

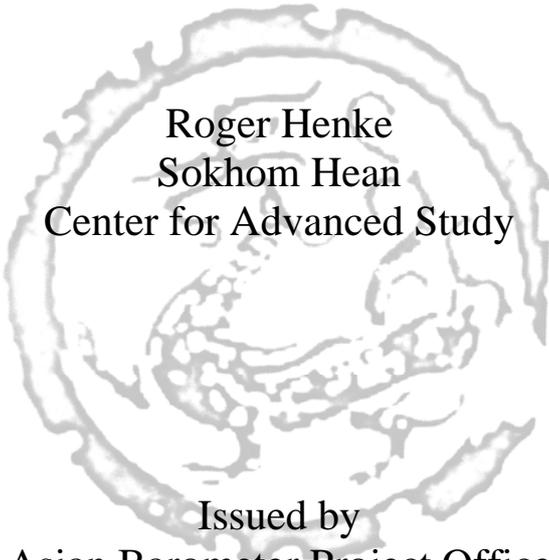


A Comparative Survey of

DEMOCRACY, GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT

Working Paper Series: No. 19

The State of Democracy in Cambodia
The Added Value of Opinion Polls



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Sokhom Hean
Center for Advanced Study

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Asian Barometer

A Comparative Survey of Democracy, Governance and Development

Working Paper Series

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THE STATE OF DEMOCRACY IN CAMBODIA THE ADDED VALUE OF OPINION POLLS

Roger Henke & Sokhom HEAN¹

Introduction

We are gathered here to stimulate and enlighten the stakeholder debate on priorities and appropriate strategies for political reform, democratic deepening, and improvement of the overall quality of democratic governance in the region. In the scheme of things, empirical research is assigned the role of providing a particular kind of input. Input that stakeholders, political leaders, the policy elite, NGOs, public opinion leaders from the media and academia, and foreign democracy assistance agencies, sometimes crave, sometimes loathe. But that they can only ignore at their own peril because the most important stakeholder of all is never around the table: the public. Obviously, the voice of the people as it speaks through empirical research is a mediated voice, and I do not want to make any claims to superior objectivity for research here. Or – for as value-laden a debate as the one on democracy – any other that inflates the status of research to something more important than one among many sources of evidence to be taken into account. But it definitely is a *particular* voice, talking talk that no other voice can offer. And as the various preceding country presentations have amply shown, proper empirical research can open some surprising windows.

Expert assessment: the Freedom House ratings

Most of you will be more familiar with *another* source of evidence for gauging the state of democracy in a particular country: expert assessment. This can be as powerful a synthesis of available evidence as they come. Such assessment exists for all countries: the Freedom House reports. Not all might agree with criteria used and ratings arrived at, but as the evaluations are done in a methodologically transparent manner, they can certainly be called scientifically rigorous. For Cambodia we have the yearly report, latest issue 2003, and a more detailed assessment that is part of a 2004 special on 30 new and emerging democracies, called the Crossroads report².

As a context to what public opinion polling can add to such rigorous assessment we will report some of the Freedom House evaluations. The yearly reports rate two rights, political rights and civil liberties, including the following aspects:

Political Rights	Civil Liberties
Electoral Process	Freedom of Expression and Belief
Political Pluralism & Participation	Associational and Organizational Rights
Functioning of Government	Rule of Law
Additional discretionary questions	Personal Autonomy and Individual Rights

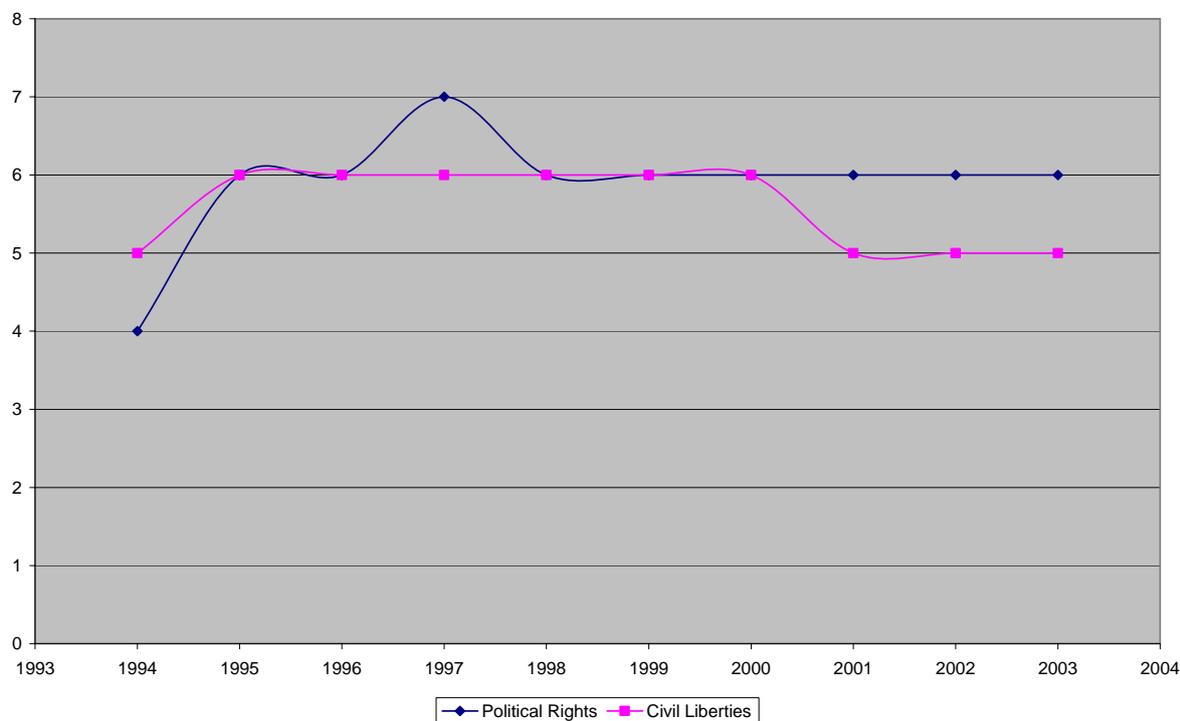
Each aspect is scored on the basis of 3 to 4 questions, all are rated on a seven-point scale – with 1 indicating perfect freedom, and 7 indicating total absence of freedom, and then aggregated into summary scores for both rights. These summary scores are then aggregated into an overall assessment of the country as being Free, Partly Free or Not Free. Cambodia got a Partly Free rating in 1994 and *Not Free* ratings ever since. The chart below shows that for Cambodia, the

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² Both available at www.freedomhouse.org

last decade has been a mixed blessing, with a hopeful start after the 1993 UNTAC elections but, for both civil liberties and political rights, downward movement and subsequent stagnation after the initial improvements.

Freedom House Ratings

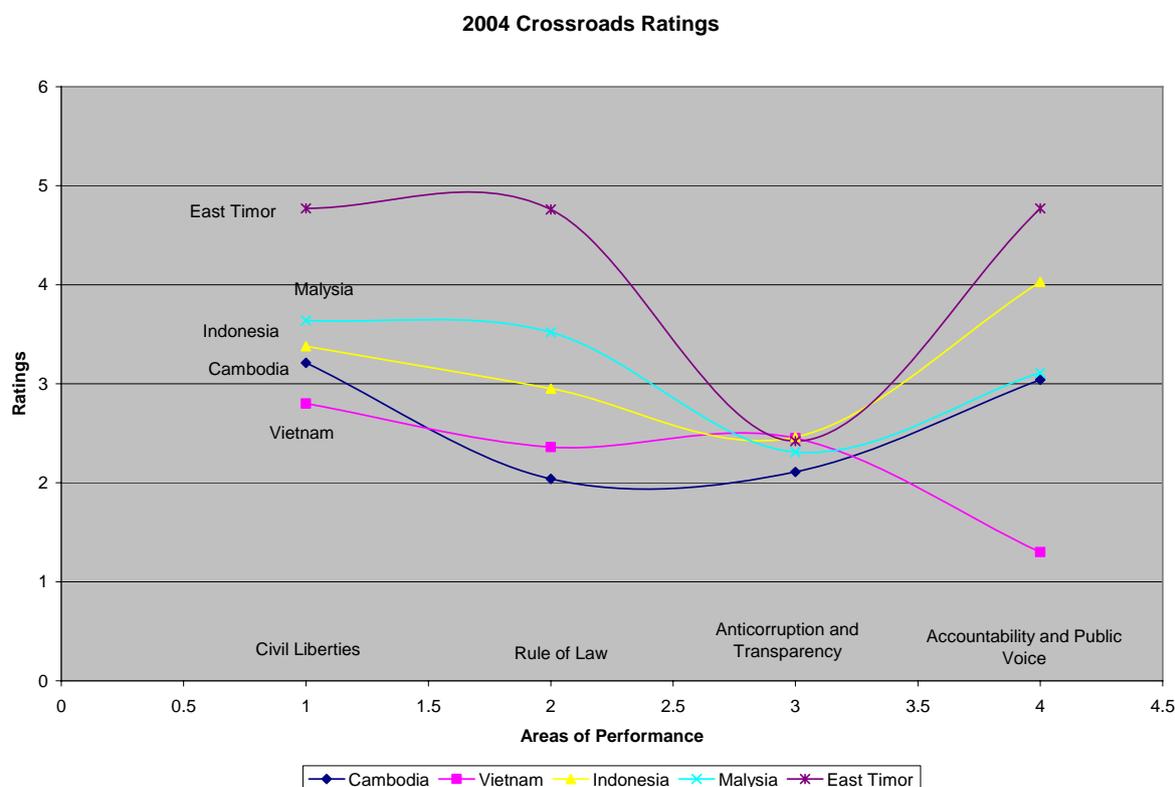


The 2004 Crossroads report is more detailed. It rates 4 aspects of government performance:

Civil Liberties	Rule of Law	Anticorruption and Transparency	Accountability and Public Voice
Protection from state terror, unjustified imprisonment, and torture	Independent judiciary	Environment to protect against corruption	Free and fair electoral laws and elections
Gender equity and minority rights	Primacy of rule of law in civil and criminal matters	Existence of laws, ethical standards, and boundaries between private and public sectors	Effective and accountable government
Freedom of conscience and belief	Accountability of security forces and military to civilian authorities	Enforcement of anticorruption laws	Civic engagement and civic monitoring
Freedom of association	Equal treatment under the law	Governmental transparency	Media independence and freedom of expression

These aspects are rated on 7 point scales, with 1 being weakest and 7 being strongest performance, and 5 representing the benchmark of basic standard of effective performance.

The figure below maps the results for Cambodia and four of its regional neighbors. As you can see, Cambodia's comparative performance ratings are not particularly good, being the lowest or second to lowest in all areas of performance. Of the 30 countries covered in total Cambodia and Vietnam belong to the second tier of four weakest governments³, scoring in the bottom third for three out of the four areas.



What can public opinion polls add to this?

Now these results tell us quite a lot about the state of democracy in Cambodia, and about the areas to improve, but they do not tell us what the public thinks of these issues. The importance of that seems obvious, but is nevertheless often overlooked by stakeholders. The bottom line is that we, the stakeholders debating the priorities and strategies for reform, and the scope for improvement, are not the major political actors in emerging democracies. The people are, and their experiences, perceptions, interpretations are the major movers of reform. The mass of the people, in a country like Cambodia, do not live in the capital but in the country-side. The urbanite reasonably informed view from the capital is not representative of public opinion. The only way to get at the mass opinion is go out there and talk to a representative sample of all citizens. We will illustrate the added value of such empirical data for the debate around reforms.

What empirical data on Cambodian political attitudes and opinions are available?

Most of our colleagues here are in the privileged position to have nationally representative data on a wide variety of issues appropriate to the state of democracy debate. They partnered in the first wave of the East Asia barometer, which is part of an increasingly coordinated global effort at eliciting public opinions on democracy. Cambodia hopes to partner in next year's second

³ The first consists of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Morocco, Uzbekistan, and Zimbabwe; the second of Cambodia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Vietnam.

wave of what has now become the Asian barometer. But for the time being, when asked to prepare a short presentation for this meeting, rather than ponder on possible policy implications to be drawn from a comprehensive survey, we set out to chart whatever Asia barometer equivalent data are available for Cambodia.

We will present to you today the result of that mapping exercise. We have taken the definition of relevant equivalent data very broadly. Any study overtly addressing political attitudes ended up in my chart. We will offer you some of the equivalent results that seem most indicative of the State of democracy in Cambodia. And we will also present some data on issues that are outside the coordinated frame but should be part of any discussion on democratic attitudes in Cambodia.

Charting existing empirical evidence

Table 1 gives a summary overview of the 13 studies available. I'm not even able to claim comprehensiveness because the world of research in Cambodia is quite particular. There is hardly any academic research, nearly all studies are donor funded, and much is not primarily produced for the public domain, but for use by the commissioning agency and its stakeholders and partners. In an expat-dominated aid economy, with a very high turn-over of staff, this results in a lot of research remaining invisible to all but those around the table during the initial dissemination meetings. And some of it is actually never shared at all or only partially.

Table 1A in the annex gives a more detailed overview with some basic information like sample sizes of the various studies.

Table 1: Studies with data on political attitudes

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	Total
Focus Group Studies	1							1		2
Non-representative Surveys			1		2	2				5
Nationally representative Surveys					1			2	3	6
Total	1		1		3	2		3	3	13

These studies were checked for the inclusion of Global barometer equivalent questions. This is a core battery of 19 questions⁴ that are included in all barometer surveys. 14 of these core variables were included in one or the other of these studies, with a maximum of 9 for any particular study. Table 2 in the annex gives an overview of the equivalent questions included in the various studies. What is interesting is that some questions are included in several studies and thus allow for an additional check. Do results change over time? A major purpose of barometer studies is to indicate attitudinal changes by repeating questions from one wave to the next⁵.

In the following sections we report several public opinions that seem important indicators for the state of democracy in Cambodia. Where available, appropriate and instructive we will also

⁴ There are actually more than 19, if one includes each individual institution for which respondents' trust is rated, and each voluntary organization for which membership is checked. There are also 7 common background questions.

⁵ Comparison across studies using different sampling strategies, different question phrasing (let alone different methodologies, i.e. focus groups versus a survey) is tricky. But some comparisons identifying change are possible and others are interesting from the perspective of a check on consistency across different studies.

report 2001 results from Thailand and the Philippines, the two countries within Southeast Asia for which East Asia barometer data are available.

What is the meaning of democracy for Cambodians

Table 3 below shows the results across 5 different studies from 1996 to 2003. What seems clear is that there is an increase in response rates across years indicating a larger proportion of voter age adults having some concept of what democracy means. But in 2003, still nearly half of the population was unable to give any kind of definition of democracy. A related 2003 finding was that 55% of a nationally representative sample did not know what the role of Parliament (National Assembly) is in the political scheme of things.

Those who were able to give any kind of definition of democracy show an increasing awareness of the dimension of political rights over the years, but the importance of livelihood and security concerns remains substantial, especially when the question is phrased *personal* rather than *institutional*. The early observation made in a 1996 Focus group study that the popular view of democracy is top-down, with a desire for leaders (and the international community) to step in and improve the situation, was supported by a result of a 2000 voter awareness study in preparation for the 2002 commune council elections. In this study a representative sample of voter age adults was asked which description of the relationship between the communal government and the people was closest to their opinion. 56% of all respondents chose the paternalistic option that the communal government is like a father looking after his children, 11% chose the option of boss versus workers who have to obey, and only 27% opted for a relationship between equals, in which the government should listen to criticism of the people.

Table 3: Cambodians have a paternalistic view of democracy

Year	Type of study	Results
1996	Focus group study	Top-down view of democracy, in which democracy is equated with peace and a better standard of living
1998	Non-representative Survey (N= 938)	21% response rate of this 69% improvement of political process answers 23% increase of benefits to people answers
2000 Institutional understanding	Representative Survey (N=1006)	33% response rate of this 70% political rights 17% economic and peace benefits
2000 Personal understanding		54% response rate of this 53% political rights 47% economic and peace benefits
2001 Institutional understanding	Non-representative Survey (N= 200)	56% response rate of this 72% political rights 21% economic and peace benefits
2003 Institutional understanding	Representative Survey (N=1008)	55% response rate of this 69% political rights 31% economic and peace benefits
2003 Personal understanding		69% response rate 52% political rights 48% economic and peace benefits

This is not something that expert assessments can uncover. It can only be gauged by interviewing a representative sample of Cambodian. Before drawing any policy relevant conclusions, let's check some other opinions.

Interest in Politics

The above result suggests a citizenry not particularly interested in politics. The core battery of the global barometers contains several relevant questions for which Cambodian data exists. Table 4 below reports the results for two of these questions. However, it appears that in terms of reported interest in politics, Cambodians do not particularly stand out, although it is not an issue of conversation amongst friends.

Table 4: Cambodians are interested in Politics but do not discuss it amongst themselves

How interested are you in Politics?		
2000	Representative Survey (N=1006)	50% positive
2001	Non-representative Survey (N= 200)	48% positive
2003	Representative Survey (N=1008)	55% positive
Thailand	East Asia Barometer Survey	73% positive
Philippines	East Asia Barometer Survey	56% positive
How often do you discuss politics with friends?		
1996	Focus group Study	An absence of meaningful political discourse
2000	Representative Survey (N=1006)	14% with some regularity
2001	Non-representative Survey (N= 200)	18% with some regularity
2003	Representative Survey (N=1008)	13% with some regularity

And when we would use Cambodians' willingness to vote as an indicator for their interest in politics from, Cambodia would actually appear at the top of most comparative lists with consistent very high participation rates in elections. The 2003 national elections had an estimated turn-out in excess of 80%.

So public opinion data suggest a passive populace nevertheless very eager to participate in elections, in order to vote for leaders that are then supposed to provide for them. Claiming interest in politics but not really talking about it within the circles that really matter, family and friends. Politics is experienced as a once in several years affair and not something that has much relevance beyond the choice of leadership.

Normally politics is *about* something, how best to support the economy, how best to organize services for the population, etc. Let's look at some indicators for which we have Cambodian data.

Is the situation in the country improving?

Several recent opinion polls contained questions similar to the East Asia barometer question *How would you describe the change in the economic condition of our country over the past five years?*⁶

⁶ See table 2 for Cambodian equivalents

Table 5: Cambodians see much improvement of their situation

Studies	Net Opinion
Democracy in Cambodia: A Survey of the Cambodian Electorate (2000)	+73%
Voter Awareness Impact Survey in Kandal and Kampong Speu provinces (2001)	+84%
Democracy in Cambodia- 2003: A survey of the Cambodian Electorate	+80%
Public Opinion Poll on the Performance of Commune Councils, especially regarding local Conflicts (2004)	+54%
East Asia Barometer Thailand (2001)	0%
East Asia barometer Philippines (2001)	+8%

The Cambodian data differ quite dramatically from the Thai and Philippine opinions. Cambodians overwhelmingly perceive progress. However, the trend is downwards. The 2004 data are still quite positive but much less so than those of earlier years.

Institutional trust

Another item for which we have Cambodian data is institutional trust. Expert assessment may conclude whatever about the performance of institutions, the bottom line is that the public either trusts them, or distrusts them.

Table 6: But Cambodians have very low trust in their institutions

Net Opinions	Public Opinion Poll on Retail Corruption, institutional quality and formal and informal costs (2004)	East Asia Barometer Thailand	East Asia Barometer Philippines
Judiciary/Courts	-77%	+46%	0%
President/Government	-42%		
Police	-55%	+18%	-8%
Parliament	-24%	+10%	-12%
Television	-13%	+60%	+28%
Local Government	-32%		
Newspaper	-13%	+12%	+8%

What immediately stands out is that Cambodians do not trust *any* institution. With extremely low levels of trust for two pillars of the rule of law, the police and the judiciary, low levels for all levels of government and even distrust for the media, citizens do seem to assume or expect that the state is not for them.

So, for a majority of Cambodians, democracy is still a very hazy concept that does not extend beyond once every so many years participating in elections. And elections are primarily seen as a choice for leaders that can deliver improvement of the standard of living. The major indicators for improvement are security and infrastructure, and, so far so good, the country is still seen as moving forward, although the mood is becoming less positive. There is not much expectation that the state and its institutions are for the people. The institutional framework could hardly be distrusted more.

Recommendations

The Crossroads Cambodia chapter summarizes its assessment as follows:

Opportunities for Cambodians to function fully as citizens in a democracy are limited by the state's lack of respect for fundamental rights and freedoms and its disinclination to commit to the rule of law and neutral, incorrupt governance

What the opinion poll data show us is that the citizenry seems fully aware of this situation, but nevertheless evaluates the developments up to now positively. It is as if the disrespect for rights and freedoms and the political bias and wide spread corruption are seen as *something to be expected of a government*. The deal between leaders and the people seems still defined in terms of some basics like security, not in terms of entitlements to real service delivery or progress measured by benchmarks other than the still very recent civil war situation.

Since and probably because of UNTAC, democracy assistance in Cambodia has very much focused on free and fair elections, and issues like vote buying, equal access to information, etc. All of these are obviously very important. Donor efforts have targeted rule of law, human rights issues and corruption, and all kinds of basic socio-economic development efforts both within and outside of the frame of the state. A civil society creature that is totally new to Cambodia, the Non-Governmental Organization, has grown enormously in numbers.

What has *not* received much attention are very basic understandings of governance, power, and the rights of ruler and ruled. The expert assessment is quite literally phrased as if the burden of democratic opportunities is all on the side of the ruler. But any democratic state requires a populace with a democratic spirit to keep it in check. The claim we make is that public opinion data show that this democratic spirit is less evident than democratic assistance supporters assume. It is not realistic to assume that people might lack information but given access to the right information and given more respect of the *state* for fundamental rights and freedoms, most Cambodians would act as democratic citizens, respecting *each others'* rights and freedoms.

Cambodia was not a democracy before it entered its thirty years of war. It now has reasonably free and fair elections. Other aspects of what a democratic relationship between a government and its constituency entails seem still very superficial. If there is something to 'deepen' it is these more substantive aspects.

Annex

Table 1A: Studies referred to

Nr.	Title	Type	Fieldwork	N	Executed by	Commissioned/ Funded by
1	Public Attitudes Towards Democracy in Cambodia	Focus Group Study	4/1996	10 Groups	Greenberg Research (Washington DC) + local NDI partners	National Democratic Institute
2	Final Report: Baseline Survey of Voter Knowledge and Awareness	Non-representative Survey	3-4/1998	938	Center for advanced Study	DFID
3	Impact Survey of Voter Knowledge and awareness	Non-representative Survey	8-10/1999	546	Center for advanced Study	DFID, Forum Syd
4	Cambodia. Governance and Corruption Diagnostic. Evidence from Citizen, Enterprise and Public Official Surveys	Non-representative Survey	12/1999-1/2000		Lidhee Khmer	Worldbank
5	Democracy in Cambodia: A Survey of the Cambodian Electorate	Nationally representative Survey	7-8/2000	1006, weighted ⁷	Center for Advanced Study Charney Research (New York) AC Nielsen (Jakarta)	The Asia Foundation
6	Voter Awareness Impact Survey in Kandal and Kampong Speu provinces	Non-representative Survey	9/2001	200	Center for Advanced Study	The Asia Foundation
7	Survey of Knowledge, Attitudes, Practices and Beliefs on Standards in Good Governance in Seila	Non-representative Survey	8-11/2001	1493	Crossroads Consultancies	UNOPS/PLG
8	Cambodian Public Opinion in Advance of the 2003 Elections	Focus Group Study	1/2003	12 Groups	Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research (Washington DC)	National Democratic Institute

⁷ Weighted for gender to compensate for the under-representation of females because of the use of a Kish Grid procedure

9	Democracy in Cambodia- 2003: A survey of the Cambodian Electorate	Nationally representative Survey	2-3/2003	1008, weighted	Center for Advanced Study Charney Research (New York) AC Nielsen (Jakarta)	The Asia Foundation
10	Public Opinion Poll on Citizens' perception of the legitimacy and Efficiency of the Cambodian Court System	Nationally representative Survey	8-9/2003	816	Center for Advanced Study The Asia Foundation Social Weather Station (Quezon)	The Asia Foundation
11	National Public Opinion Survey of Cambodian Political Attitudes	Nationally representative Survey	1-2/2004	1200	Center for Advanced Study Ayres, McHenry & Associates Inc. (Washington DC) Western Watts, Inc. (Utah)	The International Republican Institute
12	Public Opinion Poll on the Performance of Commune Councils, especially regarding local Conflicts	Nationally representative Survey	4-6/2004	1240	Center for Advanced Study Social Weather Station (Quezon)	The Asia Foundation
13	Public Opinion Poll on Retail Corruption, institutional quality and formal and informal costs	Nationally representative Survey	7-8/2004	2000	Center for Advanced Study Center for Social Development	DANIDA Danish Church Aid Worldbank

Table 1B: Variables in the studies referred to

	1 1996	2 1998	3 1999	4 2000	5 2000	6 2001	7 2001	8 2003	9 2003	10 2003	11 2004	12 2004	13 2004
I DEMOCRACY													
Meaning of democracy													
1: What makes a country a democracy? When you think of a democratic free country, what do you see? What is it like?													
2: What do you think democracy is?													
5: If a country is called a democracy, what does that mean to you? Anything else?	X	X			X	X			X				
What, if anything, is the most important thing that a democracy in Cambodia will bring you personally?													
6: see 5													
9: see 5													
Satisfaction with Democracy													
Support to democracy													

	1 1996	2 1998	3 1999	4 2000	5 2000	6 2001	7 2001	8 2003	9 2003	10 2003	11 2004	12 2004	13 2004
II INSTITUTIONS													
Trust in Institutions 1: Now I'm going to read you some names of people and organizations. For each one, tell me what is the first image that pops into your head. Just give me a word or a phrase, very brief 4: We would like to ask you about the integrity of various public institutions. Please answer on a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 corresponds to 'very dishonest' and 5 corresponds to 'very honest'. 10: How much trust do you have in the following institutions? How much trust do you have in the following people in your area? 11: In general, do you believe the Cambodian Judicial system is fair or corrupt 12: How much trust do you have in the following institutions? 13: would like to ask you about the integrity of various institutions. Please tell me if you think each of the following is very honest, honest, etc.	X			X						X	X	X	X
Armed Forces/Military										X			X
Judiciary/Courts										X	X		X
President/Government										X			X
Police										X			X
National Congress/Parliament										X		X	X
Political parties													
Television										X			
Local Government										X		X	X
Newspaper										X			

	1 1996	2 1998	3 1999	4 2000	5 2000	6 2001	7 2001	8 2003	9 2003	10 2003	11 2004	12 2004	13 2004
III POLITICS													
5: How interested are you in Politics?													
6: see 5					X	X							
9: see 5									X				

	1 1996	2 1998	3 1999	4 2000	5 2000	6 2001	7 2001	8 2003	9 2003	10 2003	11 2004	12 2004	13 2004
IV PARTICIPATION													
Participation in Voluntary Organizations													
<p>5: Here is a list of organizations. As I mention each, please tell me if you belong to it.</p> <p>6: see 5</p> <p>9: Here is a list of organizations. As I mention each, please tell me if you belong to it.</p> <p>Have you ever participated in a meeting/helped make a decision at an association or at your Temple/Church/Mosque?</p> <p>12: Are you a member of any of the following civil society organizations?</p>					X	X			X			X	
<p>Discuss/talk Politics</p> <p>1: How about your responsibilities as a citizen in a free society – what are they?</p> <p>5: How often do you discuss Politics with friends?</p> <p>6: see 5</p> <p>9: see 3</p>	X				X	X			X				
<p>Vote in the Last Election</p> <p>2: Did you vote in the UNTAC [1993] elections?</p> <p>3: Did you vote in the 1998 elections?</p> <p>5: Did you vote in the 1998 Elections?</p> <p>9: Did you vote in the Commune Elections?</p> <p>11: Did you vote in the national Elections held last July?</p>		X	X		X				X		X		
<p>Parties did you vote for</p> <p>11: Which political party did you vote for in the national Elections last July?</p>											X		

	1 1996	2 1998	3 1999	4 2000	5 2000	6 2001	7 2001	8 2003	9 2003	10 2003	11 2004	12 2004	13 2004
<p>Closer Political party</p> <p>11: Now I would like to ask you about some organizations in Cambodia. For each one, would you please tell me if you have a generally favourable or unfavourable view of that organization? Which political party do you think cares most about people like you?</p> <p>Please tell me what is the single most important problem facing Cambodia today? Which political party do you trust most to handle that problem? And what do you think is the next most important problem facing Cambodia today? Which political party do you trust most to handle that problem, the next most important problem?</p>											X		
<p>Contact anyone to solve problems which affected the neighbourhood</p> <p>5: Since the 1993 elections, have you ever a local commune or national government official about some problems, issues, or matter of concern to you?</p> <p>6: see 5</p> <p>11: Have you ever visited the commune office, since the 2002 election, for any of the following reasons, or have you never visited it?</p>					X	X					X		

	1 1996	2 1998	3 1999	4 2000	5 2000	6 2001	7 2001	8 2003	9 2003	10 2003	11 2004	12 2004	13 2004
V INTERPERSONAL TRUST													
VI ECONOMIC EVALUATIONS													
Current Country economic evaluation													
9: Which statement comes closer to your view about how the country of Cambodia is doing today; it is going well or not so well?									X				
Past Country economic evaluation 5: Generally speaking, do you think things in Cambodia today are going in the right direction or do you think they are going in the wrong direction? 6: see 5 8: see 5 12: And what about in Cambodia as a whole – would you say that living conditions now compared to 3 years ago (2001) are now much better, somewhat better, etc					X	X			X			X	
Future Country Economic Evaluation 12: What about in Cambodia as a whole – would you say that living conditions 3 years from now (2007) will become much better, somewhat better, etc												X	
Current personal economic Evaluation													
Past personal Economic Evaluation													
5: Thinking about your own personal economic situation now compared to two years ago, would you say you are much better off, better off, worse off, much worse off or about the same? 6: see5 9: see 5							X	X	X	X			
Future personal Economic Evaluation													

	1 1996	2 1998	3 1999	4 2000	5 2000	6 2001	7 2001	8 2003	9 2003	10 2003	11 2004	12 2004	13 2004
VII MEDIA EXPOSURE													
2: How did you learn about the UNTAC elections? How did you learn about the forthcoming elections? By whom have you been informed about the upcoming elections?													
3: How did you learn you had to register to be able to vote? How did you learn about the registration process? How did you learn about the voting process? How did you learn about the forthcoming commune elections?													
5: How many days a week do you watch TV? How many days a week do you listen to the radio? How many days a week do you read a newspaper? How do you normally get information about what is happening in the country? (not 9) How have you gotten information about registering and voting for elections?		X			X	X			X	X	X		
6: see 5 9: see 5 10: How often do you watch TV? How often do you listen to the radio? How often do you read newspapers?													
11: From which source would you say you get most of your information about politics and government in Cambodia: from friends & neighbors, your village chief, radio, TV, or newspapers? How often do you listen to any of the following radio stations: every day, every week, about once a month, or never?													

	1 1996	2 1998	3 1999	4 2000	5 2000	6 2001	7 2001	8 2003	9 2003	10 2003	11 2004	12 2004	13 2004
VIII RELIGION													
Belong to religion		X	X										
Frequency go to religious services													
5: How many times a month do you go to religious services?				X					X				
9: How often do you practice religious rituals?													
IX SOCIODEMOGRAPHICS													
Sex		X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X
Age		X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X
Education		X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X
Occupation		X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X
Household		X		X						X		X	X

Asian Barometer Survey
A Comparative Survey of Democracy, Governance and Development

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01. Yu-tzung Chang and Yun-han Chu. 2002. Confucianism and Democracy: Empirical Study of Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong.
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Asian Barometer

A Comparative Survey of Democracy, Governance and Development

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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