee	.808*	2.244	.188	1.206	.680**	1.975	.375	1.455
—Manager	.498	1.646	-.321	.725	.251	1.286	.067	1.070
—Worker	0 <sup>b</sup>	.	0 <sup>b</sup>	.	0 <sup>b</sup>	.	0 <sup>b</sup>	.
Education								
—low	-.338	.713	-.362*	.696	-.903***	.405	-.582*	.559
—middle	.133	1.142	-.301*	.740	-.446**	.640	-.290	.749

—high	0 <sup>b</sup>	.	0 <sup>b</sup>	.	0 <sup>b</sup>	.	0 <sup>b</sup>	.
Gender								
—male	.518*	1.679	.150	1.162	-.208	.812	-.103	.902
—female	0 <sup>b</sup>	.	0 <sup>b</sup>	.	0 <sup>b</sup>	.	0 <sup>b</sup>	.
Age	-.006	.995	-.002	.998	.039***	1.040	.012	1.012
Intercept	-2.573***		.035		.109		.889	
Chi-Square	56.501***				267.185***			
N	1717				2435			
R-Square	.032				.104			

a. category 1: "have done"; category 2: "might do"; category 3: "would never do"

b. This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant.

c.  $p < 0.05^*$ ,  $p < 0.01^{**}$ ,  $p < 0.001^{***}$

had more protest action than the working class while there is no significant difference in other classes. This supports hypothesis 4a, meaning that the professional are more likely to join in protest action. In line with hypothesis 6a, people whose cognitive liberation level is higher have more probability to participate in protest action than no participation at all. The hypothesis that education could increase protest behavior also gets support here. People who have accepted high level education choose “had done” 1.56 times as those who have middle level education and 2.47 times as those only who have low level education.

However, when considering protest potential in western democratic countries, only education has a significant influence on protest potential; people whose education level are higher have more protest potential than no participation. All other factors have no significant influence.

## **Conclusion and Discussion**

According to the findings, protest participation conditions and their influence mechanisms in different political context are really different.

Just as some scholars have pointed out, social stability has been a complex “knot” in contemporary China, it has always been an overriding national goal and China is one of the countries who take the greatest efforts in keeping stability. (清华大学社会学系社会发展研究课题组, 2010). In this political context, there are very few political opportunities for protest politics and the expenses are too high for the mass to protest. However, data results show that while very few people had protest action before, protest potential is very high among the whole population. In western democracies, as low-level protest participations are permitted and common, more than half the population has had protest action before.

From the results of influence factors, only the new class has consistent effects for both China and western democracies while the results of all the other factors are distinctive. In China, when examining effect factors for protest action, only class have significant influence, to some extent, it can be comprehended as class foundation for protest activities is formed while social movement organizations are lacked in China. We could anticipate that the professional and small employers would be the main protest forces in China. Although the level of discontent is very high in China, for all kinds of reasons, emotional factors only contribute to high protest potential in the whole population and it hasn't lead to protest activities. Compared with western democracies, although Chinese have changed their culture and minds a lot, this change is not big enough to influence their protest participation as the condition in western democracies. Men are more likely to protest than women, reflecting that the influence of tradition still exists.

The explanatory model for protest action in western democracies is very convincing, except

dissatisfaction on personal living condition, all the other hypotheses are supported. In this model, I also find that social psychology theory and political process perspective are not contradictory as they claimed, the factors they stressed influence protest action significantly at the same time. It is very interesting that more influence factors affect protest potential in China and most influence factors only have an effect on protest action in western democracies. The result shows that only education influences protest potential significantly in western democracies.

In addition, different effects of three types of dissatisfaction show that the influence of discontent is not unitary but multidimensional, and different dimensions could lead to different results. Whether from the result of protest potential model in China or protest action model in western democracies, dissatisfaction on personal living condition may not bring about political participation, while discontent with public affairs and civil rights could generate political participation, whether the influence is positive or negative is also not determined. Thus we have to analyze its influence in specific situations.

## **Bibliography**

- (1) Barnes, Samuel H., Kaase, Max et al.(1979), *Political Action: Mass participation in Five Western Democracies*, *Beverly Hills and London*
- (2) Barnes, Samuel H., Kaase, Max, Introduction. In Samuel H. Barnes, Max Kaase, et al., *Political Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies*, pp. 13-26 *Beverly Hills and London: Sage Publications*
- (3) Bean, Clive, Participation and Political Protest: A Causal Model with Australian Evidence, *Political Behavior*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (Sep., 1991), pp. 253-283
- (4) Jenkins J.C.&Wallace Michael, *The Generalized Action Potential of Protest Movements: The New Class, Social Trends, and Political Exclusion Explanation*
- (5) Kaase,Max &Marsh,Alan(1979), *Political Action: A Theoretical Perspective*. In Samuel H. Barnes, Max Kaase, et al., *Political Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies*, pp.27-56. *Beverly Hills and London: Sage Publications*
- (6) Lin, Thung-hong, *How Class Matters in Four Chinese Societies: Social Inequality and Political Attitudes*, Presentation in Asian Barometer Workshop.



- (7) Marsh, Alan & Kaase Max(1979), Measuring Political Action. In Samuel H. Barnes, Max Kaase, et al., *Political Action: Mass Participation in Five Western Democracies*, pp.57-96. *Beverly Hills and London: Sage Publications*
- (8) McAdam, Doug (1982), *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- (9) Muller, Edward N., and Jukam, Thomas O., Discontent and Aggressive Political Participation. *British Journal of Political Science* 1983, 13.
- (10) Norris, P., Walgrave, S., & Aelst, P. V., Who Demonstrates? Antistate Rebels, Conventional Participants, or Everyone? *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (Jan., 2005), pp. 189-205
- (11) Opp, Karl-Dieter. Adverse Living Conditions, Grievances, and Political Protest after Communism: The Example of East Germany, *Social Forces*, Vol. 79, No. 1 (Sep., 2000), pp. 29-65
- (12) Snow, D. A., Rochford, E.B., Worden, S. K. & Benford, R. D.,(1986) Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 51, No. 4, pp. 464-481.
- (13) Tilly, Charles(1978), *From Mobilization to Revolution*. New York: Random House.
- (14) Wright, E. O. (1980), Varieties of Marxist Conceptions of Class Structure. In David B. Grusky, *Social Stratification: Class, Race, and Gender in Sociological Perspective*, pp.112-116. Westview Press, 2001.
- (15) Zhu, Yan(2010), Internal Political Efficacy of Middle Class in Transitional States——Comparing China and Vietnam, Presentation in Asian Barometer Workshop.
- (16) 阿尔文·古尔德纳著,《新阶级与知识分子的未来》,北京:人民文学出版社,2001
- (17) 丹尼尔·贝尔著,《后工业社会的来临:对社会预测的一项探索》,北京:新华出版社,1997
- (18) 蒂利,塔罗著,《抗争政治》,南京:译林出版社,2010.
- (19) 加塔诺·莫斯科. 统治阶级[M]. 江苏:译林出版社,2002.
- (20) 清华大学社会学系社会发展研究课题组,《以利益表达制度化实现社会的长治久安》,2010.4
- (21) 于建嵘,《抗争性政治:中国政治社会学基本问题》,人民出版社,2008

- (22) 赵鼎新,《社会与政治运动讲义》,北京:社会科学文献出版社,2006.3
- (23) 赵鼎新,《国家·社会关系与八九北京学运》,香港:中文大学出版社,2007.8