



A Comparative Survey of

*DEMOCRACY, GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT*

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



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# Asian Barometer

## A Comparative Survey of Democracy, Governance and Development

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

Doh Chull Shin  
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“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 highlights the dimensions that are most important to the quality of democracy in Korea and Taiwan and identify the cultural and institutional sources for their underperforming democracies.

### **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; Morlino, 2003; 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. 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. 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](http://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 they lack most? 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? 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 Gulilermo 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 (Morlino 2003).

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. Most of these questions or their functionally equivalent items were also found in recent 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 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>

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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 three earlier surveys, the post-presidential election survey of 1996, the post-presidential election survey of 2000, and the Taiwan Election and Democratization Survey (TEDS) of 2003. The first two surveys were carried out by the National Taiwan University electoral studies team led by Profs. Fu Hu and Yun-han Chu and sponsored by the National Science Council. The last one was conducted under the auspices of the TEDS Committee of the Center for Social Science of the National Science Council.

<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.

### **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? 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. 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 (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. Our data shows 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.

Taiwan's citizens gave their current regime a slightly more favorable rating. More than one out of five (22%) citizens on the island 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 the 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 (Chu and Diamond 2000).

(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 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 two 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 more recent presidential elections 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

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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).

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 the people, electoral democracies in both Korea and Taiwan are the ones of high quality rather than of low or medium quality.<sup>6</sup>

(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.

#### **Political Freedom**

Both Korea and Taiwan has made giant stride in the safeguard of political freedom since the two embarked on democratic transition in late 1980s. However, the persistence of some residual elements of the authoritarian era continues to qualify their "complete free" status. Korea has been recognized as a "free" nation since 1988 by the Freedom House and Taiwan achieved that status in 1996 after its first popular election for the president. However, for both countries their political rights scores in 2003 are 2, which means that much like Turkey and Mexico complete political rights have not yet fully established. Also, neither Taiwan nor Korea scores very high on the press freedom rankings of Freedom House. In its latest 2004 Freedom of the Press

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<sup>6</sup> The face-to-face survey data for Taiwan's most recent presidential election is not yet available. However, most of the polls conducted by news organization show that popular evaluation of the quality of electoral democracy dropped considerably after the March 20, 2004 election, the outcomes of which were still contested by the opposition and contingent on two on-going legal battles. The bizarre shooting event taking place on the eve of the election also becomes a source of fierce partisan dispute over the legitimacy of the election.

Survey, Taiwan receives a score of 23 and Korea 29, indicating some deficiency in this important political freedom domain.<sup>8</sup>

Freedoms of the press and of expression in South Korea are generally respected, although provisions in the National Security Law are sometimes used to restrict the propagation of ideas that authorities consider Communist or pro-North Korean. In recent years, several journalists have been prosecuted under criminal libel laws for critical or aggressive reporting (Freedom House 2004: 169-170). All leading newspaper are controlled by or associated with substantial business interests, and some journalists are also susceptible to bribery. In Korea, two of the three television networks, KBS and MBC, are publicly owned (Koh, 2003). Because the government has maintained strong influence in the appointment of presidents of those television networks, the neutrality and independence of them are still controversial (Hwang, 1998: 277).

In Taiwan, the press in general enjoys a much higher degree of freedom than most its Asian neighbors. Formal censorship was the things of the past. The media sector is fiercely competitive especially since the late 1990s with the mushrooming of cable television news service, which substantially reduces the viewership of the government-controlled three network televisions. Many media watchers had high hope for the eventual removing governmental control over electronic media after the historical power rotation because part of Chen Shui-bian's campaign pledge was to turn the TTV and CTS into public TV stations. To their disappointment, this campaign pledge bounced. People with controversial partisan background were appointed to head these government-controlled media. Moreover, the DPP government introduced some subtle mechanisms to muffle critical media through a gingerly allocation of government-controlled advertisement budget and the provision of soft loan through government-controlled banks.

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<sup>8</sup> In Freedom of the Press rankings the scores from 0 to 30 denote "free"; others rankings "partly free" (31-60) and "not free" (61-100)." [www.freedomhouse.org](http://www.freedomhouse.org).

In both countries, during the authoritarian years the presence of an elaborate and ubiquitous security apparatus posed the most serious threat to political freedom. During Taiwan's democratization, some elements in the abolished Temporary Articles, the hallmark of the old authoritarian rule, including the emergency powers of the president and the creation of National Security Agency under the presidential office, were transplanted into the new system. As a result, Taiwan's elaborate intelligence and security apparatus preserves much of its coveted status and prerogatives. Its operation remains opaque to members of the parliament. Both Lee Teng-hui and Chen Shui-bian, when they came to the offices, decided to retain top officials of the intelligence and security apparatus to smoothen the power transition. While these decisions may be politically savvy, they blocked off the possibility for a probing into the security apparatus's past indulgence in unlawful actions against the dissident and illegal surveillance on political figures and opposition parties (Chu 2001). More disappointing is the sign that Chen Shui-bian seemingly did not stop the security apparatus, in particular the National Security Agency and the Investigation Bureau, from continuing its practice of unlawful political surveillance.

After Korea's democratization, the power of the National Intelligence Service, which, under authoritarian regimes, had been a major state apparatus of surveillance and investigation of opposition parties, was much curtailed and the agency was kept out of domestic politics. In addition, the National Human Rights Commission Act was legislated in 2001 to monitor human rights issues. Furthermore, human rights activists, such as Ko Young Koo and Kang Kum Sil, were appointed to important government positions as in the Director of the National Intelligence Service and the Minister of Justice, respectively. However, Amnesty International reports that Korea still maintains the National Security Law that allows arbitrary restriction of political rights such as freedom of expression and association.

In both countries, democratization brought about a loosening up the government's control over the organized sector of the civil society. The Korean Federation of Trade Unions and the Korean Teachers Union obtained legal status in 1999. However, some mass organizations are not allowed or are restricted in their political activities. *Han Chong Ryun*, the largest university student association is not allowed because of its anti-systemic program; *Chun Kong Ro*, a nationwide trade union of low-ranking civil servants, is suppressed, and its political activities are forbidden by law (Mingahyup, 2004). Discrimination against women and foreign workers still exists, and that many trade unionists were harassed and arrested for strikes and demonstrations they organized against the government's economic policies (*Amnesty International Annual Report 2004*).<sup>9</sup>

In Taiwan, democratization triggered a melt-down the existing corporatist arrangements, which had chained many organized sector to the state as well as the ruling party. Even before the 2000 historical power rotation, the KMT had lost the control of some of the state-sanctioned peak organizations. After the power rotation, the Labor Union Law was amended and the provision for singular representation was removed. Since then, the Taiwan Confederation of Trade Unions, the organizational fixture of independent labor movement, was recognized as a legal organization legal status. The re-election of the leadership of the Chinese National Federation of Industry in July 2000 also spelt the end of KMT's stranglehold over peak business organizations. However, given the dependency of most trade associations on government's subsidy, the state bureaucracy still retains considerable influence over the organized sector of the civil society.

How much freedom do ordinary people in Korea and Taiwan experience when they want to talk about politics, form groups or associations for their personal or communal interests, and/or take

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<sup>9</sup> As Seol and Han (2004) have argued, most foreign migrant workers who moved to Korea through the "side-door" are not protected from human rights violations due to their illegal and unstable visa status.

part in demonstration and protest? Answers to these questions reveal the extent to which the citizens in the two countries live in freedom from the state.

On freedom of expression, the Korean 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”, suggesting that a large majority (81%) feels free to express political views. On the freedom of 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.

In Taiwan’s TEDS 2003 survey, respondents were asked if they agree or disagree with the following statement: “Nowadays everyone can freely criticize the government without worrying getting oneself into troubles.” Only 5.7% of respondents answered “strongly agree”, while 51.2% replied “agree”. On the other, there are about one third of the respondents worrying that criticizing the government might get oneself into troubles. On freedom of assembly, the TEDS survey asked the respondents if they agree or disagree “Nowadays everyone can freely take part in protest and demonstration without worrying getting oneself into troubles.” The portion of Taiwanese citizens who feel free to take part in protest and demonstrate is depressingly low. Only 3.3% of respondents answered “strongly agree” and 40.0% “agree”. There are just as many people worrying that doing so might get oneself into troubles.

To measure the overall level of political freedom experienced by the people, in each country we combined responses to the two available 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 for the Korean case and Table 7 does the same for Taiwan. According to the mean, the average person in Korea experiences 5, a score only 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. In Taiwan, the mean is 4.2, a score barely above the midpoint. Also, very few people scored above 6. From these findings, it is apparent that both the Korean and Taiwanese people think of themselves as belonging to a partially free nation. A full sense of freedom has yet to form within these people. Two possible reasons might explain why more people in Taiwan feel that the system is not free. First, Taiwan's one-party dominance persisted much longer after the founding election. Second, the increased polarization among the populace over the national identity issue has made people much less tolerant toward others holding opposing political views. As a result, more people experience a frenzy and intimidating political atmosphere.

(Tables 6 and 7 here)

### **Political Equality**

In Korea and Taiwan, in some important aspects political equality remains an unfulfilled promise of the new democracy. The foul play by the ruling party often times denies the opposition of a level playing field, including equal access to the mass media. Political discrimination against people with particular regional or sub-ethnic background has been a perennial issue in both countries and remains a serious issue. Gender inequality in politics has its roots in East Asian soil and the room for improvement remains vast.

As Morlino (2003) indicates, the enforcement of law has the potential to be used as a political weapon against political adversaries and opposition parties (p. 4). In Taiwan, politically-motivated selective prosecution and tax auditing has always been wielded by the ruling party as a

potent political weapon to intimidate and harass recalcitrant business groups, hostile media, and political enemies. Also, prevalence of corruption within the judicial system exacerbates the problem of unfair enforcement of the law.

In Korea, the legal condition that allows the government to monopolize the power to prosecute and the existence of highly politicized prosecutors exacerbate unfair law enforcement. Ruling parties exploit this situation and threaten opposition parties by prosecuting specifically targeted corrupt members of parliaments (MPs). The partial and uneven law enforcement is deeply rooted in the limited autonomy of the Prosecutors' Office from the influence of ruling parties and presidents and the collusion between politicians and conglomerates in Korea.

The recent disclosure of conglomerates' illegal financial support, totaling more than \$80 million, for two presidential candidates of two major parties (including the ruling *Uri* Party and the largest opposition party, the Grand National Party [GNP]), shows the limits of law enforcement in Korea. The investigation of suspects, including supporters of President Roh Moo Hyun, shows progress in equal law enforcement. The investigation, however, focused excessively on the GNP's acceptance of bribes, and two major candidates, the ultimate beneficiaries, and most owners of conglomerates including Samsung, who were suspected but not prosecuted.<sup>10</sup>

Historically, the discrimination based on people's regional or subethnic origin constituted the most serious impediment to political equality. In Korea, people from Honam region were under-represented in the nation's elite structure, which was dominated by people of the Youngnam region origin. In Taiwan, the native Taiwanese were long denied full access to national politics which had been monopolized by mainlander elite. Democratization opens up the possibility to

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<sup>10</sup> For the corruption scandal, a total of 13 MPs and two conglomerate entrepreneurs were imprisoned (Moonhwa Ilbo, May 21; Hankyurae Shinmoon, April 12, 2004)

redress these past injustice and grievance. It also opens up the possibility of reversed discrimination against the former dominant groups.

In Korea, political parties based on regional loyalty brought about strong discriminations in the appointment of high-ranking civil servants. Jung (2001) evidences that Youngnam region was extremely over-represented in the allocation of politically appointed civil servants under authoritarian regimes, whereas Honam region, the main political base of Kim Dae Jung, one of the most powerful opposition leaders, was significantly underrepresented.<sup>11</sup>

Recent government reports about the regional distribution of 120 high-ranking civil servants in the last few decades (Republic of Korea Civil Service Commission, 2003) also confirms the presence of strong regional discrimination. Under the Chun Du Hwan government, personnel from the Youngnam region possessed 41.0% of those positions, whereas personnel from Honam occupied only 13.9% of them. Even after the democratization of the country, the regional discrimination was not reduced. Under the governments of Roh Tae Woo and of Kim Young Sam, the figures decreased to 10.0% and 11.0%, respectively. The strong discrimination of Honam personnel did not change until Kim Dae Jung won the 1997 presidential election. Under the DJ government the portion of Youngnam personnel decreased to 35%, whereas that of Honam personnel rapidly increased to 28.9%. Under Roh Moo Hyun's government, Youngnam personnel in the highest government positions decreased to 32%, whereas that of Honam personnel increased to 29.1%. These changes show an improvement in balancing the regional allocation of high-ranking personnel in the government. However, it should be also emphasized that rapid increases in the number of high-ranking civil servants from the Honam region intensify the public suspicion

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<sup>11</sup> Jung (2001) calculates the representativeness of each region by subtracting the percentage of politically appointed civil servants from the percentage of the regional population. His analysis shows that Honam, the hometown of Kim Dae Jung, was under-represented with a score of -11, whereas Youngnam, the hometown of Kim Young Sam, was over-represented with a score of 16 during Kim Young Sam's incumbency (1993-1998). However, Honam was over-represented with a score of 2, whereas Youngnam was underrepresented with a score of -4 during Kim Dae Jung's incumbency (1998-2003).

that the Honam region was becoming overly represented after the inauguration of ex-president Kim Dae Jung (Son, 1998: 236).

In Taiwan, democratization is intrinsically entangled with the issue of power redistribution from the mainlander elite to native Taiwanese, whose rights of political participation and access to political power was systematically discriminated against under the long-time rule of the mainlander-dominated KMT. Toward the end of Chiang Ching-kuo's tenure, he adopted a policy of indigenization to salvage the dwindling legitimacy of the KMT and this policy culminated in his decision to nominate Lee Teng-hui, a native Taiwanese, as his official successor in 1984. After the passing of Chiang, both the pace of democratization and indigenization quickened. During his 11-year tenure, Lee brought an end to mainlander's dominance in national politics. KMT old-timers were pushed out the power center and substantially marginalized. For instance, in 1988, native Taiwanese accounted for only about 34.4% of the 180-member Central Committee of the KMT (Huang 1996) and only 25% of the 316-member Legislative Yuan, which was long dominated by life-long mainlander MPs. By the end of Lee's tenure, the native Taiwanese accounted for about two third of the KMT Central Committee. Furthermore, after the first full re-election of the LY in 1992, the MPs of Taiwanese native background dramatically surged to 84.5% as all the life-long members were forced to retire. Thus, toward the end of the Lee's tenure, the leadership stratum of the KMT and the state bureaucracy were thoroughly indigenized in both personnel and ideological terms, although mainlanders, who accounts for about 15% of the population, are proportionally speaking still over-represented in the civil service and the professional military corps.

The DPP, which came to power in 2000, built up its electoral support on highlighting the shared sense of suffering and deprivation among the native Taiwanese. Its leadership stratum is overwhelming dominated by Fujianese-speaking native Taiwanese, which constitutes about 70%

of the population. As a result, the Hakka-speaking native Taiwanese, which constitutes about 12% of the population, the mainlanders, as well as the aboriginal become more sensitive about their minority status and worry about a reversed discrimination under the DPP rule.

Another source of political inequality has its roots in the socio-cultural structure of the two societies. Both Taiwan and Korea inherited cultural legacy that sanctioned a male-dominant social hierarchy. Even though in both countries women were fully franchised from the very beginning, the participation of women in politics is pretty much a recent phenomenon. The average percentage of women MPs before Korea's democratization in 1988 was only 2.2 %. Even after its democratization, the figure was below 3% in two consecutive legislative elections. In the 1988 legislative election, women MPs (six members) accounted for only 2% of the total. Then the figure marginally increased to 2.7% in the 1992, 4.0% in 1996, and 5.9% in 2000. As Kim (2001) points out, this shows that equal political representation of women is only a "rhetoric of rights," even though legal discrimination of women has been almost eradicated (p. 230).

The low ratio of women as high-ranking civil servants also shows the limited political representation of women. The number of women civil servants above the fifth level increases by 3.5% between 1998 and 2003 (Republic of Korea Civil Service Commission, 2004). Still, the portion of women working as high-ranking civil servants was only 6.4% in 2003. Furthermore, most of them are allocated in a very few departments, such as Ministry of Women Equality (61.2%), The Commission of Youth Protection (31.6%), National Police Agency (29.1%), Food and Drug Administration (27.5%), and Health and Social Security Department (27.0%).<sup>12</sup>

In the recent national legislative election of 2004, the size of women MPs remarkably increased 13% of the total number of MPs.<sup>13</sup> This figure is even higher than 12.5% of the number

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<sup>12</sup> Figures in parentheses are the portion of female high-ranking civil servants in each government institution.

<sup>13</sup> Jungang Ilbo. 2004 April 27.

of legislators in United States (Kim et al. 2001). Furthermore, the Korean government claims that it will increase the rate of women high-ranking civil servants to 10% (Republic of Korea Civil Service Commission. 2004). However, the level of political representation of women in Korea is still far from that of some Western democracies such as Canada, Great Britain, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, even though the ratio of women high-ranking civil servants is increasing, it is still unclear whether politically important positions will be open to women.

The level of women participation in politics in Taiwan has been consistently higher than Korea. The share of female MPs was 13.6% in 1994 and it has steadily increased to 22.2% in the December 2001 parliamentary election. In addition, by 2001, women accounted for 16.7% of senior ranking civil servants and 43.2% of middle ranking bureaucrats (Chang 2003). One of the reasons that Taiwan has achieved higher level of women's participation in politics is the introduction of various legal schemes for affirmative action. For example, there is legal quota for minimum ratio of female members at national and local representative bodies.

From the viewpoint of ordinary citizens, the concept of political equality often means whether they are treated equally by the government and before the law. The Korean 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, about three-fifths (52%) said they had been treated "not much fairly" (52%) or "not at all fairly" (7%). People who replied "very fairly" constituted only 2 percent of the entire sample. The same survey also 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.

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<sup>14</sup> For example, the rate of Swedish women representatives is 42.7% of the total MPs in 2000 (Kim et al. 2001).

A similar, but not identical, pair of questions were asked in Taiwan's 2003 TEDS survey. First, when they were asked "How likely do you think common people can get a fair treatment when they deal with government agencies?", 43% of the respondents answered "Somewhat unlikely" and 11% of them "very unlikely". Next, when they were asked "How likely do you think common people can get a fair trial from the court when they are involved in litigation?", considerably more respondents (48.3%) gave unfavorable answer than favorable one (35.4%).

Similar to what we did before, a 7-point index was constructed by combining the two items. For Korea, the combined ratings average 3.5, a score below the midpoint of the scale (see Table 6). For Taiwan, the mean score is 3.6 (see Table 7). The two numbers indicate that among the ordinary citizens political inequality is much more commonly perceived than political equality in both countries. Such common perceptions of political inequality contrast sharply with those of political freedom. 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.

### **The Rule of Law**

Both Korea and Taiwan are comparatively speaking in a more advantageous position than most third-wave democracies as both had acquired a modern, legal-rational, competent bureaucracy before they were democratized. Thus the two democracies from the start of regime transition have achieved the minimum requirement for establishing the rule of law. Instead, a major hurdle for fulfilling the basic requirement of the rule of law is how to establish civilian control over the military, a daunting challenge for both countries. Korea's new democracy has to clean up a legacy of direct military intervention into politics and civil affairs and the entrenched factionalism within the officer corps. A genuine civilian control was not achieved until the Kim Young Sam government sworn in (Park 1999). On the eve of Taiwan's democratic transition in 1986, the military played an active role in domestic politics and enjoyed considerable prerogatives

by virtue of its role implementing martial law. During the 1990s, the armed forces have largely withdrawn from the domestic political sphere, as active military officers no longer serve in the civilian government, the military no longer oversees internal security, and the organizational links between the military and the Kuomintang has been steadily dissolved. The passage of the National Defense Law in 2000 and the growing oversight role of the Legislative Yuan have strengthened the institutions of democratic control (Fravel 2002). The military was forced to eliminate its remaining ties with the KMT after the historical power rotation in 2000.

In Taiwan, a unique hurdle to the rule of law is the slow growth of constitutionalism. The credibility, legitimacy and integrity of the existing constitutional order have been under severe strain. In the past, the KMT-initiated constitutional changes carried too many elements of unilateral imposition as well as short-term partisan calculation to give the new democratic institutions the kind of broadly based legitimacy that a constitution in a consolidated democracy normally enjoys. There is an intense lack of consensus over both the nature and logic of the emerging constitutional order among the contending political forces.<sup>15</sup> During democratization, the opposition challenged the legitimacy of the existing constitutional order in a fundamental way. The DPP had long avowed to abolish the existing constitution, which was viewed as a quintessential legal embodiment of the One-China principle since the current constitution was originally adopted in 1947 when the Nationalist government still exercised effective governance over most of China. Instead, the DPP has persistently favored the adoption of a new constitution as a manifestation of the general will of the Taiwanese people.

Another major hurdle for fulfilling the basic requirements of the rule of law is to develop an independent judicial system. In both countries, allegation of politically motivated “selective

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<sup>15</sup> For the controversies over constitutional design, see Yun-han Chu, “Consolidating Democracy in Taiwan: From *Guoshi* to *Guofa* Conference” in Hung-mao Tien and Steve Yui-sang Tsang eds. *Democratization in Taiwan: Implications for China*. (New York: St. Martins Press, 1998).

prosecution” against recalcitrant business groups, hostile media, and political enemies, abounds. Also, prevalence of corruption within the judicial system continues to erode popular confidence in the impartiality of the court.

In both countries, an even more serious corrosive factor is the widespread of corruption among politicians, senior government officials as well as rank-and-file civil servants at both national and local levels. The Korean EAB survey used a pair questions concerning the extent of corrupt practices by local and national government officials. 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.

It is interesting to compare answers to the two questions about the extent of corruption among those officials, which were also 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 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 even more seriously than did the citizens of Korea.

In both countries, one of structural sources of widespread corruption is related to the high expenses of electoral campaign. Elected politicians are constantly looking for opportunity to replenish their campaign coffer. In Korea, MPs are easily seduced to be involved in corrupt schemes or become dependent on the financial support from top leaders who systemically collect and distribute “dirty money” to their members (Jung, 1998: 137). In Taiwan, elected representatives feel compelled to find ways to “pay back” the local factions and fat-cat donors that sponsored their political career.

In both countries, there are recurring scandals involving collusions between big business and elected politicians. 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). In Taiwan, it is a no secret that in every presidential election millions of dollars were handed over from big business donors to candidates.

Widespread corruption is intimately linked to the practice of breaking the rules and ignoring the legal procedures among high-ranking officials. In Korea, under the “emperor-like” presidential system, the legal decision-making procedure for governmental policy has been ignored frequently. As the case of financial support for North Korea under the DJ government shows, presidents has often resort to illegal methods to achieve their policy goals, especially in the area of national security. Furthermore, the abuse of presidential power often led to corruption scandals that involved presidents’ relatives. It is well known that both Kim Young Sam and Kim

Dae Jung had to see their sons' imprisonment in their incumbency. In Taiwan, one of President Lee Teng-hui's closest aids was charged with a series of criminal offenses as he was allegedly soliciting kickbacks for arranging soft loans from state-controlled banks. The wife of President Chen Shui-bian was also recently implicated in insider trading.

To find out the popular perception about the extent to which laws are observed in the policymaking process, a pair of questions was selected from the Korean 2003 EAB survey, which asked a set of eight questions about the rule of law. The first question 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 less than 1 percent (0.3 percent; four out of 1,500 respondents) rated both institutions as fully law-abiding.

In Taiwan, a similar (but not identical) pair of question was used in the 2003 TEDS survey. When asked if they agree or disagree that "Generally speaking, the officials of the national government are abiding by the law and free of doing things illegal," only 1.3% of the respondents answered "strongly agree" and 30% answered "agree". When asked if they agree or disagree that "Nowadays politicians will do anything to grab power and positions," only 0.9% of the respondents "strongly disagreed" and 9% of them "disagreed". It shows that a great majority gave a very low rating on conformity to the rule of law in the political process.

Repeating what we did before, for each country, answers to the two questions were combined to create a 7-point index. The mean scores and percentage ratings are reported in Tables 6 and 7 respectively. In Korea, 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%). Albeit different questions were used, the results from Taiwan are strikingly similar. The mean score is 3.2. Those reporting score below the midpoint are more than eight times as many as those reporting above it (64% vs. 7%). These mean and percentage ratings make it clear that citizens in the two countries don't see a lot of law-biding government officials and politicians.

### **Accountability**

Regular popular elections provide the citizens with just a limited mechanism of holding political leaders accountability. As Maravall (1997) has shown, there are many ways government leaders can avoid accountability. In a poor-quality democracy, the citizen cast his/her vote and is subsequently ignored until next election. Unless there are other mechanisms and institutions that are capable of enforcing transparency and horizontal accountability, the citizens are left without effective means controlling corruption and bad government.

In both Taiwan and Korea, the mechanisms of horizontal accountability are not well-developed. In both countries, the parliament typically lacks adequate institutional power to check on the president and oversee the operation of the executive branch. In Taiwan, the constitutional amendment of 1997 took away the parliament's power to confirm the appointment of premier by the president. While the new amendment empowered the parliament to unseat the sitting cabinet with vote of no confidence, it also gave the president the option to dissolving parliament under such circumstances. In practical terms, the competitive logics as well as the high campaign cost under the SNTV system make members of the parliament highly reluctant to use the no-confidence vote, rendering this institutional tool almost useless (Lin 2003). In the end, the premier, who is formally the head of the government and constitutionally speaking held accountable to the parliament, is reduced to nothing more than the president's dispensable political shield.

Furthermore, under a five-branch constitutional design, Taiwan's Legislative Yuan's budgetary power is reduced by its lack of auditing authority. The auditing power belongs to the

Control Yuan, which is functionally equivalent to an independent body of ombudsman. In the same token, the Legislative Yuan's power to supervise the Executive Yuan is hampered by its lack of power of investigation, which is also the prerogative of the Control Yuan (Hawang 2002).

In Korea, the parliament has made various attempts to legislate the expansion of information about governing procedures to the public. The legislation of the investigation hearing in 1988, the revised laws of Civil Servants Ethics in 1993, Information Disclosure Act in 1997, and the confirmation hearing in 2000 have improved democratic accountability in Korea. As the case of the "Financial Support for North Korea" shows, however, the information provided to the public is very limited and the process of policy-making still remains a murky area for citizens.<sup>17</sup> As Hwang (1998) indicated, the legacy of the authoritarian regime leads to "secret" patterns of policy-making process (p. 291).

Parliamentary hearing is held for the confirmation of very few positions including the prime minister, justices of the Supreme Court, the Director of the Office of National Tax Administration, and the chief of the prosecutors' office. However, as Kim (2003) pointed out, many high-ranking civil servants are appointed for rewarding their contribution to the political success of presidential elections, instead of the competitiveness of candidates (p. 296). In additions, the short term of regular parliamentary sessions makes it hard for thorough examination and discussion among political parties before their legislation. The lack of a roll-call voting system, which may allow more accurate information of MPs, and the small number of standing committees exacerbate democratic accountability. Furthermore, the lack of television networks like CSPAN in the United States limits the clear information of the performance of their MPs (Son, 1998: 173).

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<sup>17</sup> The Special Prosecutor for the secret financial support for North Korea disclosed that the Kim Dae Jung government illegally provided \$100 million to North Korea just before the summit between Kim Dae Jung and Kim Jung Il in 2000 (Donga Ilbo, June 26, 2003).

While the effectiveness of horizontal accountability is usually beyond the comprehension of ordinary citizens, the extent to which politicians are (vertically) held accountable to the voters are much closer to their experiences.

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 Korean 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.

In Taiwan's 2003 TEDS survey, a different pair of questions was used to tap citizens' evaluation of the effectiveness of vertical accountability and the transparency of decision-making. When asked "The holding of regular elections compels the government leaders not to defy what the majority wishes when making decisions," 4.5% of the respondents answered "strongly agree" and 56.5% of them "agree". When asked "Nowadays government leaders would try to put all important matters out of the sight of the public," 5.8% of our respondents answered "strongly agree" and 56.5% of them picked the answer of "agree". This suggests that while a majority of Taiwan's citizens do feel that regular election is effective in compelling government leaders to respect public opinion they lament that the transparency of the decision-making process is rather low.

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%). Being measured by a different pair of questions, Taiwan's democracy fares slightly better on the accountability dimension. The mean score is close to 4.0. Both Taiwan's and Korea's second question are measuring openness and transparency. It is interesting to note that on this comparable measure, citizens in the two countries gave their respective system rather low mark when it comes to openness and transparency.

### **Responsiveness**

Morlino (2003) defines responsiveness as the "capacity to satisfy the governed by deciding and implementing the policies that corresponded to their demands" (p. 7). As he pointed out, however, elected presidents and MPs are not always responsive to the demands of voters.

Furthermore, limited resources as well as fewer policy instruments constrain the capacity of governments to implement policies as they promised.

From the demand side, in both Korea and Taiwan emerging civil society and the development of Internet media promote democratic responsiveness by organizing public demands for “good” governance. Also, the prevalence of public opinion polls provides benchmarks against which the popularity of the leaders and their policies are gauged on regular basis. However, from the supply side, the state’s overall capacity in the provision of a stable and enabling environment is severely constrained by the forces of globalization as evidenced in regional financial crisis. Limited financial resources and the lack of sufficient public support for the ruling parties make it difficult to resolve high unemployment rates and income inequality exacerbated after the economic crisis in 1997. The situation is more acute in Taiwan where the accumulated public sector debt is fast approaching unsustainable level.<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, in both countries, the “emperor-like” (semi-)presidential system makes it difficult to improve democratic responsiveness by promoting “personalization” of politics. Underdevelopment of disciplined political parties in Korea and the arcane SNTV system for the parliamentary election in Taiwan in each own way makes it difficult to mediate political demands and supply.<sup>19</sup>

In the eye of the ordinary citizens, 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

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<sup>18</sup> The official estimate of the accumulated public sector debt of governments of all levels is around 40% of the GNP. But most experts put the figure around 80% to 90% of the GNP when all the unaccounted as well as unfunded liabilities of various sources are taken into account. See

<sup>19</sup> Under the singular non-transferable vote (SNTV) system, a system that is unique to Taiwan now that Japan has abandoned it, voters are allowed to vote for only a single candidate in multi-seat district, and the excess votes of popular candidates cannot be transferred to other candidates on the same party ticket in the district.

(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.

In Taiwan 2003 survey, a somewhat different pair of questions was used. The first question asked people if they agree or disagree that “Government officials don’t really care what people like me think.” Next, our respondents were asked if they agree or disagree that “The officials of the national government don’t know what the people at the grassroots really need.”

The results are strikingly similar to the Korean data. For the first question there are about 54% of the people rated Taiwan’s democracy as responsive, answering “disagree” (52.1%) and “strongly disagree” (1.7%). On the second question, only about 29% of our respondents rated the system as responsive, “agreeing” (28.4%) or “strongly agreeing” (0.9%) with the statement.<sup>20</sup>

To measure the overall level of governmental responsiveness, we added up responses to the two questions in a 7-point index. The index’s mean and percentage ratings are reported in Tables 6 and 7. In Korea, 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%). These findings make it clear that Korean democracy is far from being a responsive government. The mean score for Taiwan is surprisingly also 3.8. The percentages placed above the midpoint also constitute a little more than one fourth (27%). Thus, in striking

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<sup>20</sup> In the 2001 TEAB survey, we did employ two identical questions that were used in Korea. The results are strikingly similar to what we found in Korea. 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%).

similar vein, a great majority of the Taiwanese people considered their democracy far from being a responsive system.<sup>22</sup>

What properties of liberal democracy are most and least lacking in the two new democracies today? The mean and two summary percentage ratings reported in Tables 6 and 7 can be compared to address this question. For Korean democracy, of the five mean ratings reported in the table, political freedom, which scored 5.0, 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). For Taiwanese democracy, political freedom (which scored 4.2) is also the only property of liberal democracy that scored higher than the mid-point. Of the four properties with average ratings below the midpoint, accountability ranks best with 3.9. This property is followed by responsiveness (3.8), equality (3.6), and the rule of law (3.2). Surprisingly, for both systems political freedom is least lacking, while equality and the rule of law are most lacking. Overall speaking, our survey shows in the great majority of their citizens, the two democracies are 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 both Korea and Taiwan have 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

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<sup>22</sup> The results from the 2001 TEAB survey are very similar. After converting the two items (which are identical to what the Korean survey used) to 7-point index, the mean rating in Taiwan is of 3.6.

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>23</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.

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<sup>23</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.

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 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 1, 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 1 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.

The answer to the question why people in South Korea and Taiwan have not yet fully embraced the principles of liberal democracy over those of an authoritarian government lies in their rather similar authoritarian legacy. People in South Korea and Taiwan people had experienced a variant of soft authoritarianism that was historically seemingly less corrupt and more efficacious in delivering national security, social stability and economic prosperity. Under this historical legacy, democracy will have a more difficult time to win over the heart of a great majority of mass public (Chu, Diamond and Shin 2001). This common historical legacy also explains the relatively low level of popular satisfaction with the overall performance of their new democracies. In this sense, both South Korea and Taiwan are burdened with authoritarian nostalgia, generating unreasonable high expectation about the performance of new democratic regimes (Chu 2003).

Last, but not least, deficiency in the existing institutional arrangements is also partially responsible for the under-supply of many essential properties of liberal democracy in the two tigers. In both countries, the constitutional design is weak on horizontal accountability, leaving the legislative branch without adequate institutional power to check on the imperial presidency and oversee the operation of the executive branch. In both countries, the term of the parliament and that of the presidential are not harmonized, which inevitably increased the frequency of “divided government” and the resultant political gridlock while making the whole issue of political accountability much more complicated. In both countries, the absence of electoral threshold and/or the design of round-off election (that could guarantee an elected president with majority mandate) for the presidential election oftentimes produced two predictable outcomes: breaking up major political parties and electing a minority president. In addition, underdevelopment of disciplined political parties in Korea and the arcane SNTV system for the parliamentary election in Taiwan in

each own way makes it difficult to mediate political demands and supply. Both countries desperately need more serious attempts to strength the legal deterrence against the corruption of elected politicians. Both need more rigorous regulations on campaign finance and financial disclosures to arrest the encroachment of money politics. At the same time, it is imperative to strength the independence and integrity the judicial branch making it less susceptible to political influence. Without this a systematic crackdown on the un-ethical conducts of elected politicians remains an illusive goal.

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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  
 TEDS03: Taiwan Election and Democratization Survey, 2003

#### 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]

C6) Nowadays everyone can freely criticize the government without worrying getting oneself into troubles. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?

[TEDS03]

C7) Nowadays everyone can freely take part in protest and demonstration without worrying getting oneself into troubles. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?

[TEDS03]

### **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]

C12) How likely do you think common people can get a fair treatment when they deal with government agencies?

1. Very likely
2. Fairly likely
3. Fairly unlikely
4. Very unlikely

[TEDS03]

C13) How likely do you think common people can get a fair trial from the court when they are involved in litigations?

1. Very likely
  2. Fairly likely
  3. Fairly unlikely
  4. Very unlikely
- [TEDS03]

### **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]

C2) Generally speaking, the officials of the national government are abiding by the law and free of doing things illegal. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?

[TEDS03]

G8) Nowadays politicians will do anything to grab power and positions. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?

[TEDS03]

#### **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]

C4) The holding of regular elections compels the government leaders not to defy what the majority wishes when making decisions. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?

[TEDS03]

C8) Nowadays government leaders would try to put all important matters out of the sight of the public. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?

[TEDS03]

#### **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]

G2) Government officials don't really care what people like me think. Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?

[TEDS03]

G6 “The officials of the national government don’t know what the people at the grassroots really need.” Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?  
[TEDS03]

#### **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 (%)										Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	<4	>4	Dif*	
Freedom	0.4	0.6	8.2	16.9	46.7	17.5	9.7	9.2	73.8	+64.6	(5.0)
Equality	3.0	11.5	36.4	35.6	11.3	2.0	0.3	50.9	13.6	-37.8	(3.5)
Rule of Law	6.3	18.9	29.3	33.1	9.8	2.4	0.3	54.5	12.5	-42.0	(3.3)
Accountability	4.9	6.6	28.7	41.8	14.5	2.7	0.7	40.2	17.9	-22.3	(3.7)
Responsiveness	5.0	10.3	29.8	27.5	13.6	11.7	2.1	45.1	27.4	-17.7	(3.8)

Source: 2003 East Asia Barometer survey conducted in Korea.

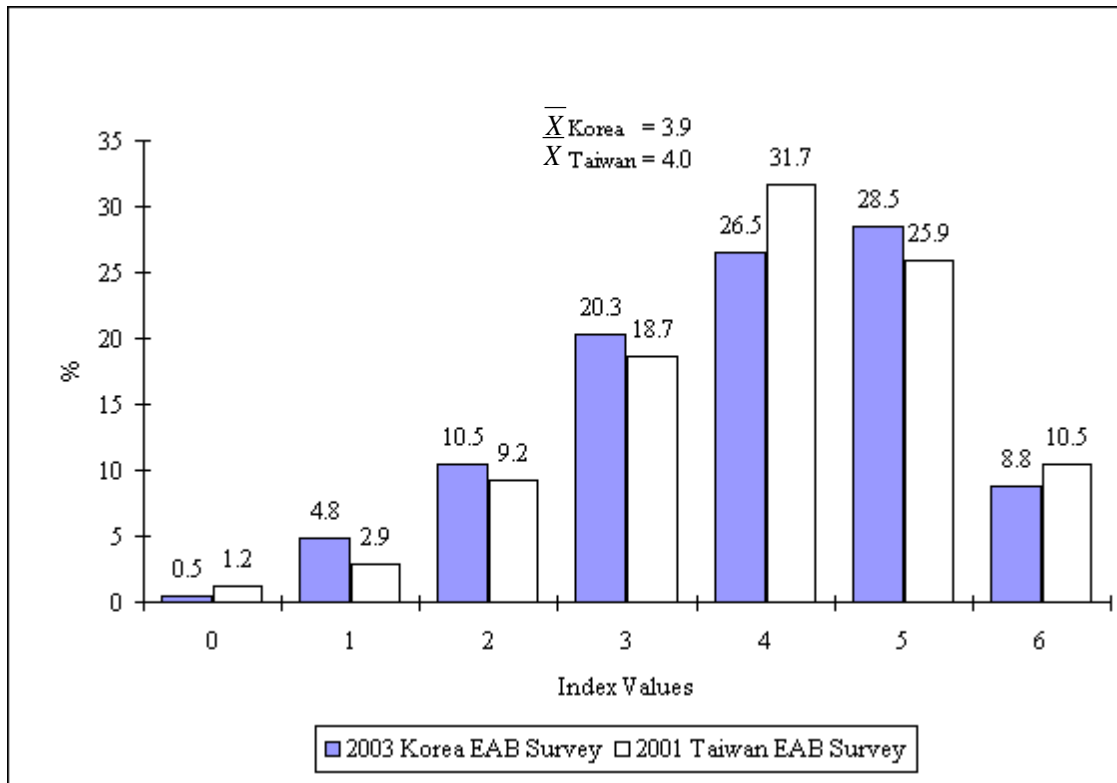
**Table 7 Indexes Measuring the Specific Qualities of Liberal Democracy in Taiwan**

Qualities	Index Values(%)										Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	<4	>4	Dif*	
Freedom	0.6	1.2	29.9	21.9	38.9	4.1	3.4	31.7	46.3	+14.6	(4.2)
Equality	6.4	8.8	33.4	24.4	21.3	3.6	2.2	48.5	27.0	-21.5	(3.6)
Rule of Law	4.3	14.1	46.1	28.1	6.8	0.5	0.1	64.5	7.4	-57.1	(3.2)
Accountability	0.4	4.3	21.7	49.1	22.6	1.6	0.4	26.4	24.6	-1.8	(3.9)
Responsiveness	2.9	3.8	30.8	35.5	25.8	1.2	0.1	37.5	27.0	-10.5	(3.8)

Source: The TEDS 2003 Survey

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

**Figure 1: Levels of Support for Liberal Democracy in Korea and Taiwan**



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The Asian Barometer Survey (ABS) grows out of the Comparative Survey of Democratization and Value Change in East Asia Project (also known as East Asia Barometer), which was launched in mid-2000 and funded by the Ministry of Education of Taiwan under the MOE-NSC Program for Promoting Academic Excellence of University. The headquarters of ABS is based in Taipei, and is jointly sponsored by the Department of Political Science at NTU and the Institute of Political Science of Academia Sinica. The East Asian component of the project is coordinated by Prof. Yun-han Chu, who also serves as the overall coordinator of the Asian Barometer. In organizing its first-wave survey (2001-2003), the East Asia Barometer (EABS) brought together eight country teams and more than thirty leading scholars from across the region and the United States. Since its founding, the EABS Project has been increasingly recognized as the region's first systematic and most careful comparative survey of attitudes and orientations toward political regime, democracy, governance, and economic reform.

In July 2001, the EABS joined with three partner projects -- New Europe Barometer, Latinobarometro and Afrobarometer -- in a path-breathing effort to launch Global Barometer Survey (GBS), a global consortium of comparative surveys across emerging democracies and transitional societies.

The EABS is now becoming a true pan-Asian survey research initiative. New collaborative teams from Indonesia, Singapore, Cambodia, and Vietnam are joining the EABS as the project enters its second phase (2004-2008). Also, the State of Democracy in South Asia Project, based at the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (in New Delhi) and directed by Yogendra Yadav, is collaborating with the EABS for the creation of a more inclusive regional survey network under the new identity of the Asian Barometer Survey. This path-breaking regional initiative builds upon a substantial base of completed scholarly work in a number of Asian countries. Most of the participating national teams were established more than a decade ago, have acquired abundant experience and methodological know-how in administering nationwide surveys on citizen's political attitudes and behaviors, and have published a substantial number of works both in their native languages and in English.

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