

**The Quality of Democracy in South Korea and Taiwan:  
Subjective Assessments from the Perspectives of Ordinary Citizens \***

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## **The Quality of Democracy in South Korea and Taiwan: Subjective Assessments from the Perspectives of Ordinary Citizens**

“Indeed, consensus democracy – on the executive-parties dimension – makes a big difference with regard to all of the indicators of democratic quality and with regard to all of the kinder and gentler qualities.”

Arend Lijphart (1999)

South Korea (Korea hereafter) and Taiwan are widely recognized as the two most successful third-wave democracies in Asia (Chu, Diamond, and Shin, 2001; Diamond and Plattner, 1998; Shin and Lee, 2003). For more than a decade, these two new democracies have regularly held free and competitive elections at all levels of their respective governments. Both nationally and locally, citizens choose the heads of the executive branches and the members of the legislatures through regularly scheduled electoral contests. Unlike many countries in the region, moreover, the two countries have peacefully transferred power to opposition parties, the Millennium Democratic Party in Korea and the Democratic Progressive Party in Taiwan. Accordingly, there is little doubt that the political regimes of Korea and Taiwan fully meet the democratic principle of popular sovereignty featuring free and fair elections, universal adult suffrage, and multiparty competition. Nonetheless, little is known about how well their current regimes meet other important principles of liberal democracy and uphold its basic values such as freedom, equality, and justice.

This paper attempts to assess how well these two regimes perform as electoral democracies and how much progress they have made in becoming well-functioning liberal democracies. Conceptually, it focuses on the notion of liberal democracy. Substantively, freedom and equality are chosen as the basic values of liberal democracy. In addition, we examine the accountability of popularly elected leaders to the electorate, the rule of law, and the

responsiveness of political leaders and governmental officials to the mass citizenry as the most fundamental procedural norms of liberal democratic rule. Epistemologically, quality, like beauty, is assumed to lie in the eye of the beholder or the person experiencing the democracy.

Methodologically, therefore, the quality of democracy is evaluated with the perspectives of ordinary citizens who experience its practices on a daily basis. Theoretically, the whole citizenry is assumed to be the best judge of democratic political life.

This paper is organized into seven sections. The first section reviews earlier works on the quality of democracy. The second section explicates briefly the notion of liberal democracy and identifies its distinct properties (or qualities). The third section offers citizen assessments of the general (or overall) quality of democracy in the two countries. What sort of democracy do the Korean and Taiwanese people think their current regimes are? What level of democratic quality do these regimes display? We address these questions. The fourth section examines how well citizens believe their respective regimes perform as electoral democracies. The fifth section reports their assessments of their regimes as liberal democracies. To what extent do the Koreans and the Taiwanese think their current regimes have embodied the essential properties of liberal democracy? What particular properties do they perceive to be most and least lacking in the regimes? The sixth section explores the problems of liberal democratic development from the perspective of popular demand. The final section summarizes the three sets of new ideas we are proposing for a systematic assessment of democratic regime quality and highlights our survey research findings.

### **Prior Research**

The quality of democracy has recently become a subject of increasing and widespread concern in policy circles and the scholarly community (Commonwealth Pacific Island Countries,

2002; Coppedge, 1997; Court, 2002; Diamond, 1999; Requejo, 2001; Solt, 2001; Southall, 2001; UNDP, 2002; Weyland, 2001). How well do democracies perform as governments by the people and for the people? What type of democratic regime is most likely to provide “kinder and gentler qualities of democracy”? What qualities of democracy do new democracies most lack? These questions have been raised in response to a growing sense of public discontentment with the democratic political process in both old and new democracies (Bratton, Mattes, and Gymiah-Boadi, 2003; Norris, 1999; Pharr and Putnam, 2000; Rose, Mishler, and Haerpher, 1998; Rose and Shin, 2001).

In recent years, an increasing number of individual scholars and research institutions have attempted to address these questions by discerning the distinct qualities of democracy and distinguishing high-quality democracies from low-quality ones. In doing so, individual scholars and research institutions have employed a variety of political goals, principles, and values as criteria or standards for appraising the quality of democracy. The number of these criteria varies considerably from one study to another as do the substantive characteristics or natures of the criteria. Yet, all the research thus far seeks to assess the extent to which political regimes actually embody *generic* values of democracy and they satisfy some of its standard procedures or procedural norms.

For example, Arend Lijphart is a leading scholar studying the quality of democracy. In his *Patterns of Democracy* (1999), he compared the quality of democracy in 36 countries and concluded that consensus democracy tends to be the “kinder and gentler” form of democracy (p. 275). In assessing and comparing the quality of these democracies, he considered a large number of democratic political values and principles, including representation, equality, participation, proximity, satisfaction, accountability, and majority rule (cf. Forestiere and Allen,

2002). In his *Elections as Instruments of Democracy* (2000), Bingham Powell Jr., another leading scholar, considered only three standards—accountability, representation, and responsiveness—when comparing 20 majoritarian and proportional democracies (Powell, 2000; see also Powell Jr., 1982, chap. 9 for use of three standards including liberty, competition, and responsiveness). David Altman and Anival Perez-Linan (2002) and Miguel Centellas (2000) also considered three standards—participation, competition, and civil liberty—to assess the quality of democracy in Latin American countries. In comparing regional governments in Italy, Robert Putnam (1993) considered two criteria, policy responsiveness and effectiveness. In assessing the relative merit of majoritarian and consensus political systems, Christopher Anderson and Christine Guillory (1997) weighed only one criterion, i.e., citizen satisfaction with their democracy. Obviously, there is more disagreement than consensus concerning the proper standards for assessing the quality of democracy.

Besides individual scholars, a number of national and international institutions have also made serious efforts to assess the quality of democracy. The International Institute of Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA hereafter) in Stockholm has launched a multinational project assessing the democratic political practices of new democracies (Beetham et al., 2001). Two basic principles of representative democracy underlie its assessment framework. They are popular control and political equality. From these principles, the IDEA derived seven standards: participation, authorization, representation, accountability, transparency, responsiveness, and solidarity. These standards were used to measure the democratic strength of particular countries. To assess and compare progress toward liberal democracy on a global scale, Freedom House in New York monitors changes in the levels of political rights, civil liberties, and press freedom ([www.freedomhouse.org](http://www.freedomhouse.org)). For similar assessments and comparisons, Gallup International in

London has initiated an international program to compare the quality of democratic governance in terms of human rights, free and fair elections, and rule by the will of the people (www.gallup-international.com).

All of these assessments attempt to determine how well political regimes perform as democracies rather than as liberal democracies. As a result, none of these efforts offers a comprehensive and balanced assessment of the democracies' performances as liberal democracies. How much progress have third-wave democracies made in their march toward liberal democracy? What particular properties or qualities of liberal democracy do they most lack? To address these and other related questions, this study of Korea and Taiwan offers and tests a model for assessing liberal democratic development from the perspective of ordinary citizens.

### **Conceptualization and Measurement**

Universal adult suffrage, free and fair elections, multiparty competition, and inter-party alternation in power are the most fundamental characteristics of all democracies. The successful establishment of these democratic institutions alone, however, does not guarantee the creation of liberal democracy. It merely creates electoral democracy, a regime that allows the citizens to take part in free and competitive electoral contests. What more has to be done in order to transform an electoral democracy into a liberal democracy? What distinguishes liberal democracy from illiberal democracy? What are the distinguishing characteristics of liberal democracy? What are its relative merits and demerits? These questions have been extensively debated in the theoretical and empirical literature on third-wave democracies (Diamond, 1999; Kratnycky, 1999; Platner, 1997; Zakaria, 1997, 2003).

Conceptually, this study of new democracies in Korea and Taiwan is based on the notion of democracy as a developmental phenomenon (Sklar, 1987). Specifically, it is viewed as a

phenomenon that evolves multi-dimensionally in phases over time (Dahl, 1971; Diamond, 2002). In the first phase, nondemocratic rule gives way to an electoral democracy featuring free, fair, and competitive elections. In the second phase, the electoral democracy evolves into a liberal democracy that embodies two other components of democracy, which Guillermo O'Donnell (1999a) characterizes as liberalism and republicanism. Adding these two components makes holding free, fair, and competitive elections regularly only one of many requirements for successful democratization. In a liberal democracy, a popularly elected government does not hold absolute authority; the institutions of popular representation and other state agencies are subject to the rule of law (Bobbio, 1989).

What constitutes liberal democracy? It refers to a political system that allows, substantively, for political freedom and equal rights and, procedurally, limits the arbitrary use of governmental authorities and powers primarily for the well-being of individual citizens (Diamond, 1999; MacPherson, 1977; Zakaria, 2003). In brief, the fundamental norms of freedom, equality, and limited government serve as the substantive and procedural marks of liberal democracy. On the basis of this conception, we infer the quality of liberal democracy from the degree to which these two norms are satisfied by democratically elected leaders and institutions of popular representation.

The norm of individual freedom demands that citizens be free to think, talk, and act in order to formulate and express, individually and collectively, their views in the political process. Furthermore, the norm of political rights demands that individual citizens be treated equally before the law and that their views be weighed equally in the policymaking process. The norm of limited government, on the other hand, requires that democratically elected political leaders as well as state officials observe the rules prescribed in the constitution and other laws and that they

serve in the interests of the citizenry rather than their own. The same procedural norm also requires that democratically elected government officials be accountable to the legislature and ultimately to citizen voters by making their actions transparent. In short, freedom, equality, the rule of law, accountability, and responsiveness are considered the essential properties or qualities of liberal democracy.

According to this conception, new electoral democracies can be considered to have successfully transformed into liberal democracies when citizens are politically free and equal to each other before the law and when elected leaders are not only law-abiding but also accountable and responsive to the electorate. When new democracies have failed to achieve most *of* the above five properties, they are considered low-quality liberal democracies. When they have achieved most of them, they are medium-quality liberal democracies. Only when they have achieved all of them, do they become high-quality liberal democracies.

In the first wave of East Asia Barometer (EAB hereafter) surveys conducted in Korea and Taiwan, a pair of questions was asked to ascertain ordinary citizens' views on the overall democratic quality of their current regime.<sup>1</sup> Additionally, in the Korean survey a pair of questions was asked to determine the extent to which ordinary citizens perceive that their political system has achieved each of the five properties of liberal democracy. Some of these questions or their functionally equivalent items were also found in earlier surveys conducted in Taiwan.<sup>2</sup> Appendix A lists these and some other related questions employed in Korea and Taiwan respectively. Responses to the questions, when considered together, allow us to assess

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<sup>1</sup> In Taiwan, the first-round East Asia Barometer was administered between July and August 2001. In Korea, it was implemented during February 2003. In both instances, face-to-face surveys were conducted by trained interviewers and based on a stratified probability sampling in accordance with the probability proportional to size (PPS) principle. For more technical details, please look up the project website: [www.eastasiabarometer.org](http://www.eastasiabarometer.org).

<sup>2</sup> Data included in our analysis were drawn from two earlier surveys, the post-presidential election survey of 2000 and the post-presidential election survey of 1996. Both surveys were carried out by the National Taiwan University electoral studies team led by Profs. Fu Hu and Yun-han Chu.

the general, as well as liberal, qualities of democracy in Korea and to compare it with Taiwan whenever comparable data are available.<sup>3</sup>

### **The General Quality of Democracy**

More than fifteen years have passed since Korea and Taiwan began formal transitions to democracy. How much progress has been made in each in transforming their previous authoritarian rule into representative democracies? How well do their existing regimes perform as representative democracies? These are the central questions to be addressed in ascertaining the general quality of democracy in the two Asian countries.

From the EAB surveys conducted in each country, we selected two separate items focusing on the overall quality of each one's democratic performance. The first item revealed where the people perceived their current regimes stood on allowing every adult citizen to elect national and local leaders in free and competitive elections. Specifically, the EAB survey asked respondents to rate this characteristic of their current regimes on a 10-point scale where a score of 1 means "complete dictatorship" and a score of 10 "complete democracy." The scores reported on this scale were collapsed into four categories: (1) hard authoritarianism (1 and 2); (2) soft authoritarianism (3, 4 and 5); (3) limited democracy (6, 7 and 8); and (4) advanced democracy (9 and 10).

Table 1 reports the mean rating on the 10-point scale and the percentages of respondents falling into each of the four categories of regime perceptions. The percentages reported in the table clearly reveal that both the Korean and the Taiwanese people do view their respective current regime as a democracy. More than four out of five Koreans (82%) rated the current regime as democratic by placing it at 6 or above on the scale. Of these Koreans, an overwhelming majority

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<sup>3</sup> An island-wide survey that contains a fuller set of comparable questions is currently being administered in Taiwan. We will be able to include this latest data set in our comparative analysis during the next revision of this paper.

(80%) rated it as a limited democracy by placing it at 6, 7, or 8. The current regime's ratings averaged 6.5, a figure that is just one point above the scale's midpoint of 5.5. This mean and these percentage ratings make it clear that the Korean people tend to perceive their current regime to be far from fully democratic. Despite a decade of democratic rule by two long-time leaders of the democracy movement in Korea, Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung, the people rate the country as a partial or limited democracy.

Taiwan's citizens gave their current regime a slightly more favorable rating. More than one out of five (22%) Taiwanese citizens rated it as an "advanced democracy" by placing it at 9 or 10. A substantial majority (61%), however, rated the current regime as a "limited democracy." Adding them together, more than four-fifths (84%) of Taiwanese respondents rated the current regime as democratic (at 6 or above). On the whole, the distribution of the democratic perceptions of the current regime held by Taiwan's citizens is quite similar to Korea. The average rating of 7.3 clearly suggests that for the majority of Taiwan's citizens, the island's new democracy still has ample room to improve even after the historical power alternation in 2000, an important milestone by any measure.

(Table 1 here)

The second item we asked in the EAB survey was "On the whole, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way democracy works in our country?" On this measure, our Korean respondents expressed, on average, higher levels of satisfaction than their Taiwanese counterparts. As in the perception of regime character, a majority of Korean citizens replied positively (see Table 2). However, those who gave positive replies to this second question formed a much smaller majority than those replying positively about their regime's degree of democracy. A little more than three-fifths (62%) affirmed that the current regime performs as a democracy more often to

their satisfaction than dissatisfaction. This figure is 20 percentage points lower than those who perceived the current regime as a democracy. Even among those who perceive the current regime as a democracy, the satisfied constitute a small majority of less than two-thirds (66%).

In Taiwan, the number of people who are satisfied (46%) virtually equals the dissatisfied (45%), while almost one-tenth (9%) of our respondents said “Don’t Know” or simply declined to give any response. The gap between those who perceived the current regime as a democracy and those who judged the democracy working to their satisfaction is close to two-fifths of the Taiwanese population (38%). It appears that although slightly more people in Taiwan perceived their current system as a democracy than in Korea, far fewer Taiwanese found the system working to their satisfaction. There are two possible short-term factors explaining the much lower level of citizen satisfaction in Taiwan. First, in Taiwan Chen Shui-bian, the incumbent president, was elected with less than two-fifths (39.6%) of the popular vote while Roh Moo Hyun, the Korean president, was elected by a near majority (48.9%). Next, in Taiwan the timing of the EAB survey coincided with the island’s worst economic downturn in memory, while in Korea the torment of financial crisis had largely diminished by the time of the survey.

(Table 2 here)

A more notable feature of the assessments of democratic performance among the Korean and Taiwanese people is the near absence of highly positive ratings. As in the perceptions of democratic regime character, among the Korean citizens a very small proportion (1%) reported being highly satisfied with the performance of the current regime as a democracy. Among the Taiwanese citizens, the figure (4%) is not much greater. Even among those Koreans who recognized the current regime as a democracy, less than two percent expressed a high level of satisfaction with its overall performance. The corresponding figure (5%) is not much higher in

Taiwan. In both countries, regardless of whether the people perceive the regime as a democracy, they as a whole appear to be in general agreement that their respective government is far from being a highly well-functioning democratic regime.

Naturally, the question arises: What sort or quality of democracy does the current democratic regime in each of the two countries represent in the eyes of its citizenry? To address this question, we first collapsed together the negative responses to the aforementioned two items and derived three degrees—none, some, and substantial—of democratic development and regime satisfaction. Then we considered together the development and satisfaction levels to ascertain the modal quality of democracy that the current regime represents to the people. Table 3a gives the percentages of the Korean people falling into nine different types of perceived regime quality, and Table 3b does the same for the Taiwanese.

(Tables 3a and 3b here)

In Table 3a, the percentages belonging to these types vary a great deal from less than one percent to more than 50 percent. As expected from the separate responses to the two questions, it is clear that the Korean people as a whole do not rate the current regime as a high-quality democracy featuring an advanced level of democratic development and a high level of performance satisfaction. Of the entire sample of 1,500, only one person judged Korean democracy as a democracy of high quality. More than half the sample (51%), on the other hand, judged it as a low-quality democracy featuring a limited level of democratic development and an equally limited level of performance satisfaction. More than a quarter (28%) also judged it as a low-quality democracy failing to perform satisfactorily at all. Slightly less than one-fifth (18%) judged it as a non-democracy. In the eyes of the Korean people, their democracy is limited not

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<sup>4</sup> For the scale of democraticness, we collapsed the “hard authoritarianism” and “soft authoritarianism” categories in Table 1 into “low” degree of democracy. For the measure of citizen satisfaction, we collapsed “very dissatisfied” and “somewhat dissatisfied” answers into “low level”.

only in removing the residues of the authoritarian past but also in meeting the current demands of the citizenry. This finding that Korea remains a low-quality democracy even after 15 years of democratic rule is a notable qualitative feature of Korean democracy.

The Taiwanese people's assessments of their new democracy do not fare much better. In Table 3b, only 2 percent of our respondents rated the current regime as a high-quality democracy. As the Korean people did, a very large majority of Taiwan's citizens judged their current regime as a non-democracy (16%) or a low-quality democracy (69%) that features unsatisfactory performance or limited levels of democratic development and performance satisfaction. When the ratings of low-quality democracy among the Taiwanese are compared to those among the Koreans, however, it is apparent that the latter feel much less positive about democratic rule than the former.

Why is it that a larger majority of the Korean people perceives its regime a low-quality democracy? To explore this question, we selected another pair of EAB survey questions, both of which were derived from the two general principles of democratic governance: government by the people and for the people. The questions were "Under the Kim Dae Jung presidency, do you think our country has been governed, by and large, by the will of ordinary people or ruled by a powerful few?" and "Do you think the Kim Dae Jung government has worked for the entire country or some of its regions or classes?" Less than two-fifths gave democratic responses to each of these questions (36% to the first question and 39% to the second one). When responses to both questions are considered together, about one-quarter (27%) perceives that the current regime fulfills both principles of democratic governance. Nearly two times as many (52%), on the other hand, says that the current regime works neither for the wills of the people nor for their welfare. The regime's failure to practice these two principles of democratic governance signals that the current regime functions as a low-quality democracy.

We found a greater majority of Taiwanese citizens are more cynical about whether the elected leaders are responsive to the wills of the people. When a 2001 post-election survey asked for their responses to the statement “While political figures talked about fighting for the welfare of the people, all they did is to advance their personal interests,” 44 percent of our respondents answered “somewhat agree” and 40 percent “strongly agree.” When presented with the statement “a large majority of our elected representatives do not know what the people really need,” 48 percent answered “somewhat agree” and 30 percent “strongly agree.”

### **The Quality of Electoral Democracy**

No country qualifies as a democracy unless it regularly holds free, fair, and competitive elections to choose political leaders. Of all the democratic elections held in Korea, the presidential election is regarded as the most important because the regime is constitutionally built on the principles of presidential democracy. In Taiwan, presidential elections have also taken on growing political significance since the adoption of popular election in 1994 and the ensuing constitutional reform modeled after the French-styled semi-presidentialism. To assess the quality of electoral democracy in the two countries, therefore, we decided to focus on the presidential elections held most recently in each country.

Did respondents to the EAB survey, as voters, believe the election was conducted fairly? How satisfied or dissatisfied were they with its outcome? Have they become more optimistic or pessimistic about the country’s future after the election? Responses to these questions were analyzed across three categories of the respondents: (1) non-voters, i.e., those who did not take part in the election; (2) winners, those who voted for the winning candidate; and (3) losers, those who voted for losing candidates. Table 4a shows across these three categories the percentages of

those who gave very positive to very negative responses to our questions about the most recent Korean presidential election.

(Tables 4a, 4b, 4c here)

When asked how fairly or unfairly the 2002 presidential election was conducted, a large majority of the Korean people (86%) replied “very fair” (22%) or “somewhat fair” (64%). As always happens, those who voted for Roh Moo Hyun, the winning candidate of the ruling party in the 2002 election, rated the fairness significantly more highly than those who voted for one of several losing candidates. Even among the latter, however, a substantial majority concurred with the former by agreeing that the election process was fair. As compared to 93 percent of the former, 70 percent of the latter rated it as a fair election. More significantly, one out of seven voters (14%) for the losing candidates rated it as a “very fair” election.

When asked about the outcome of the election, a slightly smaller large majority (81%) expressed satisfaction with it. As compared to 96 percent who supported the winning candidate, 64 percent of voters for the losing candidates expressed at least some satisfaction with the outcome. Even among the Korean voters whose presidential candidate lost, more than three-fifths accepted the election of the candidate whom they did not support. Among those who did not participate in the election, more than four-fifths (81%) expressed satisfaction with the electoral outcome. Regardless of the nature of the role they played in the election, the Korean people did endorse its legitimacy as a means of electing their political leader.

We found a comparable level of popular endorsement of the legitimacy of Taiwan’s most recent presidential election, despite the political rupture that came with the debacle of the long-time dominant party, Kuomintang (Chu and Diamond 2002). In Table 4b, we present the outcomes of the 2000 post-election survey. When asked how fairly or unfairly the 2000

presidential election was conducted, a large majority of the Taiwan's electorate (80%) replied "very fair" or "somewhat fair." Even among those who didn't vote for the winning candidate, 76 percent of them considered the election fair. This figure is only 9 percent lower than the percentage of winners who rated the election as being fair. This convergence of the two opposing camps indicates a high level of agreement among the Taiwanese electorate about the fairness of the election.

When asked "Do you become more optimistic or more pessimistic about the country's future after the presidential election?" the winning camp and the losing camp diverged substantially. Among those who voted for the winner, 91 percent gave positive answers, expressing that either they have become more optimistic (70%) or their outlook for the country's future remained "unchanged" (21%). Among the Taiwanese voters whose presidential candidates lost, 67 percent gave positive answers, indicating that either they have become "more optimistic" (37%) or their view about the country's future remained "unchanged" (30%). Although voters in the losing camp were less optimistic, those who gave an explicitly negative answer, i.e., "become more pessimistic," nevertheless constitute a minority (less than one third). Generally speaking, regardless of their partisan orientation, a great majority of Taiwanese electorate affirmed the legitimacy of the election as a means of selecting the national leader.

However, some signs indicate that the Taiwanese's approval of the island's electoral democracy has declined considerably from the overwhelming endorsement that they gave to the island's first-ever popular presidential election in 1996 (see Table 4c for details). The extremely high level of satisfaction and optimism in the wake of this election resulted partially from the excitement that came with the opening of a new political era, which happens only once during the entire process of democratization. Yet it should be noted that the popular assessment about the

fairness of the presidential election did not change much between 1996 and 2000. Actually, among the voters of the losing camp, more people viewed the election as being fair in 2000 (62%) than in 1996 (77%), a plausible sign of political maturing.

To infer the overall quality of electoral democracy from the latest presidential election in the two countries, we considered together the positive assessments of its process and outcome. In Tables 5a and 5b, we compare the proportions of winning and losing voters and non-voters who were fully positive about both the process and outcome, partially positive about either of those, and positive about neither of those.<sup>5</sup> In the Korean case, those who were not at all positive about the last presidential election constitute relatively small minorities (9% of winning voters, 13% of non-voters and 17% of losing voters). More significantly, those fully positive about the election constitute majorities in all three categories of the Korean electorate (92% of winning voters, 77% of non-voters and 59% of losing voters). The most common pattern among the Korean electorate is that winning and losing voters endorse the presidential election with majorities, which indicates that electoral democracy in Korea is of high quality, not medium or low quality.

We found a similar pattern of popular affirmation of Taiwan's 2000 presidential election. In Table 5b, among the Taiwanese electorate, those who were not at all positive about the last presidential election also constitute small minorities; (1% of winning voters, 6% of non-voters and 12% of losing voters). On the other hand, those fully positive about the election constitute majorities of those in all three categories of the Taiwan's electorate (79% among winning voters, 65% non-voters, and 56% losing voters). From these findings, it is apparent that, in the eyes of

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<sup>5</sup> In the Korean case, we employ the satisfaction question to measure people's evaluation of the election outcome. In the Taiwanese case, we use the optimism question as a substitute because the former is not available in our 2000 post-election survey. However, from our 1996 post-election survey, where both items were available, we found the two are, as expected, highly correlated (with a greater than 0.7 correlation coefficient).

the people, electoral democracies in both Korea and Taiwan are the ones of high quality rather than of low or medium quality.

(Tables 5a and 5b here)

### **The Quality of Liberal Democracy**

How much progress have Korea and Taiwan made in moving beyond electoral democracies into liberal democracies? To address this question systematically, we examine the extent to which the current regimes exhibit each of the five essential properties of liberal democracies discussed earlier, freedom, equality, the rule of law, accountability, and responsiveness. Because the Taiwanese EAB survey did not ask a full array of relevant questions, this section deals principally with the current standing of Korea as a liberal democracy.<sup>6</sup>

#### **Political Freedom**

Alone, regular free and fair elections with universal suffrage and several competing political parties do not attain to a liberal democracy (Karl, 2000). As Dahl (1971, 3) points out, voters should be allowed to express their views freely. They should also be allowed to form and join organizations. How much freedom do ordinary Koreans experience when they want to talk about politics and form groups or associations for their personal or communal interests? Answers to these questions reveal the extent to which Koreans live in freedom from the state.

On freedom of expression, the 2003 EAB asked, “To what extent do you think people like you are free to express their political opinion?” One-fifth (20%) replied “very free,” and an additional three-fifths (61%) replied “somewhat free.” When these two positive responses are considered together, it becomes clear that a large majority (81%) feels quite free to express political views. Yet a relatively small minority feels fully free to do so. On the freedom of

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<sup>6</sup> A comparable set of measurements is currently being administered in Taiwan and will become available when we revise this paper after the conference.

association, the EAB asked, “To what extent do you think people like you are free to join the group they would like to join?” Once again, about one-fifth (19%) replied “very free,” while three-fifths (62%) replied “somewhat free.” As in the case of freedom of expression, it is a small minority who feels fully free to form an organization, although a large majority feels at least somewhat free to do so.

To measure the overall level of political freedom the Korean people experience, we combined responses to both questions and constructed a 7-point index ranging from a low of 1 to a high of 7. On this index, a score of 1 indicates an absence of freedom and a score of 7 indicates being fully free. Table 6 reports the mean score on this index and the percentages placed in each of its seven values. According to the mean, the average person in Korea experiences 5, a score well below an indication of full freedom. This score is one degree above the midpoint (4) of the scale but two degrees below the score indicating full freedom. According to the percentages reported in the table, nearly half (47%) the Korean population scored 5, which indicates being much less than fully free. About one-tenth (10%) scored the highest score of 7 on the index. From these findings, it is apparent that the Korean people think of themselves as belonging to a partially free nation. A full sense of freedom has yet to form within these people.

(Table 6 here)

### **Political Equality**

The current Constitution of the Sixth Republic of Korea provides that every Korean as a citizen of a democratic state is entitled to equal treatment by the government. Does the government treat its citizens equally as prescribed in the constitution and other legislation? This section examines the extent to which ordinary Koreans think the government treats them equally.

The EAB survey asked a pair of questions addressing this equality. First, “How fairly or unfairly do you think laws are enforced on someone like yourself these days?” To this question, less than a half replied “very fairly” (2%) or “somewhat fairly” (40%). About three-fifths (52%) said they had been treated “not much fairly” (52%) or “not at all fairly” (7%). Most surprising is the finding that those who replied “very fairly” constituted only 2 percent of the entire sample. In addition, the same survey asked, “To what extent was the Kim Dae Jung government regionally biased in treating people?” To this question, nearly three-quarters (72%) replied unfavorably, saying “a great deal” (18%) or “somewhat” (55%). Only 3 percent said that it had not been regionally biased at all.

To measure the overall level of political equality before the law, we considered together responses to the two questions and constructed a 7-point index. On this index, a score of 1 indicates high inequality (highly unfair in law enforcement and a great deal of regional discrimination) and a score of 7 means high equality (very fair in law enforcement and very little regional discrimination). The combined ratings averaged 3.5, a score below the midpoint of the scale, indicating that Koreans perceive that their government treats them less than equally. According to the percentages reported in Table 6, those who believe that inequality of treatment exceeds equal treatment are nearly four times more numerous than those who believe that such treatment is equal (51% versus 14%). Among the Korean people, political inequality is much more commonly perceived than political equality.

Such common perceptions of political inequality contrast sharply with those of political freedom. In Table 7, we consider these two essential properties of liberal democracy together and highlight the highly uneven nature of democratic development in Korea. One in ten Koreans (10%) perceives that the current regime provides for political freedom as well as equality, which would

lead to a pattern of balanced democratic development. More than six times as many Koreans (64%), on the other hand, perceive that the same regime provides for political freedom but not political equality. In the eyes of a large majority, the democratic progress of the past fifteen years remains partial and highly uneven, lacking any substantial progress in promoting political equality. Unevenness in democratic progress, which has resulted from the failure to promote political equality, is another notable feature of the democratic profile in Korea.

(Table 7 about here)

### **The Rule of Law**

In Korea, as in all other new democracies, corruption is the most serious threat to the rule of law. Korean presidents under the authoritarian and democratic regimes were imprisoned on charges of accepting bribes and kickbacks from large conglomerates in sums up to as high as U.S. \$900 million (Shin, 1999: 208). Also in Korea, a democratically elected president was suspected of illegally spending U.S. \$100 million of taxpayers' money for a Nobel Peace Prize, and his sons were arrested for taking bribes (Bang, 2002; *Donga Ilbo*, 2003; *Economist*, 2002). According to the 2002 corruption perceptions index prepared by Transparency International, Korea ranks 40<sup>th</sup> out of the 102 countries surveyed. Undoubtedly, Korea maintains the dubious distinction of being one of the most corrupt members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the exclusive club of advanced economies.

To determine the extent to which laws are observed in the policymaking process, a pair of questions was selected from the 2003 EAB survey, which asked a set of eight questions about the rule of law. The first question in this pair concerns the extent to which the office of the president abides by the laws. The second question addresses the extent to which the National Assembly does. Less than half the Korean population (49%) replied that the presidential office tends to follow

rather than to break laws. About the National Assembly, less than one-fifth (17%) replied that it tends to follow rather than to break laws. It is notable that more than 95 percent viewed neither of these two most important institutions of representative democracy as fully law-abiding, and only 4 percent viewed even one of them as such. Most notable is that less than 1 percent (0.3 percent; four out of 1,500 respondents) rated both institutions as fully law-abiding.

Ratings of the two institutions joined in a 7-point index measuring conformity to the rule of law in the policymaking process. A score of 1 indicates the perception that laws and rules are not observed at all, while a score of 7 represents the perception that they are observed very well. The mean score and percentage ratings are reported in Table 6. Ratings of the two democratically elected institutions averaged 3.3, which is significantly lower than the midpoint of the scale. Those reporting scores below the midpoint number more than four times as many as those reporting scores above it (55% versus 13%). These mean and percentage ratings make it clear that the Korean people do not regard the presidency and the National Assembly as law-abiding institutions.

To determine the extent to which all government officials, specifically civil servants, abide by the rules and procedures of democratic politics, the EAB survey asked another pair of questions concerning the extent of corrupt practices by local and national government officials. The survey asked respondents to estimate the extent of official corruption, choosing one of four response categories about how many officials were corrupt: (1) hardly anyone; (2) only some of them; (3) most of them; and (4) almost everyone. The choice of the first two categories was considered indicative of the view that government officials tend to be law-abiding and untarnished by corruption. The choice of the last two categories was deemed evidential of perceptions that they do engage in corrupt and illegal practices.

When asked about the extent of corruption among those officials at the national level of government, nearly one-half (47%) perceived corruption in "almost everyone" (9%) and "most" (38%) of the people working on that level. About the officials working for local governments, three-sevenths (44%) gave the same reply: "almost everyone" (8%) and "most" (36%). Considering responses to the two questions together, more than one-third (35%) perceived corruption among almost all the national and local government officials. In addition, one-fifth (21%) perceived almost everyone or most officials working in either the national or local government as corrupt. A substantial minority (44%) did not perceive almost everyone or most of either local or national government officials to be corrupt.<sup>7</sup>

To measure the overall level of rule by law among civil servants, or officials who are not elected, we combined responses to the two questions on a 7-point index of perceptions about law-abiding behavior. We assume that its level is inversely related to perceived corruption. On this index, the lowest score of 1 attributes a state of lawlessness among officials who ignore the rules. The highest score of 7 means a state of lawfulness where almost every official follows the rules. The mean on this index is 3.9, very close to its midpoint of 4.0. Less than two-fifths (37%) have scores below the median and more than two-fifths (44%) are above it. This finding indicates that public officials, unlike elected politicians and their associates, appear to be as likely to be law-abiding as law-breaking.

## **Accountability**

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<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to compare answers to the two questions about the extent of corruption among those officials at the national and local levels of government, which were included in Taiwan's 2001 EAB survey, between the two countries. In Taiwan, when asked about the extent of corruption among those officials at the national level of government, about 8% of the respondents perceived corruption in "almost everyone" and 58% of them perceived that "most" of the people working on that level are corrupt. About the officials working for local governments, about 7% of our respondents perceived that "almost everyone" and close to two-thirds (63%) considered "most of the people". When responses to the two questions are considered together, close to three-fifths (60%) perceived almost everyone or most of both national and local government officials as corrupt. Obviously, the Taiwan's electorate considered the extent of corruption at both local and local levels of government far more seriously than did the citizens of Korea.

Only in democracies can voters vote against incumbents and throw out rascals. This practice enables the voters to keep elected officials accountable for their actions (Powell Jr., 2000, 47). To hold officials accountable to voters, the latter should be made fully informed about what the former do. To what extent do the Korean people think their political leaders are accountable to ordinary voters like themselves through voter awareness of leaders' actions? To estimate the level of such vertical accountability, the 2003 EAB survey asked a pair of questions, one on governmental effort to cover up illegal and corrupt practices and the other on the extent to which the government allows the public to see what its various agencies do. The selection of these two items reflects the assumption that any governmental cover-up of such practices detracts from accountability, while transparency in governmental performance contributes to it.

When asked about the cover-up of illegal and corrupt practices, a majority replied that the government does so "always" (12%) or "very often" (42%). A plurality (43%) said "sometimes," and a negligible minority (4%) said "rarely." In Korean political circles, the cover-up of bad practices appears to be commonplace, not a rare phenomenon. When asked about the openness of government agencies to the public, only about one-third of Koreans perceived the extent of openness as "a lot" (2%) or "somewhat" (30%). More than two-thirds, on the other hand, said that government agencies were not much open to the public (60%) or not at all open to it (8%). While political leaders of the ruling party attempt to cover up their illegal actions, government agencies try to keep the public from seeing what goes on in those agencies. Given these practices, one concludes that elected officials seek to avoid accountability to the electorate.

When responses to the two questions are considered together, it becomes evident that accountability is another property of liberal democracy that is missing from Korean democracy. On a 7-point index ranging from a low of 1 to a high of 7, the Korean people as a whole reported

an average accountability of 2.7, which is lower than the scale's midpoint. Those who scored accountability lower than the midpoint lead those who scored it higher by a margin of more than 2 to 1 (40% versus 18%). While more than one-tenth (12%) scored accountability at the two lowest levels, less than one-twentieth (3%) did so at the two highest levels of the scale. All these findings make it clear that accountability is in short supply.

### **Responsiveness**

Democracy is widely regarded as government by the people and for the people. For a new democracy like the one in Korea to become such a government, it has to follow the will of the people and meet their shifting needs and preferences. To what extent is the democratically elected government in Korea responsive to its citizens? To address this general question, the 2003 EAB asked about the extent to which respondents agreed or disagreed with two specific statements regarding the government's responsiveness to the mass citizenry. Using the statement, "The nation is run by a powerful few and ordinary citizens cannot do much about it," a large majority of nearly two-fifths (60%) rated their government as unresponsive to the people by agreeing with the statement either "strongly" (12%) or "somewhat" (48%). When asked about the statement "People like me don't have any influence over what the government does," equally many (59%) also rated Korean democracy as unresponsive, agreeing with the statement "strongly" (12%) or "somewhat" (47%). To a majority of the Korean people, their democratically elected government remains unresponsive to the mass public.

To measure the overall level of governmental responsiveness, we added up responses to the two questions in a 7-point index. A low score of 1 indicates that the government is not responsive at all, while a high of 7 indicates that it is highly responsive. The index's mean and percentage ratings are reported in Table 6. The mean rating of 3.8 falls below the midpoint of the

scale. The percentages placed above the midpoint constitute a little more than one-quarter (27%). Those placed below it constitute two-fifths (40%). As in the case of accountability, four times as many Koreans scored responsiveness at the lowest two levels of the index as those who scored it in the highest two levels. These findings make it clear that Korean democracy is far from being a responsive government.<sup>8</sup>

What properties of liberal democracy are most and least lacking in Korean democracy today? The mean and two summary percentage ratings reported in Table 5 can be compared to address this question. Of the five mean ratings reported in the table, political freedom, which scored 4.0, is the only property of liberal democracy that scored higher than the midpoint on a 7-point scale employed to measure the overall level of each property. Of the four properties with average ratings below the midpoint, responsiveness ranks best with 3.8. This property is followed by accountability (3.7), equality (3.5), and the rule of law (3.3). Political freedom and responsiveness are least lacking, while the rule of law and political equality are most lacking.

How deficient do the Korean people think their current democratic system is as a liberal democracy? To address this question, we constructed a 6-point index measuring the overall quality of liberal democracy. For each respondent to the EAB survey, we first counted the number of properties of liberal democracy that the person reported experiencing in the current system. We then calculated the percentages of those who perceived from zero to all five properties of liberal democracy. Finally we calculated the average of properties experienced. Figure 1 reports the

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<sup>8</sup> The results from our Taiwanese East Asia Barometer survey are strikingly similar. Almost the same percentage (60%) of the respondents agreed to the statement, “The nation is run by a powerful few and ordinary citizens cannot do much about it,” with 7.5% agreeing with the statement “strongly” and 52.9% “somewhat”. When asked about the statement, “People like me don’t have any influence over what the government does,” even more (69%) rated Taiwanese democracy as unresponsive, agreeing with the statement “strongly” (8.9%) or “somewhat” (60.1%). After converting the two items to 7-point index, the mean rating in Taiwan is of 3.6, which is below the midpoint of the scale. The percentages placed above the midpoint constitute a little more than one fifth (21.3%). Thus, even more than in the case of Korea, a great majority of the Taiwanese people considered their democracy far from being a responsive system.

percentage of responses in each of the six index values, as well as the overall mean score of properties experienced.

(Figure 1 here)

The mean score reported in Figure 1 is 1.5. This rating indicates that the Korean people as a whole perceive their current regime as embodying less than two of the five essential properties of liberal democracy surveyed. In the eyes of an overwhelming majority (88%), Korean democracy embodies no more than two of those properties. To three-fifths (60%), it represents a democratic system embodying none or only one of those properties. To a very small minority (3%), it is a democratic political system embodying more than three properties. In the eyes of the Korean people, therefore, their current democracy is nothing more than a low-quality liberal democracy, lacking most of the highly valued properties of liberal democracy. Beyond political freedom, it should be noted that Korea has failed to make significant progress toward liberal democracy.

### **Popular Demand for Liberal Democracy**

For years, Korea and Taiwan have been known as two of the most successful democratic transitions in the current wave of global democratization (Huntington, 1992; 1997). Why have these two new democracies failed to transform their respective electoral democracies into high-quality liberal democracies? One may be tempted to answer this question solely from the perspective of political leaders and institutions, which have failed to supply the valued properties of liberal democracy. After all, as we discussed above, political leaders and government agencies in Korea all-too-often engaged in illegal and corrupt practices and attempted to cover up those practices. According to the people, the leaders and agencies are neither accountable for their actions nor responsive to what their voters demand.

Taiwan's electorate is also very cynical toward similar conduct of elected leaders. A great majority of them saw widespread corruption at both national and local levels of government and considered their new democracy far from a responsive system. Undoubtedly, such undemocratic behavior by those who supply leadership in the democratic political marketplace has hindered progress in the two countries' march toward liberal democracy (Hu and Chu 1996). In both countries, the failure to become a high-quality liberal democracy, however, involves much more than an inadequate supply from political leaders and institutions. It also has a great deal to do with what the people demand from those leaders and institutions (Rose, Mishler and Haerpfer, 1998; Rose and Shin, 2001). As Amartya Sen (1999, 156) notes, "In a democracy, people tend to get what they demand, and more crucially, do not typically get what they do not demand." For a satisfactory account of the democratization in Korea and Taiwan, therefore, we need to consider the contours and dynamics of demand for liberal democracy from the mass public.

How strongly do the Korean and Taiwanese people demand the building of a liberal democracy in their countries? To find out, we consider whether and how much they prefer the liberal democratic method to the authoritarian one. We assume that a preference for the former indicates a demand for liberal democracy. So, how strongly do the Korean and Taiwanese people endorse the principles of liberal democracy over those of an authoritarian government? To address these questions, the EAB asked three pairs of questions in both countries, each of which deals with a different aspect of liberal democratic governance. One pair deals with the rule of law, one with the separation of powers and one with the values of political freedom and rights (Diamond, 1999, chap. 1; Zakaria, 2003, chap. 1).

In Korea, more than three-quarters (77%) expressed opposition to the arbitrary use of power by the government, disagreeing with the statement "When the country is facing a difficult

situation, it is all right for the government to disregard the law in order to deal with the situation.” An equally large majority (77%) also expressed opposition to the age-old illiberal practice of justifying illegal means by favorable ends. They disagreed with the statement “The most important thing for a political leader is to accomplish his goals even if he has to ignore the established procedure.” The results from Taiwan are strikingly similar. More than two thirds (68%) of Taiwanese respondents expressed disagreement to the first statement, and an overwhelming majority (86%) disagreed with the second statement. Considering these responses together reveals that in both countries a substantial majority (63% in Korea and 62% in Taiwan) of voters is fully committed to the liberal constitutionalism of a *Rechtsstaat*, a law-bound state (O’Donnell, 1996, 1999b).

By sharp contrast, in both countries a substantial majority (61% in Korea and 78% in Taiwan) is not fully committed to the liberal principle of separating executive and non-executive powers and maintaining checks and balances among those powers. In Korea, about two-thirds (69%) endorsed the separation of powers by disagreeing with the statement “When judges decide important cases, they should accept the view of the executive branch.” A significantly smaller majority (54%) endorsed legislative checks on the executive branch by disagreeing with the statement “If the government is constantly checked by the legislature, it cannot possibly accomplish great things.” Yet those who voiced liberal responses to both of these questions constitute less than two-fifths (38%) of the Korean electorate.

Taiwan’s data show a similar pattern but an even wider gap between the two measures. Many more Taiwanese people (70%) endorsed the principle of independent judiciary than the number of those who committed to the principle of parliamentary oversight. Only 30 percent of our Taiwanese respondents endorsed the idea of horizontal accountability by disagreeing with the

second statement. This dramatic contrast is consistent with the findings that Taiwan's citizens registered a depressingly low level of institutional trust in the parliament while upholding a moderate level of trust in the court.<sup>9</sup> Considering the two measures together, those who gave pro-liberal responses to both of these questions constitute less than a quarter (22%) of the Taiwanese electorate. Obviously in both countries many citizens who accept the liberal principle of constitutional rule, nevertheless, favor a powerful executive instead of separation of powers.

When it comes to popular commitment to liberal democratic values in terms of political freedom and respect for minority rights, about 52 percent of Taiwanese respondents report full commitment. In Korea, however, a much smaller minority of just one-quarter (25%) embraced these two liberal democratic values. In Korea, more than three-fifths (62%) endorsed political freedom, agreeing with the statement "A political leader should tolerate the views of those who challenge his political ideals." One-half (50%) embraced the value of minority rights, disagreeing with the statement "As long as a political leader enjoys majority support, he should implement his own agenda and disregard the view of the minority." Those who did not embrace both political freedom and minority rights constitute a large majority of three-quarters (75%). In Taiwan, about 81 percent of the people embraced the value of political freedom, while less than two-thirds (57%) are committed to minority rights. The Taiwanese who are not committed to both political freedom and minority rights constitute a substantial minority of 48 percent.

In both countries, the proportion of citizens who are fully in favor of liberal democratic governance varies considerably across the three dimensions of such that we included on the surveys. In Korea, a substantial majority of more than three-fifths (63%) fully favor rule by law. In sharp contrast, a minority of less than two-fifths (38%) favors limited government by

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<sup>9</sup> In the 2001 Taiwan EAB survey, when asked about how much trust they have in public institution, 68% of the respondents expressed that they have "not very much" or "not at all" in Parliament, while only 42% of them expressed distrust toward the court.

embracing both the principle of independent judiciary and the principle of checks and balances. An even smaller minority of one-quarter (25%) fully endorses the values of political freedom and minority rights.

In Taiwan, a substantial majority of more than three-fifths (62%) is fully in favor of rule by law. More than half (52%) fully endorses the values of political freedom and minority rights. In sharp contrast, a minority of less than one-quarter (22%) embraces both the principles of separation of power and checks and balances. It is evident that neither the Korean people nor the Taiwanese people have evenly internalized the important values and norms of liberal democracy. In Korea, beyond the realm of rule by law, they remain more uncommitted than committed to liberal democracy. In Taiwan, people are divided over the values of political freedom and minority rights while showing a dismally low level of commitment to separation of powers.

In Figure 2, we explore the overall commitment of the people to liberal democracy by counting their pro-liberal responses to the six separate questions discussed above for both countries. In Korea, those who voiced such responses to all six questions constitute less than one-tenth (9%). Three times as many (27%) expressed pro-liberal responses to five of the six questions. Thus, less than two-fifths (36%) are fully or nearly fully committed to liberal democracy. Slightly less than one-half (47%) is moderately committed to liberal democracy with pro-liberal responses to three or four of the six questions. Those who are completely uncommitted or barely committed to it, on the other hand, make up much less than one-fifth (16%). According to the mean score reported in Figure 2, the average Korean endorsed slightly less than four (3.9) out of six essential norms of liberal democracy, rejecting two of them.

Analysis of the Taiwanese EBA reveals a similar pattern of distribution. Among the Taiwanese electorate, people who gave pro-liberal responses to all six questions constitute slightly

more than one-tenth (11%). About a quarter of our respondents (26%) expressed pro-liberal responses to five of the six questions. Thus, in Taiwan the percentage of people who are fully or nearly fully committed to liberal democracy (36% to be exact) is almost identical to that of Korea. The percentage of Taiwanese citizens who are moderately committed to liberal democracy with pro-liberal responses to three or four of the six questions is also highly comparable with the Korean figure (50% versus 48%). In Taiwan, those who are completely uncommitted or barely committed to it, on the other hand, make up much less than one-sixth (13%). According to the mean score reported in Figure 2, the average Taiwanese endorsed exactly four (4.0) out of six essential norms of liberal democracy. On the basis of these findings, we can reasonably conclude that in both Korea and Taiwan liberal democracy is not in high or strong demand among a large majority of the citizens there. The insufficiency of such demand must be considered a powerful force working against liberal democratic development in the two new democracies.

(Figure 2 here)

### **Summary and Conclusions**

This study has proposed three sets of new ideas for a systematic assessment of the quality of democracy from the perspective of ordinary citizens and their daily experiences. The first set of these ideas focuses on the quality of a regime's democratic performance. The perceived democratic character of a regime and satisfaction among the mass citizenry regarding its performance as a democracy can tell us what level of quality this democracy has attained. A high-quality democracy features high levels of citizen experience in and satisfaction with democratic rule, while a low-quality democracy features low levels of such democratic experience and performance satisfaction. Mixed levels of such experience and satisfaction, on the other hand, engender a medium-quality of democracy.

The second set of ideas deals with how well or poorly a regime performs as an electoral democracy. We seek to weigh the sense among adult citizens that the conduct of the presidential elections is fair and their outcomes are acceptable in order to appraise the quality of Korea's electoral democracy. A regime becomes an electoral democracy of high quality when voters for losing candidates agree with voters for the winning candidate that the election was conducted fairly and its outcome is satisfactory. When such opposing camps of the electorate express agreement about an unfair and unsatisfactory election, that regime is unmasked as an electoral democracy of low quality. In other situations, it becomes merely a medium-quality electoral democracy.

The third, final set of ideas focuses on the question of how well a democratic regime performs as a liberal democracy. The essential properties of a liberal democracy are its political freedom, citizen equality, accountability of popularly elected leaders to the electorate, the rule of law, and responsiveness of political leaders and governmental officials to the mass citizenry. We propose that a democracy becomes a high-quality liberal democracy when ordinary citizens experience all of these properties. A liberal democracy of medium quality is one in which the people experience most of them. When they experience fewer than most of these five properties, we regard the regime as a liberal democracy of low quality.

We have tested these three sets of new ideas with the first wave of the EAB survey conducted in Korea and Taiwan. Analysis of this survey reveals that the perceived quality of democracy is a multi-dimensional subjective phenomenon. Moreover, collective perceptions of quality vary a great deal from one dimension to another dimension and from one domain to another domain even within the same dimension. We found that the quality of a democratic regime, especially as a liberal democracy, depends on both a popular demand for and an elite

supply of these essential properties. That balance of high supply and high demand may constitute the most intractable task of democratization. Our ideas and findings with respect to the contours and dynamics of experiencing democratic regime quality should be subjected to further scrutiny by comparisons with findings from the mass publics of new democracies in other regions.

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## Appendix A

### Survey Questions

Legend:

- KEAB: Korean 2003 East Asia Barometer Survey
- TEAB: Taiwan's 2001 East Asia Barometer Survey
- TPE01: Taiwan's 2001 Post-(Parliamentary) Election Survey
- TPE00: Taiwan's 2000 Post-(Presidential) Election Survey
- TPE96: Taiwan's 1996 Post-(Presidential) Election Survey

#### I. The General Quality of Democracy

- Q27-2) Here is a scale: 1 means complete dictatorship and 10 means complete democracy. Where would you place our country under present government?  
[KEAB, TEAB]
- Q26) On the whole, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way democracy works in our country? Are you:
1. Very satisfied
  2. Fairly satisfied
  3. Not very satisfied
  4. Not at all satisfied
- [KEAB, TEAB]
- Q52) Under the Kim Dae Jung presidency, do you think our country has been governed, by and large, in accordance with the will of ordinary people or ruled by a powerful few?
1. In accordance with the will of the people
  2. By a few powerful few
- [KEAB]
- Q53) Do you think the Kim Dae Jung government has worked for the entire country or some of its regions or classes?
1. For the entire country
  2. Some regions or classes
- [KEAB]
- F01) Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "While political figures always talked about fighting for the welfare of the people, all they did is advancing their personal interests"  
[TPE01]

F03) Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: “The great majority of our elected representatives do not know what the people really need.”  
[TPE01]

## II. The Quality of Electoral Democracy

Q16-5) To what extent do you think the presidential election held in [month, year] was fair?

1. Very fair
  2. Somewhat fair
  3. Not much fair
  4. Not fair at all
- [KEAB, TPE01, TPE96]

Q16-6) To what extent are you satisfied with the outcome of the December election?

1. Very satisfied
  2. Fairly satisfied
  3. Not much satisfied
  4. Not at all satisfied
- [KEAB, TPE96]

E07) Are you more optimistic or pessimistic about the future of Taiwan after the presidential election?

1. Far more pessimistic
  2. More pessimistic
  3. Unchanged
  4. More optimistic
  5. Far more optimistic
- [TPE01, TPE96]

## III. The Quality of Liberal Democracy

### A. Freedom

Q45) To what extent do you think people like you are free to express their political opinion?”

1. Very free
2. Somewhat free
3. Not much free

4. Not at all free  
[KEAB]

Q48) To what extent do you think people like you are free to join the group they would like to join?

1. Very free
2. Somewhat free
3. Not much free
4. Not at all free  
[KEAB]

### **B. Equality**

Q47) How fairly or unfairly do you think laws are enforced on someone like yourself these days?

1. Very fairly
2. Somewhat fairly
3. Not much fairly
4. Not at all fairly  
[KEAB]

Q58) To what extent do you think the Kim Dae Jung government has been regionally biased in treating people?

1. Very much
2. Somewhat
3. Not much
4. Not at all  
[KEAB]

### **C. The Rule of Law**

Q59-1) To what extent do you think the President's Office is law-abiding?

1. Very much
2. Somewhat
3. Not much
4. Not at all  
[KEAB]

Q59-2) To what extent do you think the National Assembly is law-abiding?

1. Very much
2. Somewhat
3. Not much

4. Not at all  
[KEAB]

Q114) How widespread do you think corruption and bribe-taking are in your local/municipal government?

1. Almost everyone is corrupt
2. Most officials are corrupt
3. Not a lot of officials are corrupt
4. Hardly anyone is involved  
[KEAB TEAB]

Q115) How often do you feel the Kim Dae Jung government has covered up the involvement of its ruling party officials in illegal activities and corrupt practices?

1. Almost everyone is corrupt
2. Most officials are corrupt
3. Not a lot of officials are corrupt
5. Hardly anyone is involved  
[KEAB TEAB]

#### **D. Accountability**

Q56) How often do you feel the Kim Dae Jung government has covered up the involvement of its ruling party officials in illegal activities and corrupt practices?

6. Always
7. Often
8. Occasionally
9. Never  
[KEAB]

Q57) To what extent do you think the Kim Dae Jung government has followed the public to see what its various agencies have been doing for the past five years?

1. Quite a lot
2. Somewhat
3. A little
4. Not at all  
[KEAB]

#### **E. Responsiveness**

Q38-4) How do you feel about the statement: "The nation is run by a powerful few and ordinary citizens cannot do much about it"? Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?

[KEAB, TEAB]

Q38-5) How do you feel about the statement: “People like me don’t have any influence over what the government does”? Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?

[KEAB, TEAB]

#### **IV. Support for Liberal Democratic Rule**

Please tell me how you feel about each of the following statements? Do you Strongly Agree, Somewhat Agree, Somewhat Disagree, or Strongly Disagree?

##### **A. The Rule of Law**

Q38-1) “When the country is facing a difficult situation, it is ok for the government to disregard the law in order to deal with the situation.”

[KEAB TEAB]

Q40-1) “The most important thing for a political leader is to accomplish his goals even if he has to ignore the established procedure.”

[KEAB TEAB]

##### **B. Limited Government**

Q38-12) “When judges decide important cases, they should accept the view of the executive branch.”

[KEAB TEAB]

Q38-13) “If the government is constantly checked by the legislature, it cannot possibly accomplish great things.”

[KEAB TEAB]

##### **C. Political Freedom and Equal Rights**

Q40-3) “A political leader should tolerate the views of those who challenge his political ideals.”

[KEAB TEAB]

Q40-4) “As long as a political leaders enjoys majority support, he should implement his own agenda and disregard the view of the minority.”

[KEAB TEAB]

**Table 1 Authoritarian and Democratic Perceptions of the Current Regime**

Regime types	Korea	Taiwan
Hard authoritarianism	0.5%	1.5%
Soft authoritarianism	17.8	14.7
Limited democracy	79.5	61.3
Advanced democracy	2.3	22.4
<i>(Mean on 10-point scale)</i>	<i>(6.5)</i>	<i>(7.3)</i>
(N)	(1,500)	(1,415)

Sources: The 2003 EAB survey conducted in Korea and the 2001 EAB survey conducted in Taiwan.

**Table 2 Levels of Satisfaction and Dissatisfaction with the Performance of the Current Regime as a Democracy**

Assessments	Korea	Taiwan
Very satisfied	1.3%	4.1%
Somewhat satisfied	60.1	42.0
Somewhat dissatisfied	36.3	39.9
Very dissatisfied	1.6	5.1
NA	0.7	8.9
(N)	(1,500)	(1415)

Sources: The East Asia Barometer surveys conducted in Korea (2003) and in Taiwan (2001).

**Table 3a**  
**Patterns of Experiencing Democratic Regime Quality among the Korean People**

		Degree of Democracy			Total
		None	Some	Substantial	
Citizen Satisfaction	None	10.5%	27.2%	0.5%	38.2%
	Some	7.8	51.0	1.7	60.5
	Substantial	---	1.3	0.1	1.3
(Total)		(18.3)	(79.5)	(2.3)	(100.0)

Source: 2003 East Asia Barometer survey conducted in Korea.

**Table 3b**  
**Patterns of Experiencing Democratic Regime Quality among the Taiwanese People**

		Degree of Democracy			Total
		None	Some	Large	
Citizen Satisfaction	None	11.5%	28.7%	9.8%	50.0%
	Some	4.2	30.7	10.5	45.4
	Substantial	0.1	2.1	2.4	4.6
(Total)		(15.8)	(61.5)	(22.7)	(100.0)

Source: 2001 East Asia Barometer survey conducted in Taiwan.

**Table 4a**  
**Positive Assessments of the 2002 Korean presidential Election**  
**by Non-voters and Voters**

Respondent categories	Assessment Criteria		(N)
	Fairness	Satisfaction	
Non-voters	83.4%	80.8%	(229)
Winning voters	93.2	95.8	(663)
Losing voters	70.3	64.2	(572)
(Total)	(85.9)	(81.1)	(1,464)

Source: 2003 East Asia Barometer survey conducted in Korea.

**Table 4b**  
**Positive Assessments of the 2000 Taiwanese presidential Election**  
**by Non-voters and Voters**

Respondent categories	Assessment Criteria		(N)
	Fairness	Optimism *	
Non-voters	78.8%	80.3%	(66)
Winning voters	85.9	91.9	(433)
Losing voters	76.8	67.0	(557)
(Total)	(80.7)	(78.0)	(1,056)

Source: 2000 Presidential Election survey conducted in Taiwan.

\* We recoded “very optimistic,” “optimistic,” and “no change” into positive evaluation.

**Table 4c**  
**Positive Assessments of the 1996 Taiwanese presidential Election**  
**by Non-voters and Voters**

Respondent categories	Assessment		Criteria	(N)
	Fairness	Satisfaction	Optimism	
Non-voters	85.0%	82.5%	96.3%	(80)
Winning voters	93.2	97.9	97.4	(606)
Losing voters	61.9	60.1	90.9	(331)
(Total)	(82.4)	(84.4)	(95.2)	(1,017)

Source: 1996 Presidential Election survey conducted in Taiwan.

**Table 5a**  
**Patterns of Overall Assessments of Korea's 2002 Presidential Election by Non-voters and Voters**

Scope of positive assessments	Categories of Respondents			(Total)
	Non-voters	Winning voters	Losing voters	
Little	12.7%	9.3%	16.6%	9.7%
Partial	10.5	5.6	24.3	13.7
Full	76.9	91.7	59.1	76.6
(Total)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)

Source: 2003 East Asia Barometer survey conducted in Korea.

**Table 5b**  
**Patterns of Overall Assessments of Taiwan's 2000 Presidential Election by Non-voters and Voters**

Scope of positive assessments	Categories of Respondents			(Total)
	Non-voters	Winning voters	Losing voters	
Little	6.1%	.9%	11.7%	6.9%
Partial	28.8	20.3	32.9	27.5
Full	65.2	78.8	55.5	65.6
(Total)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)

Source: 2000 Presidential post-election survey conducted in Taiwan.

**Table 6 Indexes Measuring the Specific Qualities of Liberal Democracy in Korea**

Qualities	Index Values (%)								Dif <sup>*</sup>	Mean	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	<4			>4
Freedom	0.4	0.6	8.2	16.9	46.7	17.5	9.7	9.2	73.8	+64.6	(4.0)
Equality	3.0	11.5	36.4	35.6	11.3	2.0	0.3	50.9	13.6	-37.8	(2.5)
Rule by Law	6.3	18.9	29.3	33.1	9.8	2.4	0.3	54.5	12.5	-42.0	(2.3)
Accountability	4.9	6.6	28.7	41.8	14.5	2.7	0.7	40.2	17.9	-22.3	(2.7)
Responsiveness	5.0	10.3	29.8	27.5	13.6	11.7	2.1	45.1	27.4	-17.7	(2.8)

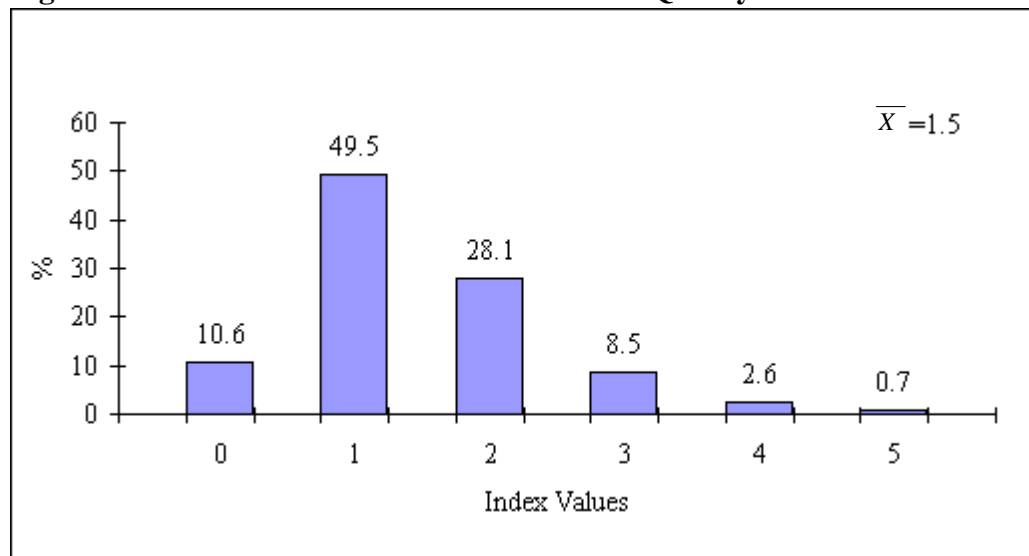
Note: \* difference refers to the percentage difference between those scoring higher than the scale midpoint of 4 and those scoring lower than it.

Source: 2003 East Asia Barometer survey conducted in Korea.

**Table 7 Patterns of Experiencing Political Freedom and Equality Among the Korean People**

		Political Freedom		Total
		No	Yes	
Political Equality	No	22.9%	63.5%	86.4%
	Yes	3.2	10.4	13.6
(Total)		(26.1)	(73.9)	(100.0)

Source: 2003 East Asia Barometer survey conducted in Korea.

**Figure 1 Overall Levels of Liberal Democratic Quality**

**Figure 2: Levels of Support for Liberal Democracy in Korea and Taiwan**

