

The Asian Democracy Index: A Guide

THE CONSORTIUM FOR THE ASIAN DEMOCRACY INDEX

The following is an edited version of the guidebook utilized by the Consortium for the Asian Democracy Index for the conduct of the 2011 pilot test of the ADI instruments and the 2012 survey cycle. The document was originally drafted by the South Korean country team based largely on texts published by Dr. Heeyeon Cho, with substantial alterations made after workshops conducted in 2010 and 2011 with other country teams. Changes from the post-pilot test version of the guidebook were kept to a minimum—largely grammatical and stylistic in nature—to make sure that the following text still closely approximates the original guidebook. A revised version of the guidebook will be printed in subsequent issues of this journal each time a fundamental change in the ADI framework or methodology is made prior to an ADI survey cycle.

Overview

This guidebook serves as an introduction to the Asian Democracy Index (ADI). It explains the ADI's theoretical framework, the structure of the index system, its evaluation methods, and its utilizations. In addition, it also attempts to show how the ADI could become a comprehensive approach to democracy assessment through an index, consequently showing how the ADI can become an international benchmark.

The ADI was not designed to be used for establishing a solely Asian model of democracy. The index is a framework to compare and discover democratic characteristics of Asian countries. It is designed to understand the quality of Asian democracy today. The ADI is useful in presenting the current status of democratization in Asian countries; it is not a tool for proposing an exemplary democratic model or to rank the different democratic characteristics of the countries studied.

This guidebook consists of three parts: theoretical perspective, the ADI structure, and the conduct of the ADI survey and analysis of data.

The Consortium for the Asian Democracy Index (CADI) is a network of research institutes and independent researchers working on the development of a new Asian Democracy Index. Since its formation in 2011, CADI members have been conducting annual perception surveys of various local experts on politics, economics, and civil society to examine the state of democratization in the said experts' countries.

The first part examines the theoretical basis on which the Asian Democracy Index as a comparison and discovery framework was developed. In order to overcome the limitations of existing democracy indices and to objectively evaluate the quality of democracy that each country has implemented, we believe that there is a need to develop a new perspective on democracy. Thus, we defined a perspective that is in consonance with “post-monopoly democratic theory,” as discussed in Cho (2008). This perspective views democracy as a continuing process of breaking away from power and resource monopolies, and democratization as the dissolution of monopoly complexes.

The second part explains the principles and fields that comprise the indices developed based on the above theoretical framework. The two core principles, liberalization and equalization, serve as barometers to evaluate three fields of democratization: politics, economy, and civil society. When the two principles and three fields cross each other, six different units are generated—political liberalization, political equalization, economic liberalization, economic equalization, civil society liberalization, and civil society equalization. Each unit has unique characteristics and shows the limitations and potentials of other units. These units can be further broken down into fifty-seven evaluation indicators.

The last section explains the project’s methodology. An ADI country team conducts a survey of experts with varying ideological leanings and affiliations in the three fields of democratization. Then, each index was examined for its utilization. This examination is undertaken by CADI-member survey managers in each country. To ensure a measure of objectivity in the evaluation of each index, supplementary subjective and objective indices are obtained for purposes of comparison with ADI indices. Each local survey team then drafts a report on the country’s democracy based on the findings of their local ADI survey and other existing index surveys. These evaluation methods allow ADI researchers to focus on the unique characteristics of each country and help overcome the subjective nature of the ADI evaluation index.

Theoretical Perspective

Problematization

Since the third wave of democratization, democracy has been accepted as a commonsensical objective of states in most parts of the world. Unfortunately, this commonsensical objective tends not to be realized as an actual social

norm in many countries. In addition, the gale of neoliberal globalization has prevented democracy from becoming a trustworthy and consolidated institution in countries that have experienced post-authoritarian transition. That the development of democracy became identified with the proliferation of neoliberalism imperiled its status as the great modern aspiration. Transnational capital-led globalization in the name of neoliberalism changed the basic value of democracy from humanity to capital, eroding the people's trust in democratic institutions. Under the global gale of neoliberalism, processes of democratization could not but abort the improvement of the quality of life in most of the world's democratic societies.

As Guillermo O'Donnell points out, while the third wave of democratization showed only "transition from authoritarianism," it did not involve "transition to democracy," nor "consolidation to better democracy." Thus, many scholars had to turn their eyes to various gray zones and had to question what democracy really is. Now, scholars of democracy focus on the "quality of democracy," asking, "What kind of democracy will guarantee a good quality of life?"

Asian scholars of democracy have certainly been following that trend. Since the mid-1980s, democratization processes in Asian countries have been characterized by varying trajectories. Some countries like South Korea and Taiwan are evaluated as countries that have achieved the level of procedural democracy and entered the era of democratic consolidation. Some countries in Southeast Asia like Thailand have been said to have experienced a backsliding of democracy. In some Asian countries that have gone beyond the transitory moment between authoritarianism and post-authoritarianism, electoral democracy is still threatened. Some countries' practice of electoral democracy clash with some principles of political democracy, i.e., participation, representation, and accountability. In some countries, democratization does not include actual improvement of the people's quality of life. Our research problem starts from this dynamic gray zone of reality.

The reality of democracy in Asia gives us some critical lessons. First, "transition from authoritarianism" does not guarantee "transition to democracy." Second, "transition to democracy", i.e., "achievement of electoral democracy" does not involve "realization of representative democracy." Third, "transition to substantive democracy," i.e., "socialization" does not directly follow "transition to democracy."

These facts lead us to reflect on mainstream democratization theories and the concept of democracy itself. To understand and analyze new phenomena of democratization, we need to start from the re-examination of

the very concept of democracy. In addition, we are required to produce a new intellectual frame to explain new phenomena and realities of democracy in the contemporary Asian complexity.

Democratization as De-monopolization

We define democracy as a process of “de-monopolization.” This perspective involves three key conceptions. First, democracy basically means rule by the people. As most liberalists presuppose, it requires the equal and fair distribution of power and resources in a community. In this sense, democracy can be defined as a certain situation in which all power and resources are being distributed to all members of a community. However, it is difficult to realize such an ideal situation. Thus, we try to define democracy as a continuing process toward an ideal—that is, a process of de-monopolization that aimed at achieving a condition wherein all power and resources in a particular state are being fairly distributed.

Second, we argue that democracy is not simply a political system, but a relational formation. In a country, the quality of democracy is determined not only within a political field, but also through the relations of various forces in the multi-layered fields of politics, economy, and civil society. Thus, democracy should be considered as something more than electoral and procedural democracy.

Third, we also understand democracy not as a fixed or unchangeable system, but as a historical formation. As mentioned above, democracy is a continuing process, thus it is a historically produced formation. It has various forms at different times and in different spaces. It means that democracy can be understood as a consequential form of particular political, economic, and social struggles. Therefore, to experience the reality of democracy, we should recognize the particularity of democracy in a particular country or community.

In view of democracy as a continuing process of de-monopolization, a demarcating line between dictatorship and democratic leadership is needed to evaluate the democracies we are experiencing today. Thus, while seeing a dictatorship as a monopoly-complex composed of political, economic and social monopoly, in which a specific group monopolizes the political, economic and social power, we understand democratization as the disintegration of the aforesaid monopoly-complex.

This understanding of democracy involves two characteristics of democratization. One is the disintegration of a monopoly-complex, which is divided into three self-legislating fields: politics, economy and civil society. The other is the change of the relations of power within each field,

that is, the disintegration of a monopoly. Traditional theories of democratization generally focus on the former one, which implies two stages of monopoly disintegration: the first one is to disintegrate a political monopoly over fields, and the second one is to disintegrate only the political monopoly itself. The first one can be explained as a process of “liberalization,” highlighting “civil rights” (in O’Donnell’s terms) while the second hinges its concept of “democratization” on the importance of vertical accountability.

Our definition of a dictatorship as a monopoly-complex composed of political, economic, and social monopoly gives us a broad perspective to various important things that traditional conceptions of political democracy have not detected.

First of all, the concept of a monopoly-complex leads us to recognize something more than electoral and procedural consequences of democracy by questioning the limits of both vertical and horizontal accountability in the political field (e.g., the nature of a junta). Second, it guides us to understand a mechanism of state domination and management over economy and civil society. For example, some problems related to the government-led economy and pro-government organizations, which are under the strong influences of certain traditional cultural values and ideas, cannot be solved by the institution of electoral or procedural democracy. In short, the concept of the monopoly-complex helps us analyze mechanisms of some undemocratic happenings under certain procedural democratic moments.

In the Third World, the transition from the dictatorship to democracy can be identified with a particular form of transition from a pre-modernity to modernity. By looking at the transition from pre-modernity to modernity as involving a process of division from a single society to a pluralized society, a dictatorship can be construed as a force preventing a society from the division into the different fields of state, economy, and civil society. In this sense, democratization can be understood as a process of realization of modernization or dissolution of “the contemporaneity of the uncontemporary.”

From this perspective, we believe that the transition to democracy begins with the disintegration of a specific monopoly complex. Of course, we agree that the disintegration of political monopoly and achievement of procedural democracy is a good index to evaluate a certain level of democratization in a country. However, such an index is not enough to evaluate all phenomena and values that the concept of democratization implies and requires. Insofar as monopolies in other fields remain intact, the political monopoly would regain momentum, or oligarchic forces would be strengthened in each field. For example, some Asian countries experienced anti-democratic backsliding,

including the increasing economic inequality and a return to authoritarianism (political monopoly), even after they have entered the transitory moment to post-authoritarianism. To interpret and analyze these anti-democratic phenomena, we need more robust indices. Therefore, it is important to note two things together. First, democratization is to be understood as a long process of de-monopolization. Second, we have to analyze relational dynamics within and between the multiple fields of politics, economy, and civil society.

Asian Democracy

As discussed above, dictatorship is defined as a monopoly-complex which combined all monopolies in political, economic, and social fields, and democratization is a multi-layered de-monopolization process. Put differently, democratization is not only the disintegration process of the monopoly-complex but also de-monopolization in the aforementioned fields. Each Asian country has followed different paths toward the “multi-layered demonopolization” of the national monopoly-complex, which is constituted by de-monopolization in each field. The concrete pattern of democratization has been shaped by the power relationship in each country. However, it is also true that “neoliberal globalization,” which was culminated in the Southeast and East Asian economic crisis of 1997-98, strongly affected the democratization process. Despite cross-national variances, “neoliberal globalization,” in general, has constrained the multi-layered de-monopolization by strengthening the power of socioeconomic oligarchic forces in each country.

Although neoliberal globalization constrained the democratization of Asian countries, the mode of its internalization was so specific to each country. The national diversity was a consequence of the interplay of the mode of the internalization of globalization and various internal factors, such as the concrete modality of the disintegration of monopoly-complexes and its sub-processes, the conflicts and differentiation of ruling forces and subalterns, and the relationship between political forces in the newly created contentious sphere of democracy.

We identified two types of democracy in Asia by studying the complex interplay of the abovementioned variables in South Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, and Thailand. In Asia, political de-monopolization can generally be categorized into either neo-oligarchy or post-oligarchy.

The terms “neo-oligarchy” and “post-oligarchy” demonstrate the characteristics and progress of political de-monopolization. Neo-oligarchic democracy refers to a democratization process where former monopolistic

Table 1: Neo-Oligarchy and Post-Oligarchy

Type	Neo-Oligarchy	Post-Oligarchy
Examples	Indonesia, Thailand, the Philippines	Taiwan, South Korea
Disintegration of Monopoly-Complex	<p>Transformative Reconfiguration:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Previous Monopoly-Complex Retaining the Control over Each Field • Persistence of the Collusive Links between Politics and the Economy • Interruption of the Liquidation of the Past • Unsettled Electoral Democracy (buying off and/or manipulating votes) • Persisting Influences of the Military or Elite Families • Threatened Independence of Anti-dictatorship Forces 	<p>Disintegrative Reconfiguration:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decreasing Influences of Monopoly-Complex • Formal and Procedural Separation of Politics and the Economy • Liquidation of the Past • Well-rooted Electoral Democracy • Establishment of Inter-elite Competition • Independence of Anti-dictatorship Forces
Disintegration of Political Monopoly	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changes in the Ownership of Monopoly Capital • Emerging Conflicts between Previous Monopolies (Crony Corporations) and Neo-Crony Corporations supported by the New Government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Persistence of Previous Monopolistic Forces • Strengthened Autonomy from Politics • Empowerment by Neoliberal Globalization
Disintegration of Economic Monopoly	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Progress from Absolute Poverty • Increasing Relative Inequality • Reshuffling of the Included and Excluded 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing Polarization and Deterioration of Income Distribution • Polarization is Faster than in Neo-Oligarchy
Disintegration of Social Monopoly	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weak Activation of Civil Society • Emergence of Populist Leaders (Thaksin, Estrada) • Challenged Statehood by Separatist Movements • Vicious Cycle of Violent Repression and Resistance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Activation of Civil Society (the Lack of Political Representative Body) • Systemic Incorporation of Social Fragments (by races or regions) • Erupting Resistance by Diverse Subalterns against Cultural, Gendered, and Ideological Monopolies
Neoliberal Globalization and the Modc of Its Internalization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Passive Adaptation to Neoliberal Globalization in the Conflicts between Pro-Americanism and Nationalism • Continuing Hostility toward Neoliberalism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Active Adaptation to Neoliberal Globalization through Increasing Pro-Americanism • Implementation of Market Fundamentalist Policies

forces maintain their monopolistic status even after democratization. Post-oligarchic democracy refers to a democratization process where the monopolistic status of oligarchies constantly weakens and relatively “pluralistic” competition between monopolistic conservatives and anti-monopolistic liberals takes place. Of course, this is an ideal-type classification and is not necessarily realistic.

In a neo-oligarchy, political monopoly or the vested rights structure does not break up widely and former monopolists’ institutional or non-institutional force never weakens. In post-oligarchy, however, the existing political monopoly breaks up continuously and pluralistic competition takes root nationally and politically. Thus, they are distinguished mainly by the degree of the disintegration of the monopoly-complex and, especially, of the political monopoly. Whereas neo-oligarchy shows the lower degree of disintegration, post-oligarchy shows an elaborated division of labor not only within the political field but also between oligarchic forces in each field. For example, in South Korea and Taiwan, we saw the differentiation of the state and civil society and the separation of politics from the economy. In these cases, former monopolistic forces in the state apparatus and anti-dictatorship activists coexisted, resulting in diversified groups within state institutions.

In summary, the difference between neo-oligarchy and post-oligarchy is the difference between transformative reconfiguration and disintegrative reconfiguration. Nevertheless, they are still oligarchy as the previous monopoly was not completely disintegrated but reconfigured. Not only in Thailand and the Philippines but also in South Korea and Taiwan are the previous monopoly-complexes enjoying the disproportionate sway over the political field and the whole society. Table 1 summarizes the characters of each type.

The Asian Democracy Index

The ADI Perspective

Drawing from the theoretical expositions above, our examination of Asian democracy via our Asian Democracy Index is performed following a particular sequence: principles → subprinciples → attributes → indicators. The two principles, liberalization and equalization, imply the perspectives and values that each index signifies. They are both signposts that determine the limits of the signification of each index. As was discussed above, the conceptual starting point of the research on the Asian Democracy Index is “democratization as the de-monopolization.” It underlines a relational and

historical approach on the understanding of democracy. In other words, democracy can be practically recognized as a relational formation of complex conflicts of different fields of politics, economy and civil society as well as a historical formation which has a path dependency in a certain society.

We try to articulate an idea of “civil society” in the context of our conception of democracy and democratization for our Asian Democracy Index. With this idea of “civil society,” we can see some aspects of democratization that other democracy indicators have missed.

Firstly, it helps us restore the role of “the agent” alongside the impact of a system or a structure in a democracy index. Whereas the third wave of democratization resulted in “the resurrection of a civil society,” most researches on democracy tend to miss the role of the agent. They are generally based on a dichotomy of structure/consciousness, and biased to put importance to the role of consciousness. Here, it is important to remind that O’Donnell introduced into the theory of democracy the concept of “modern individuals,” which originally emerged in the French Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen and in the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. This concept recognizes the modern identity of human beings, as beings that have irrevocable rights and responsibilities. This also a crucial premise that serves as the basis for identifying all humans as democratic agents in theory. To restore the role of the agent signifies the need to evaluate people’s ability to achieve access to necessary resources. This evaluation involves the examination of various aspects of civil society: from the level of basic human development to people’s influence over the state.

Secondly, it extends a view on “analytical objects” so that we can see more clearly the relational characteristics of democracy. Other theories mainly take a political field as their analytical object. Due to this, they have failed to investigate some critical facts—theoretically claimed by neo-pluralists and new left groups—that show how the deepening of inequality in the fields of economy and civil society are threatening democracy. The introduction of the idea of civil society based on democratization as de-monopolization will lead us to understand the abnormal phenomena of the anti-democratic backslidings of democracy in the condition of a fully developed procedural democratic system, and to find solutions to such regressions.

Principles and Intermediating Values

From the perspective above, we suggest that the two ideas of liberalization and equalization be seen as the core principles of democracy. Liberalization is a process to restore the autonomy of each field of a society by de-integrating

the monopoly-complex, and to realize self-legislation. Thus, liberalization is a principle used to measure the level of liberalization from monopoly and regulation over certain fields. In this sense, it is a principle to measure how monopoly of resources is de-integrated in a procedural level.

In the process of democratization, each field can restore its own autonomy from the domination of the monopoly-complex. It is identified with O'Donnell's notion of liberalization, Freedom House's idea of the citizen liberty, and the concept of civil rights in the theory of citizenship. The level of liberalization can enhance when each field obtains its own criteria for self-evaluation as well as its autonomy. Thus, liberalization is divided into two subsidiary categories of autonomy and ability of competition/accountability.

The process of democratization involves the transformation in the relations of power in each field of politics, economy, and civil society. We call this transformation of relations equalization. The degree of equalization shows how much the quality of democracy has developed. It is a principle used to evaluate how much agents achieve in terms of gaining actual resources within a certain system. That is, it is the actual degree of resource access. Equalization is also divided into two subsidiary categories: pluralization and solidarity/consequential equality. The former shows the actual status of monopoly over resources while the latter pertains to the available means to de-integrate the monopoly of resources.

The two core principles of liberalization and equalization reveal the conditions and the consequences of democratization. Both principles are used to recognize causes of anti-democratic backsliding and the necessary conditions for better democratization.

Examining specific mechanisms of liberalization and equalization in the three interacting fields of politics, economy, and civil society, our Asian Democracy Index aims to give a relatively clearer and more concrete picture of the complex dynamics of democratization in Asia. However, as mentioned earlier, the ADI is not limited to examining democratization on the basis of two principles. Whereas the core principles are concerned with overall information about each country's democracy, the subprinciples deal with more specific democracy information per country. Autonomy deals with independence from the government, competition with the state of the self-reference system, equality with the degree of equality in terms of resource allocation, and solidarity with the degree of mitigation of income disparity.

The Asian Democracy Index also enables the analysis of each field based on civil society theory so that it can help in understanding the potentials and limitations of each country's democracy. The indices consisting of combinations of the three fields of politics, economy, and civil society help

Table 2: Asian Democracy Index Fields, Principles, and Subprinciples

Field	Core Principle			
	Liberalization		Equalization	
	Subsidiary	Subsidiary	Subsidiary	Subsidiary
	Autonomy	Competition	Pluralization	Solidarity
Politics				
Attributes	4	6	4	4
Indicators	4	6	4	5
Economy				
Attributes	3	4	5	4
Indicators	4	4	5	7
Civil Society				
Attributes	4	4	4	3
Indicators	7	4	4	3

in describing how balanced a country's democracy is and what constrains a country's democracy from evolving. For example, if a country's political democracy index is high but its economic democracy index is low, the country's political democracy is institutionally well-established but likely to face limitations in practice. If a country's civil society democracy index is high, this country is likely to further develop its democracy even if the political and economic index are currently low. Taking such an approach to analyze democracy may uncover different aspects of democratization that previous studies have failed to address. Thus, it is hoped that the ADI can help explain each country's democracy more specifically and thereby help a country's democracy scholars undertake more relational and multilevel analyses.

The Asian Democracy Index can be enriched by combining the aforesaid core principle and field analyses. When political, economic, and civil society fields meet the two core principles and their four subprinciples, twelve subunits can be obtained, all of which have the potential to contribute to the analysis of the potentials and limitations of a country's democracy.

Attributes and Indicators

As stated above, the Asian Democracy Index consists of three fields, two core principles, and four subprinciples. It can thus be divided into six subsections by core principles, or twelve subsections by subprinciples.

The Asian Democracy Index is comprised of forty nine attributes and fifty seven indicators. To be specific, the political field consists of eighteen attributes and nineteen indicators, the economic field of sixteen attributes and twenty indicators, and the civil society field of fifteen attributes and eighteen indicators.

Reclassifying the attributes and indicators into subsections by core principles, political liberalization is measured by ten attributes and ten indicators, while political equalization is made up of eight attributes and nine indicators; economic liberalization is measured by seven attributes and eight indicators, while economic equalization is comprised of nine attributes and twelve indicators; and civil society liberalization is measured by eight attributes and eleven indicators, while civil society equalization is made up of seven attributes and seven indicators. The attributes and indicators can also be divided according to subprinciples, as presented in table 2.

What follows is a detailed discussion of the attributes and indicators—phrased as the questions that appear in the ADI questionnaires—arranged by field subprinciple.

Politics

The political field consists of eighteen attributes and nineteen indicators. Political liberalization is comprised of ten attributes and ten indicators, while political equalization has eight attributes and nine indicators. To be more specific, political autonomy is made up of four attributes and four indicators, competition of six attributes and six indicators, pluralization of four attributes and four indicators, and solidarity of four attributes and five indicators.

Autonomy

The subprinciple of political autonomy is a criterion to measure how independent citizens are from the government or political groups. It is used to evaluate how well citizens' rights are protected. This field subprinciple is comprised of four attributes: the degree of state violence, the degree of civil liberties, the degree of freedom to organize political groups and undertake political action, and the degree of freedom for political opposition.

The level of the performance of state violence

Significance

Violence by the state threatens its current and potential citizens. This is a key indicator of democracy. Violence reduces democratic civic action by its

citizens and suppresses democratic citizen action, leading to dictatorial regression.

**Question*

How well do you think the citizens are protected from the violence wielded by government agencies in your country?

**Description*

This question is designed to measure the degree of violence initiated by government agencies. When you answer this question, please consider whether law enforcement agencies (i.e., the police, military, and intelligence agencies) inspect, monitor and control citizens; or illegally detain, imprison and torture citizens. You may as well refer to the number of the prisoners of conscience, the number of people detained due to protests, and the number of political terrorism cases conducted by the government's state apparatuses.

Civil rights

Significance

Protecting civil liberties is a core indicator of modern society and a starting point of democracy. When individuals, groups, and communities alike are allowed to freely think and express and share their ideas with other citizens, it can be said that a true foundation for democracy has been established.

**Question*

How well do you think the citizens' freedom is protected in your country?

**Description*

This question is designed to measure the status of citizens' freedoms and civil rights. When you answer this question, please consider whether freedom of assembly, protest, religion, conscience, travel, housing and job selection, among others, is protected. When such "freedoms" are institutionally protected and actually guaranteed, that is the ideal condition.

Freedom to organize and act in political groups

Significance

In order for a country to transition from an authoritarian regime to a democracy, rights to political organization and activities must be guaranteed. When diverse political groups present political alternatives and policies in opposition to authoritarianism and monopolistic political power, democracy can replace the authoritarian regime. Furthermore, in order to develop and firmly establish a true democracy, not merely escaping from authoritarianism, freedom for political organization and action must be fully guaranteed.

**Question*

How much do you think the freedom of assembly and activities of political groups (parties and quasi-political organizations) are protected in your country?

**Description*

This question is designed to measure the status of freedom of assembly, which is a key condition in securing political rights. When you answer this question, please consider whether citizens are free to organize political parties or quasi-political groups and whether such organizations are autonomous and independent enough to participate in the political decisionmaking processes. When such freedom is institutionally protected and actually guaranteed, that may be an ideal condition. Quasi-political groups or organizations in this question refer to political organizations generally acknowledged by the citizens under a democratic society, not defined by a current law.

Permission for political opposition

Significance

Democracy is advanced further by expanding openness and plurality within the regime by permitting political opposition for anti-system/anti-ruling ideologies. In an anti-democratic system, the ruling forces suppress opposition to them and the system wherein they are dominant, thereby maintaining anti-democratic rigidity. Therefore, permitting ideological and political opposition allows democratization or the further development of democratization.

**Question*

How much do you think are government opposition movements or governing groups and the governing ideology are allowed in your country?

**Description*

This question is designed to measure if the existence of political opposition movements is guaranteed in your country. Such political opposition may be antigovernment and/or anti-regime. When you answer this question, please examine whether there is any censorship system or legislation that restricts citizens' freedom of ideology. You are also advised to consider not only the existence of a system, but also its implementation. The governing groups or ideology refer to those in the political power, constitutional ideology, and the economic power in your country.

Competition

The field subprinciple of political competition refers to how well political competition is implemented. In other words, politics should be able to establish a self-reference system. Competition is measured by looking at six attributes: expansion of universal suffrage, state efficiency, existence of non-elected supreme power, the rule of law, fair and competitive elections, and transparency.

The expansion of the universal suffrage

Significance

Suffrage is a basic right of citizens in a democratic society. This is the right to elect political representatives and monitor them. Only when institutions fully guarantee universal suffrage can elections be said to be democratic, thereby allowing citizens to establish a self-reference system.

**Question*

How well do you think suffrage of the citizens is protected in your country?

**Description*

This question is designed to measure whether suffrage or political franchise is actually guaranteed. When you answer this question, please examine whether voters can elect their representatives (heads of state and legislators) based on their free will, and whether there is any formal or actual limitations to the rights. You are advised to consider any limitation to suffrage based on the voter's age, religion, gender, ideology, race, and/or class, as well as any virtual restrictions that go against the law in your country.

Efficiency of the state

Significance

In order to firmly establish democracy, the government should not only be legitimate but also efficient. If a government overly relies on force or is too inefficient, citizens cannot trust the government, leading to distrust in democracy itself.

**Question*

How well do you think all government agencies implement government policies in your country?

**Description*

This question is designed to measure the degree of government efficiency; that is, its ability for political implementation and policy execution. When you answer this question, please examine whether government agencies are

running efficiently and consistently, and government policies are effectively operated. You are also advised to consider how much the public trust government agencies and policies.

The presence of the non-elected hereditary power

Significance

The existence of a realistic, systemic non-electoral supreme power distorts rights to sovereignty and political representation and shakes democracy to its roots. It also allows the continuation of existing authoritarian systems, which deals a severe blow to the development of democracy.

*Question

How much do you think non-elected groups account for the political power in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to examine whether there are non-elected power groups in your country, such as politically powerful and/or wealthy families, influential religious or military groups, and other powerful social classes, and how much control they exercise over the government. When you answer this question, please examine whether your government system and the parliament/legislature are subject to a monarchy, hereditary system and/or junta. Even if non-elected political groups are not institutionally recognized, you are advised to carefully examine whether there is any supreme political body based on family heritage or military power.

The rule of law

Significance

Realization of rule of law and state-level righting of historical distortion control the denial of the state itself or use of the state for personal purposes. In the absence of regulations against denying rule of law—making democracy a system—stabilizing and strengthening democracy will be difficult.

*Question

How well do you think the rule of law is established in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to examine whether your government rules by law and if the law is fairly executed. When you answer this question, please examine whether the country is governed by law, and whether all citizens are equal before the law. In addition, you are also advised to consider whether the judicial branch is independent, and whether there is any independent evaluating body that examines the constitutionality of juridical judgment.

Electoral fairness

Significance

Fair elections are the most rational method of confirming the political will of the people. However, realistic competition might not exist as fair elections are always threatened by the ruling powers. In spite of their formal fairness, the political party system itself may not reflect the political representation of the citizens.

*Question

How fairly do you think elections are conducted in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure the fairness of elections. When you answer this question, please examine whether there is a fair law governing elections; whether citizens are equally granted voting opportunities; whether election and ballot count procedures are fairly performed; whether there is an independent body governing elections (e.g., The National Election Commission of Korea); and whether a fair election system exists and supports fair elections. In addition, you are also advised to consider whether or not fair competition between political parties is actually guaranteed, not only stated by law.

Transparency

Significance

Transparency in the use of state power limits the intervention of private interests. It is therefore an indicator that enables the fair execution of democratic institutions including elections.

*Question

How transparent do you think the operations of government agencies are in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure whether operations of government agencies are transparent without corruption. When you answer this question, please examine whether government bodies operate open and transparent hiring processes; whether there is any hiring practice based on beneficiary-sponsor relationship; and whether their budget execution is transparent. In addition, you are also advised to examine whether sufficient information on legislative, administrative, and judicial bodies are disclosed; whether there are laws and regulations that dictate reasonable and transparent administrative procedures; and whether there are systems like an anti-corruption commission.

Pluralization

Political pluralization shows how evenly political power is distributed. Even if democratic institutions and procedures are well established, democracy cannot operate as designed if political power is dominated by one individual or certain groups. Equal distribution of political power is measured by four attributes: independence, check and balance between state power apparatuses, power distribution in the parliament, political representation, and democratization of government bodies.

Independence and checks and balances among state power apparatuses

Significance

This index shows how checks and balances between power apparatuses are maintained. Checks and balances means horizontal responsibilities, one of the core features of democracy. In a democratic country, state power is checked not only vertically (from the bottom) but also horizontally, so that the government can prevent certain power groups from dominating political power or reigning over it, ultimately to protect its citizens' rights.

**Question*

How well do you think government agencies maintain checks and balances?

**Description*

This question is designed to measure horizontal responsibilities and/or checks and balances among government agencies. When you answer this question, please examine whether the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the government are independent from each other and maintain check and balance; whether local governments are autonomous and independent from the central government, and vice versa; whether there are supervisory bodies that monitor major government agencies and their activities and their independence is well secured; and whether citizens' activities are monitored and controlled by any government bodies.

Dispersion of political power in the parliament

Significance

Dispersion of political power and democratic operation within the parliament prevents a democratic government from becoming a puppet organization. If in the parliament the majority bloc makes decisions in total disregard of the minority parties, representativeness in parliament will be in name only. If that majority sides also with the wielder of executive power, then parliament will have failed to check the executive. Therefore, dispersion of

Table 3: ADI Political Field Components

Politics (Liberalization)	
Attribute	Question
Autonomy	
The level of the performance of state violence	1. How well do you think the citizens are protected from the violence wielded by government agencies in your country?
Civil rights	2. How well do you think the citizens' freedom is protected in your country?
Freedom to organize and act in political groups	3. How much do you think the freedom of assembly and activities of political groups (parties and quasi-political organizations) are protected in your country?
Permission for political opposition	4. How much do you think are government opposition movements or governing groups and the governing ideology are allowed in your country?
Competition	
The expansion of the universal suffrage	5. How well do you think suffrage of the citizens is protected in your country?
Efficiency of the state	6. How well do you think all government agencies implement government policies in your country?
The presence of the non-elected hereditary power	7. How much do you think non-elected groups account for the political power in your country?
The rule of law	8. How well do you think the rule of law is established in your country?
Electoral fairness	9. How fairly do you think elections are conducted in your country?
Transparency	10. How transparent do you think the operations of government agencies are in your country?

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Table 3 (*continued*)

Politics (Equalization)	
Pluralization	
Independence and checks and balances among state power apparatuses	1. How well do you think government agencies maintain checks and balances?
Dispersion of political power in the parliament	2. How well do you think power within the legislature is distributed in your country?
Political representation	3. How well do you think the parliament or the legislature represents various social groups in your country?
Democratization of state institutions	4. How fairly and rationally do you think the programs and policies government agencies are being implemented in your country?
Solidarity	
Participation system and degree of participation	5. How actively do you think citizens are participating in elections and other political decision-making processes in your country?
Affirmative action	6. How well do you think affirmative actions are established and implemented in your country?
The public credibility of the current democratic institution	7. How much do you think the public trusts the government? 8. How much do you think the public trusts the parliament/legislature?
The public credibility of a democratic institution and the public attitude to democratic participation	9. How much do you think the public trusts democracy?

power in the parliament is necessary to make possible checks and balances among state power apparatuses.

**Question*

How well do you think the power within the legislature is distributed in your country?

**Description*

This question is designed to examine whether the parliament or the legislature is democratically operating. When you answer this question, please consider whether parliamentary schedules and other operations are carried out based on the consensus of all parties, and whether minority parties' opinions are well embraced in the course of parliamentary operation (assembly schedule, legislation voting, and filibuster system). You may also consider whether minority parties are supported by the government, such as in the form of subsidies.

Political representation

Significance

Political representation is regarded as one of the most important principles of democracy. All social powers are given the opportunity to gain power through fair elections. Thus, this index focuses on whether or not the political representation of minority groups are sufficiently realized. Such representation opens the likelihood of democratically reflecting social changes in the political system.

**Question*

How well do you think the parliament or the legislature represents various social groups in your country?

**Description*

This question is designed to examine if various social groups are well-represented in the legislature. When you answer this question, please examine if certain political groups are overrepresented in the legislature despite fair and free elections; afterwards, you may examine if political, cultural, class, and racial minorities, including women, are fully guaranteed participation in politics. You may also refer to the ratio of parliamentary seats for each political party. If political parties are not solid bases of identity in your country, then please describe your particular representative relations in the "comments" section.

Democratization of state institutions

Significance

The state institutions must not only be democratic in their operation, but also open to public monitoring and criticism. If government bodies do not democratically operate in terms of decision making processes or human rights policies, or if they are not properly monitored, citizens bear the consequences. In addition, if the priorities of state bodies are based on their convenience or vested interests, this can produce enormous administrative losses, undermine public interest, and even cause social conflict.

*Question

How fairly and rationally do you think the programs and policies of government agencies are being implemented in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to examine how democratically government agencies implement their policies. When you evaluate the degree of democratization, please consider two different aspects simultaneously. First, please examine if the decision making processes of these agencies are fair and rational. Then, please examine if they practice good governance, such as listening to public opinion through committee and public hearings, and sharing information and power in the course of the process.

Solidarity

Assessment of solidarity in the political field involves looking into whether or not citizens are willing to challenge power disparity and whether or not any institutional measures are implemented to address political power distribution. There must be institutional systems that allow citizens to voice their opinions, and citizens themselves must have awareness of such systems. This field subprinciple is measured by looking at four attributes: institutional measures for and the degree of citizens' participation, affirmative actions, public confidence in the existing democracy, and public confidence in democracy and democratic values.

Participation system and degree of participation

Significance

Participation is citizens' fundamental right to deliver their opinions, and thereby one of the core principles of democracy. Unlimited participation and public awareness of active participation are the most powerful weapons of democracy to control unequal distribution of political power. The existence of institutions and apparatuses where the citizens can directly participate in

major decision-making in state affairs and realistic participation, and the ensuring of democratic participation by the citizens even during non-election periods will prevent democracy from degrading into elite democracy.

**Question*

How actively do you think citizens are participating in elections and other political decision making processes in your country?

**Description*

This question is designed to measure public awareness of political participation. When you answer this question, you may first examine various indices that involve election turnouts. You may consider supplementary systems to help the citizens' political participation in the decisionmaking processes, such as public hearings and petitions; and other democratic systems like recall and initiative by the public and the referendum.

Affirmative action

Significance

The existence of 1) institutional supplement to providing opportunity and achievements to make up for lack of power of the socially marginalized and 2) social minorities' political rights as equity in political institutions and fair competition are insufficient to ensure political rights and representation. Affirmative actions refer not only to quota systems, but also to practical support through which citizens, particularly socially disadvantaged people, can continuously participate in political activities. For example, if women or disabled people are not provided with adequate support such as child care and access to physical mobility and other forms of medical support, the quota system becomes useless. Such practical aspects should be considered by a civil society.

**Question*

How well do you think affirmative actions are established and implemented in your country?

**Description*

This question is designed to examine if there are systems that represent the political rights of minorities, and, if there is any, how well these systems operate. When you answer this question, please examine if reserved seats for women and people with disabilities in the political system are available; and if any, how well such quotas are observed.

The public credibility of the current democratic institution

Significance

Democracy develops on the credibility of democratic values among a wide variety of political participants. Furthermore, democracy develops

when each citizen is highly committed to participating in the democratic processes based on the political effectiveness of the democratic system itself. Therefore, evaluation of the people's trust in a country's democracy shows how strong and how promising its democracy is. Thus, what is measured by this index is public trust in the government and the parliament.

*Question

How much do you think the public trusts the government?

*Description

This question is designed to measure public confidence or trust towards the government. When you assess the confidence level, please examine how much citizens trust the incumbent (both local and national) government pronouncements or policies. In authoritarian countries, distrust in the government may be regarded as a potential for democratization, while in democratic countries, such distrust may result in political apathy and skepticism about the notion of "democracy" itself.

*Question

How much do you think does the public trust the parliament/legislature?

*Description

This question is designed to measure public confidence or trust in the parliament/legislature. When you answer this question, please consider how the citizens view the political circle in the parliament and politicians; to be specific, whether citizens regard the politics as efficient and fair and if citizens see politicians as public servants or as persons belonging to a privileged group. You may also examine whether citizens think the parliament/legislature is an efficient organization or a privileged body.

The public credibility of a democratic institution and the public attitude to democratic participation

Significance

Confidence in democracy is affected by both the current democratic situation of a country and the nation's mindset as a democracy as it is established by the country's history. If a nation is historically well aware of democracy, the country's democratic future can be said to be promising even if the nation is currently dissatisfied with its democratic situation. Inversely, if democracy has not been at the center of public discussion in a country's history, that country's democracy may fall into a crisis even if the current situation is satisfactory. Therefore, public confidence in democratic institutions and values is critical to predict the future of democracy in a country.

*Question

How much do you think the public trusts democracy?

**Description*

This question is designed to examine public trust in democracy. In other words, this question asks about public awareness of democracy, not of the democratic status of the country. You are advised to consider whether citizens regard democracy as the most desirable and efficient political value and decision making system, and whether they trust the democratic value and system.

Economy

The economic field consists of sixteen attributes and twenty indicators. Economic liberalization is comprised of seven attributes and eight indicators while equalization has nine attributes and twelve indicators. Further dividing the principles into field subprinciples, autonomy is made up of three attributes and four indicators, competition of four attributes and four indicators, pluralization of five attributes and five indicators, and equality of four attributes and seven indicators.

Autonomy

Economic autonomy refers to the existence of institutions that guarantee free economic activities of economic entities, i.e., free from undue interference. Economic autonomy is measured by three attributes: freedom from political power, protection of labor rights, and external autonomy for policy-making.

Freedom/autonomy of economic activities without political intervention

Significance

Economic freedom from political power means social differentiation, which is a starting point of modern democracy. When state power directly intervenes to create a monopoly through state-owned companies, it limits fair competition among companies, exacerbating unfair economic structures. These undesirable economic interventions by the government, known as government-led economy and the “cozy relationship” between politics and business, cause political and economic corruption. It becomes an obstacle to democratization of society that is based on autonomous and fair competition.

**Question*

How much influence do you think the political power/elite have on the operation of private companies in your country?

**Description*

This question is designed to measure how independent economic activities are from the politically powerful. When you answer this question,

please consider how much the government influences, directly or indirectly, the operations of private companies (i.e., a condition of state-controlled economy), and how close the ties are between politicians and/or bureaucrats and members of private companies (consider if there exists a cozy/united/sole relations between politics and business).

Protection of basic labor rights

Significance

Protection of labor rights means laborers, the weak in a capitalist society, are guaranteed the basic conditions where they can act as free economic entities.

When basic labor rights are not institutionalized, the state neglects to correct companies' exploitation of workers and infringes on their human rights. It also makes difficult the transparent and democratic management of companies. Even when basic labor rights are institutionalized, government-led economies and the "cozy relationship" between politics and business use outside political ideologies to limit basic labor rights in order to protect companies' interests.

With respect to the protection of labor rights, it should be noted that forced labor and/or child labor problems still exist in many countries. These are forms of labor that are anti-humanitarian and anti-democratic, destroying human dignity and oppressing the will and happiness of the individual. Institutionalized bans and social agreements on forced labor and child labor are necessary elements for the democratization of society.

*Question

How well do you think are labor rights established in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure how well labor rights are institutionalized and protected by law and are actually guaranteed in your country. When you answer this question, please consider if the three primary labor rights (freedoms of union organizing, collective bargaining, and collective action) are legally protected, and if the labor rights of certain groups (public officials, teachers, soldiers, etc.) are limited or restricted by law.

*Question

How well do you think is the prohibition of forced labor and child labor observed in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure how well forced labor and child labor are legally prohibited and whether or not the prohibitions are actually guaranteed. When you answer this question, please consider if there is any law

that prohibits forced labor and child labor; if the government signed any international convention/treaty of the International Labor Organization, the United Nations, and other significant organizations; and if, despite legal prohibitions, there are any recent cases in your country of forced labor and child labor.

Autonomy of the decision making process for the formation of international political economy policy

Significance

A nation's autonomy is partly based on the autonomy of economic policies. High rates of sovereign debt and subordination to the order of international division of labor, and poor ability to use technology and capital bring about not only external subordination of the economy, but they also weaken the political autonomy in terms of deciding national policies and budgeting. This means a weakening of a nation's own democratic justification ability due to limits posed by external forces on its authority, even if its authority has been democratically approved. Therefore, for the government to protect political autonomy, and thus democratic decision-making and execution, from external forces, it is highly important to weaken the level of economic subordination.

**Question*

How independent do you think decision-making processes of the central government is from foreign countries and/or foreign capital in your country?

**Description*

This question is designed to measure how independent the government's policymaking processes are from foreign capital and states. When you answer this question, please consider if the government's policymaking processes are independent, and if key industries, including backbone industries, are mainly dominated by domestic capital. You must consider the ratio of foreign aid and debts to the government budget, and the ratio of foreign capital to the total capital of key industries/cultural industries. You may also examine if important government economic decisions have ever been altered or discouraged by foreign capital.

Competition

In order for an economy to be democratized, the economic sector must be independent from the government or the governing power, while the sector itself establishes transparent and fair principles. Competition is a criteria that shows the economy is truly independent from the government and has its own rules. Competition is measured by four attributes: economic transparency,

fairness of the economy, government responsibilities, and corporate responsibilities.

Economic transparency

Significance

Economic transparency concerns the institutional prevention of corruption, tax evasion, and other unfair transactions, and is thereby concerned with the promotion of economic predictability, which guarantees stable reproduction and fairness of the economy, and ultimately to national development. If corporate governance and financial structures are not transparent, it becomes difficult to predict corporate stability and growth, thus increasing economic risks and undermining the interest of minority shareholders. In addition, opaque management may be associated with tax evasion, slash funds, and the “cozy relationship” between politics and business, facilitated by illegal political funds. These can create political and economic instability. To improve economic transparency beyond corporate transparency, financial transparency of society overall—involving, say, a real-name system in the financial and real estate market, and protection systems for minority shareholders—must be improved.

*Question

How transparent do you think corporate operations are in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure transparency of the economic system. When you answer this question, please consider if the corporate management and financial information of the private sector is transparently disclosed. In addition, you must consider if there are securities exchange markets, a real-name financial and real-estate transaction system, and a minority shareholder protection system.

Economic fairness

Significance

Economic fairness is an index to assess whether or not there are well-established institutions that guarantee fair competition. As market economy evolves, it is likely to create monopolies or oligopolies, rather than perfect competition. If a monopoly or oligopoly does appear in the market, it gives rise to economic polarization and undermines market efficiency, and concurrently invites social polarization and undermines public wealth as well, all of which leads to public distrust in democracy.

*Question

How fair do you think the competition among companies is in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure fairness of economic activities. When you answer this question, please consider if there are laws and regulations that prevent monopoly and oligopoly, and encourage fair competition between companies; and whether such laws and regulations are actually effective. For example, you must consider if there are monitoring and supervisory bodies, such as the Fair Trade Commission of Korea; and if so, whether such bodies are operating effectively; and whether the relations between large companies and SMEs are not lopsided.

Government's accountability

Significance

Government responsibilities to laborers mean establishing and maintaining affirmative actions to protect labor rights. This means not only establishing institutions, but also maintaining a fair attitude and policies toward both corporations and laborers. In addition, governments should implement and operate responsible policies so that laborers—the economically disadvantaged in society—can carry out their economic activities in a stable environment. To this end, governments must implement institutions for neutral and fair arbitration in case of management-labor disputes. Furthermore, governments must try to minimize, or remove if possible, discrimination against part-time workers, and to protect rights of part-time workers and the unemployed.

*Question

How much effort do you think the government is exerting to protect and guarantee labor rights in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure if the government is doing its best to protect relatively vulnerable parties, i.e., laborers. When you answer this question, please consider if government agencies that represent labor rights and mediating bodies, systems, and procedures are present. You must also assess how effectively such bodies, systems, and procedures protect labor rights.

Corporate accountability

Significance

This index is used to assess whether or not corporations protect labor rights in fact. Even if labor rights are institutionally protected, many workers' rights are actually violated in the work field. In particular, in the globalized world where neoliberalism is the dominant ideology, corporations tend to violate

labor rights in the name of corporate competitiveness. Not only internal corporate affairs such as surveillance on workers and sweatshop working conditions, but also social issues like the growing number of part-time workers and lay-offs signify deteriorating labor conditions.

**Question*

How well do you think private companies protect / guarantee labor rights in your country?

**Description*

This question is designed to measure how well private companies protect labor rights. When you answer this question, please consider if private companies are doing their best to abide by relevant laws and regulations. In addition, you must consider if they try to protect workers' health and rights. To this end, you may also examine the rate of industrial accidents/disasters and the number of labor disputes.

Pluralization

Economic pluralization means fair distribution of economic resources leading to both economic and socio-political democratization. Therefore, severe economic inequality aggravates political inequality, which may demolish the foundation for democracy. Economic equalization is measured by five attributes: economic monopoly, regional disparity, income inequality, asset disparity, and employment inequality.

Economic monopoly

Significance

Economic monopoly is an index to measure the degree of fair distribution of economic resources among different groups. Market economy is premised on fair competition in theory, but is actually vulnerable to distortion due to state intervention or dominant economic powers. If certain groups dominate the market, fair competition is impossible; unfair competition only makes the rich richer and the poor poorer.

**Question*

How much do you think the economy is dominated by certain groups in your country?

**Description*

This question is designed to measure monopoly of the economy by certain groups. When you answer this question, please consider if certain families, races, or groups monopolize the economic wealth of the country or dominate economic activities. For example, under a dictatorship, powerful

Table 4: ADI Economic Field Components

Economy (Liberalization)	
Attribute	Question
Autonomy	
Freedom/autonomy of economic activities without political intervention	1. How much influence do you think the political power/elite have on the operation of private companies in your country?
Protection of basic labor rights	2. How well do you think labor rights are established in your country? 3. How well do you think the prohibition of forced labor and child labor is observed in your country?
Autonomy of the decision making process for the formation of international political economy policy	4. How independent do you think the decision-making processes of the central government is from foreign countries and/or foreign capital in your country?
Competition	
Economic transparency	5. How transparent do you think corporate operations are in your country?
Economic fairness	6. How fair do you think the competition among companies is in your country?
Government's accountability	7. How much effort do you think the government is exerting to protect and guarantee labor rights in your country?
Corporate accountability	8. How well do you think private companies protect/guarantee labor rights in your country?

Table 4 (*continued*)

Economy (Equalization)	
Pluralization	
Economic monopoly	1. How much do you think the economy is dominated by certain groups in your country?
Regional inequality	2. How serious do you think the economic disparities/inequalities are between regions in your country?
Inequality of income	3. How serious do you think the income disparity is in your country?
Inequality of asset	4. How serious do you think the asset disparity is in your country?
Inequality of employment	5. How serious do you think discrimination is in the labor market in your country?
Solidarity	
The social security system	6. How well do you think support systems for the poor are working in your country? 7. How well do you think the social insurance programs are operated in your country?
The activity of trade unions	8. How well organized do you think labor unions are in your country? 9. How much influence do you think labor unions have on the policies of the central government in your country? 10. How much do you think labor unions participate in the management process in your country?
Corporate watch	11. How well do you think public monitoring is carried out on the corporate activities in your country?
Awareness of reducing inequality	12. How enthusiastic do you think is the general public in reducing the economic inequality in your country?

politicians and their families occupy key economic interests. Even in democratic societies, economic wealth and activities may be largely influenced by a few conglomerates.

Regional inequality

Significance

Economic inequality is herein presented as a form of regional disparity, particularly in countries where many different ethnic groups live together or uneven development strategies have been implemented. In particular, many Asian nations have not secured national unity as they are still weighed down by a wide variety of regional disputes. In addition, low development and unequal development in such nations manifest in a severe gap in income between urban and rural residents. This results in regional disputes, e.g., via the exacerbation of regional sentiment, creating social friction. This results in massive costs from social conflict, which have serious negative effects on the development of democracy.

*Question

How serious do you think the economic disparities/inequality are between regions in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure regional disparities in the economy, i.e., disparities in the economic development between regions. When you answer this question, please consider the gross regional domestic product (GRDP), population concentration, Gini coefficient of each region, average incomes, and employment rates.

Inequality of income

Significance

This index looks into the gap between the haves and have-nots. Income inequality in Asia is not merely caused by inequality of assets or income. This index contemplates a wide variety of factors affecting inequality, including income groups, ethnic groups, education, religions, regions, and gender.

*Question

How serious do you think the income disparity is in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure income disparities. When you answer this question, please consider Gini coefficient, income quintiles, poverty rates, income gaps according to education levels, and gender income gap.

Inequality of assets

Significance

Asset disparity is one of the greatest risk factors in modern society as it reinforces wealth inheritance, and not wealth creation according one's ability. In Western countries, financial assets are the source of asset disparity, while in Asian countries, it is mostly land and real estate. Severe poverty and urbanization have caused inequality in housing, which also causes enormous social disputes. Thus, this index focuses on inequality in land and housing.

*Question

How serious do you think the asset disparity is in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure asset disparities. Asset disparities include disparities in both financial and non-financial assets. In Asia, asset disparities appear as disparities in real estate, housing, and land ownership. When you answer this question, please consider home ownership rates, land ownership concentration, and real-estate price disparities by region.

Inequality of employment

Significance

The right to work is one of the most basic rights in a democratic society. Despite systematic ensuring of this right, the reality is that often many people do not have this right even in so-called democracies. The right to work is thus an important indicator in evaluating the stability of democracy. In Asia, cronyism, nepotism, and patriarchal practices still persist. Such practices have given rise to widespread inequality in employment in Asian countries. Thus, the question below must be answered by taking into account inequality among classes, ethnic groups, education level, religions, regions, and genders.

*Question

How serious do you think discrimination is in the labor market in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure inequality and/or discrimination in the labor market. In Asia, there are still regional ties, and sponsorship and patriarchal practices, which lead to various forms of employment discrimination. When you answer this question, please consider inequality between or discrimination based on social classes, educational backgrounds, religions, regions, and genders. You must examine unemployment rates, youth unemployment rates, unemployment rates by gender/educational background, and the ratio of regular to irregular workers.

Solidarity

In order to realize the premise of democratic tradition that “political power is distributed fairly among members of society,” equal economic power, or economic democracy is necessary, as Robert A. Dahl insisted. However, as substantial inequality appears in reality, equal economic opportunities cannot be guaranteed. Thus, the economic solidarity subprinciple measures how the aforescribed inequality is institutionally addressed, and how aware a society is of inequality issues. To this end, economic solidarity has four attributes: social security systems, labor union activities, corporate surveillance, and awareness of inequality alleviation.

The social security system

Significance

A social security system is a fundamental feature of a democratic society. Social security systems can alleviate overly unequal incomes and protect the social rights of citizens, thus strengthening democracy. Social security systems are classified into public aid and social insurance. Social insurance is for those who work, while public aid is a social security system for all citizens to ensure minimum cost of living. Public assistance and social insurance systems differ from country to country. Thus, they must be evaluated according to different situations of each country.

*Question

How well do you think support systems for the poor work in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure if public assistance programs within the social welfare system are well established and operating in your country. When you answer this question, please consider the existence and operation of the minimum wage and basic life support laws, and government support out of social insurance programs for low-income families. Public assistance programs largely differ from country to country. Some countries have dedicated laws and regulations that define basic life support and assistance, while others include such support in social insurance programs.

*Question

How well do you think the social insurance programs are operated in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure how well social insurance programs within the social welfare system are operated in your country. Although social

insurance programs may differ from country to country, they refer to unemployment benefits, national pension programs, national health insurance, and unemployment insurance in this question. This question asks whether such insurance programs are well established and operated. When you answer this question, please consider the ratio of social welfare expenditure to gross domestic product (GDP) (or the government budget), income redistribution rates, and the operation of national pension system/national health insurance/unemployment insurance.

The activity of trade unions

Significance

The right to organize labor unions is a basic right for the economically vulnerable. However, even if such rights are ensured, the effectiveness of labor unions may differ for each nation. There may be differences in the extent of organization in each nation; some unions may be state-run and not speak for the benefit of the union members. The political influence and power dynamics in corporations of labor unions thus differ country by country. In order to measure labor union activities in a particular country, their organization level, political influence, and in-corporate influence must be examined together.

*Question

How well organized do you think labor unions are in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure if labor unions are commonly organized, and if such unions are respected and trusted by their members. When you answer this question, please consider the rate of labor union organization, the type of labor unions (by industry or company), the implementation of collective agreements, and members' confidence in the unions.

*Question

How much influence do you think labor unions have on the policies of the central government in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure political influence of labor unions. When you answer this question, please consider whether labor unions are respected and trusted by the public; if there is a political party that represents the interests of labor unions; if there is an organization that coordinates interests of labor-management-government; if there is an umbrella organization that supports labor unions; and whether such umbrella organization has influence on central government policies.

**Question*

How much do you think labor unions participate in the management process in your country?

**Description*

This question is designed to measure the degree of labor unions' participation in the corporate management. When you answer this question, please examine labor unions' monitoring of and participation in corporate management. In other words, you may as well consider if there are labor-management co-decision making systems; and if labor unions participate in the board of directors' meeting.

Corporate watch

Significance

Emphasis on corporate social responsibility (CSR) is a global trend. CSR is ideally implemented by companies in cooperation with suitable corporate watchdogs headed by consumers. Corporate accountability will be higher when consumers participate in diverse corporate watch activities.

**Question*

How well do you think public monitoring is carried out on the corporate activities in your country?

**Description*

This question is designed to measure how much the general public is involved in monitoring corporate activities and its consequences, including consumer rights violation and environmental problems. When you answer this question, please examine if there are consumer and environment groups. Assess how effective their activities are, how well consumer protection laws are operating, and how proactively the general public are involved in the monitoring process.

Awareness of reducing inequality

Significance

More important than social systems designed to alleviate inequality is public solidarity against inequality. Such solidarity is a core factor that drives the institutionalization or legalization of measures to reinforce equality through overcoming social conflict. The more proactive citizens are in easing inequality, the higher will be the acceptance of systems to alleviate inequality.

**Question*

How enthusiastic do you think the general public is about improving the economic inequality in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure public awareness of addressing economic disparities. In some cases, such awareness can be represented by active efforts, such as trying to change social systems, and by individual efforts, such as donations or voluntary activities. This question asks about public opinion and actions meant to address economic inequality.

Civil Society

The civil society field consists of fifteen attributes and eighteen indicators. Civil society liberalization is comprised of eight attributes and eleven indicators, while civil society equalization is made up of seven attributes and eight indicators. In the subprinciple level, civil society autonomy is made up of four attributes and seven indicators, civil society competition of four attributes and four indicators, civil society pluralization of four attributes and four indicators, and civil society solidarity of three attributes and three indicators.

Autonomy

According to the civil society approach, forming an independent civil society from the government and economy is a starting point of forming a modern society, and concurrently a starting point of modern liberal democracy. An autonomous civil society is free from both the government and economic forces, and its citizens have the ability to execute such autonomy. Considering the stipulations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, democracy is not possible without the ability to choose. Accordingly, autonomy is measured by looking at four attributes: autonomy from the government, autonomy from the market, autonomy of the member of the society, and tolerance.

Autonomy of society from state intervention

Significance

If civil society is autonomous from the government, then citizens' privacy is protected from state intervention. Autonomy from state intervention can thus be viewed from two different perspectives: 1) individual privacy protection including freedom of expression and freedom of cultural activities, and 2) protection of autonomous citizen bodies from state intervention or control.

**Question*

How free do you think citizens' social activities are from government interference in your country?

**Description*

When you answer this question, please consider media freedom (e.g., the existence of regulation bodies, direct/indirect pressures on the media, etc.), cultural freedom (e.g., the degree of censorship on art and creative works, etc.), and similar factors.

**Question*

How much influence do you think government organizations have on society in your country?

**Description*

This question is designed to measure the degree of government control on society. The government organizations in this question refer to pro-government organizations that are supported by the government. When you answer this question, please consider the number of government-supported nongovernmental organizations, their influence, their privileges (financial support by the government and nature of ties with government/government agencies), and similar factors.

Autonomy of society from the market

Significance

Civil society's autonomy is continuously violated by the government and economic forces. This is well presented by Jürgen Habermas's notion of the "colonization of the lifeworld." However, with the trend of neoliberal globalization, the market has become more powerful and more influential than governments. Neoliberalism expanded the entire market economy. Services that had been in the public sector (education, electricity, transportation, etc.) and practices (funerals, marriages etc.) that had belonged to the communities (regional or family) are witnessing rapid commercialization. These social conditions are making companies or commodities out of civic groups. Raising funds from private companies rather than from civil organizations has become some civic groups' most important activity. Thus, the question below is about the influence of the market on civil society.

**Question*

How much influence do you think private companies have on society in your country?

*Description

When you answer this question, please consider how free the media is from private companies. In addition, you must consider if NGOs' independence from private companies are socially and institutionally guaranteed.

Autonomy of social member

Significance

As stated before, in order for civil society to be independent, its citizens must be independent. In order to become independent citizens, their basic needs (e.g., food, clothing, housing, health care) must be met. They must be guaranteed sufficient education opportunities. The international community agrees that such basic necessities must be universally satisfied regardless of income and asset level as stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights). Yet democratization at times fails to ensure that citizens will have these basic necessities by exacerbating rather than healing social bipolarization. In order for citizens to have autonomy, they must be equipped with capabilities to meet their basic needs. To have these capabilities, they must be educated; education is an institution needed to guarantee equal opportunities, a fundamental principle of democracy.

*Question

How much do you think citizens' basic needs are met in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure how well citizens' basic needs (e.g., food, clothing, shelter, hygiene, and sanitation) are satisfied. When you answer this question, please consider poverty rates, death rates (infant mortality rates and life expectancy), housing ownership rates, homelessness rates, disease rates, water treatment and supply facilities (for clean water and sanitation), malnutrition/undernourishment indexes, and other factors.

*Question

Aside from the basic needs stated in a prior question, how much do you think special care is provided for vulnerable people or minorities, such as children, women, people with disabilities, and immigrants in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure the quality of care provided to vulnerable people and/or social minorities in your country. When you answer this question, please consider the conditions stipulated in the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the International Plan of

Action on Ageing, and the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families.

**Question*

How much do you think citizens are provided with education opportunities in your country?

**Description*

This question is designed to measure the degree of human development in your country. When you answer this question, please consider the Human Development Index released by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

Tolerance

Significance

Even after formal democratization, certain ideologies, religious principles, cultures, ethnic groups, races, etc. may not be tolerated by society. There are even occasions when such groups are politically oppressed. Thus, the question below is concerned with mutual prejudice and tolerance.

**Question*

How much do you think citizens respect different cultures, religions, languages, races, nations, and ideas in your country?

**Description*

This question is designed to measure social tolerance in your country. When you answer this question, please consider the degree of societal tolerance toward different values, citizens' awareness of human rights, the nature of competition (violent vs. tolerant) between different groups, and the political activities of interest groups.

Competition

Competition in civil society means a self-reference system of the society. As is well known, the core value of civil society is voluntary association. Civil society organizations influence the formation of citizens' identity, consequently moulding their opinions and mindsets. Social movements bring social issues to the center of public discussion, and thereby contribute to democratization of the state, the economy, and civil society. Civil society competition is evaluated using four attributes: the capabilities, publicness, transparency, and diversity of voluntary associations.

Capability of voluntary associations

Significance

This index is concerned with how well-organized voluntary organizations are, as the capability of civil society and NGOs for associatiom can be measured by their capability to reproduce, their ability to stay organized, their available resources, and their influence and credibility among the public.

*Question

How much influence do you think NGOs have on society in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure the functionality of NGOs. When you answer this question, please consider the number of NGOs and their members, human resources, public support and trust, financial self-sufficiency, existence of laws that support NGOs, existence of umbrella organizations and, if applicable, their effectiveness in achieving their aims.

Public good of voluntary associations

Significance

Autonomous organizations have both positive and negative impacts on democracy. Such organizations may create negative social identities, such as regionalism or paternalism, or may represent certain interest groups. Therefore, as much as the number of such organizations is important, their quality has even more value. In order for such organizations to have positive influences on democracy, they must internally form a democratic identity, and externally represent public interest. The internal characteristics can be interpreted as transparency, and the external one as publicness. Publicness can only be realized when those organizations pursue public interest, refusing to represent only regional interests or their own interests.

*Question

How well do you think NGOs represent public interest in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure the public nature of NGOs. Although NGOs pursue the public interest, they may also have the nature of interest groups. In Asia, some NGOs are virtually serving as a sponsor for a certain interest group or privileged organization, due largely to old-fashioned relationship and archaic practices. When you answer this question, please consider the ratio of public interest groups to narrow/specific interest groups.

Transparency of voluntary associations

Significance

In order for voluntary association to secure publicness, they must be transparent. As stated before, only when such organizations are free from negative identities arising from regionalism, authoritarianism, or paternalism can they create positive internal effects that can help in the formation of a democratic identity. The transparency considered by this index thus means civil society organizational democracy.

*Question

Do you think NGOs are democratically operating in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure the degree of democratic operation and transparency of NGOs. When you answer this question, please consider NGOs' transparency of organizational operation, their internal adherence to the principles of gender equality, and mutual respect among NGOs. In addition, you are advised to consider if practices associated with traditional political groups persist within NGOs, such as having an organizational hierarchy or having a highly regionalist orientation.

Diversity of voluntary associations

Significance

Civil society is a venue where different values and interests meet each other. However, according to the situations that each country faces, voluntary associations may be tendentially developed. In other words, NGOs representing certain values or certain regions may overly prosper, inevitably resulting in the exclusion of other values or opinions. For example, in some Asian countries, foreign support from the West is oftentimes driven by one-sided development agendas, which have led to skewed civil society development. Thus, this index looks into how different values of civil society are expressed through voluntary association.

*Question

Do you think NGOs adequately represent different values and demands of society in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure the diversity of NGOs. When you answer this question, please consider the following factors: whether or not NGOs are concentrated in only a handful of fields (e.g., human rights and environmental issues) and only within a handful of regions (e.g., large cities, or the capital cities and its vicinity). You must consider the diversity of NGO values, representativeness of NGO leaders and members, and the country-wide distribution of NGOs.

Pluralization

Civil society pluralization has four attributes: inequality of public spheres, inequality of information, inequality of culture, and inequality of power.

Inequality of public spheres

Significance

The media should be a mechanism for forming an equal consensus to ensure diversity in public discourse and the public good. This is because the media is the venue for free debate, an instrument of opinion formation.

*Question

Do you think the media is fair and just in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure the level of inequality in the public discourse. When you answer this question, please consider the ownership and governance of media companies and the degree of monopoly they have in the public discourse. You must consider if the media is controlled by or dependent on certain groups (religious, interest, or ideological).

Inequality of information

Significance

This index focuses on information gaps. In any country, an active civil society's effectiveness can be determined by the degree of information access of the citizens. The information technology (IT) revolution had enormous potential to assist in democratic development. However, it also generated information gaps, further excluding those without access to IT. Information gaps not only limit the possibilities of citizens to develop their capabilities, but also create social conflicts.

*Question

How wide do you think the information gap among citizens is in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure how equal the opportunities to access information are in your country. When you answer this question, please consider the degree of access citizens in general have to conventional media, such as newspapers and television. More importantly, you must consider the degree of personal computer and information technology device ownership and internet penetration rates.

Table 5: ADI Civil Society Field Components

Civil Society (Liberalization)	
Attribute	Question
Autonomy	
Autonomy of society from state intervention	1. How free do you think citizens' social activities are from government interference in your country? 2. How much influence do you think government organizations have on society in your country?
Autonomy of society from the market	3. How much influence do you think private companies have on society in your country?
Autonomy of social members (basic needs and basic human development level)	4. How much do you think citizens' basic needs are met in your country? 5. Aside from the basic needs stated in question no. 4, how much do you think special care is provided for vulnerable people or minorities, such as children, women, people with disabilities, and immigrants in your country? 6. How much do you think citizens are provided with education opportunities in your country?
Tolerance	7. How much do you think citizens respect different cultures, religions, languages, races, nations, and ideas in your country?
Competition	
Capability of voluntary association	8. How much influence do you think NGOs have on society in your country?
Public good of voluntary association	9. How well do you think NGOs represent public interest in your country?
Transparency of voluntary associations	10. Do you think NGOs are democratically operating in your country?
Diversity of voluntary associations	11. Do you think NGOs adequately represent different values and demands of society in your country?

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Table 5 (*continued*)

Civil Society (Equalization)	
Pluralization	
Inequality of public spheres	1. Do you think the media is fair and just in your country?
Inequality of culture and information	2. How wide do you think the information gap among citizens is in your country?
Inequality of culture	3. Do you think citizens have equal access to cultural facilities and activities in your country?
Inequality of power	4. How equally do you think power is distributed among people in your country?
Solidarity	
Institutional guarantee of diversity and affirmative actions	5. Do you think affirmative actions are well established and operated in your country?
Participation and support of social groups	6. How actively do you think citizens are participating in NGO activities in your country?
Governance of the state and civil society	7. How much influence do you think NGOs have on government's policymaking processes in your country?

Inequality of culture

Significance

Cultural inequality means cultural gaps. At the individual level, such inequality limits citizens' cultural potentials and rights to enjoy culture. At the social level, as cultural inequality gets more serious, it may produce a cultural hierarchy, a form of symbolic violence that limits communication among citizens. This not only triggers social conflicts, but also undermines national unification and democratic development.

**Question*

Do you think citizens have equal access to cultural facilities and activities in your country?

**Description*

This question is designed to measure how equal the opportunities to access cultural facilities and activities are. When you answer this question, please consider the opportunities given to citizens to access theaters, sporting events, and other cultural facilities and activities. You are also advised to consider if there is a cultural education system for the general public.

Inequality of power

Significance

Civil society is not comprised of homogeneous individuals with the same degree of social power and awareness. It is a venue where people or groups with different values collide. Therefore, civil society itself and public opinion can be controlled by certain groups or dominated by certain values. Chances of such domination occurring are higher if elite groups like the media, academia, and cultural circles are too closely associated with each other. If civil society is monopolized by a certain powerful group, communication among citizens will be distorted and democracy will regress.

**Question*

How equally do you think power is distributed among people in your country?

**Description*

This question is designed to measure the degree of inequality among groups in your country's society. This question asks whether different circles, such as media, academe, and cultural and religious societies are influenced to a great extent by certain groups. When you answer this question, please consider if a small number of elites monopolize a wide range of fields in society.

Solidarity

The solidarity of civil society can be used to predict the future of the country's democratization. As seen in every country's democratic development experience, when civil society is activated, democratization moves forward. Thus, civil society solidarity is a subprinciple that considers how well civil society is activated. This subprinciple is comprised of three attributes: institutions and affirmative actions to protect diversity, awareness and activities of social participation, and governance of the state and of civil society.

Institutional guarantee of diversity and affirmative actions

Significance

The citizens comprising civil society are diverse. Therefore, the existence of institutions that protect diversity and social minorities help in the characterization of society as democratic. Even if equality is ideologically supported and laws ensure equal opportunities, there are times when discrimination persists due to structural barriers. This imbalance in available opportunities is sometimes corrected by the introduction of affirmative actions.

*Question

Do you think affirmative actions are well established and operated in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure how well affirmative actions are implemented and operated. When you answer this question, please consider human rights protection conditions for women, people with disabilities, lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgenders, immigrants, and conscientious objectors to military service.

Participation and support of social groups

Significance

To energize civil society, the participation and support of individual citizens are necessary. They may participate as activists or as supporters in particular campaigns. Generally, they provide financial support by paying dues as members of NGOs/voluntary associations. The question below thus focuses on the above aspects of citizens' participation.

*Question

How actively do you think citizens are participating in NGO activities in your country?

*Description

This question is designed to measure citizens' awareness of and participation in NGO activities. When you answer this question, please consider citizens' membership rates in NGOs, participation in volunteer activities organized by NGOs, and donations to NGOs.

Governance of the state and of civil society

Significance

When the opinions of civil society are embraced by the government and realized in the form of laws or policies, democracy can create a virtuous circle.

In the past, elections and political parties played important roles in this circle. However, political governance has become more important as it enables citizens to continuously and actively participate in political activities. Such governance has drawn much scholarly and civil society attention as it activates citizens' participation, helps overcome bureaucracy and elitism, and prevents social conflicts.

***Question**

How much influence do you think NGOs have on government's policymaking processes in your country?

***Description**

This question is designed to measure civil society's influence in governance in your country. When you answer this question, please consider if good governance systems, such as commissions and public hearing sessions, are present and, if present, how effective are these systems operating.

Conduct of the Survey and Analysis

The Object of the Survey

The Asian Democracy Index was developed based on the survey of expert groups of each country. The best way to evaluate democracy of a country may be conducting surveys of citizens and experts grouped together, although it may vary according to the characteristics of different indicators. Through this method, the Latin America Democracy Survey conducted by the UNDP delivered remarkable outcomes. However, such parallel surveys require enormous amounts of time and large budgets. Due to such constraints, many studies opt for only one of the two, i.e. either the citizens or the experts. The World Values Survey and East Asia Barometer studies are representative of most citizen surveys, while the Freedom House and Economist Intelligence Unit studies are representative of most expert surveys.

The Asian Democracy Index was based on expert group surveys mainly for the following reasons. First, as the composition of the indicators demonstrates, this index includes a technical content with which ordinary citizens may not be familiar. If respondents are not well aware of the content, the result can be distorted. Therefore, this study chose to undertake expert surveys. The second reason is time and budget constraints. Conducting surveys in all Asian countries is inevitably subject to substantial constraints. Therefore, the expert survey was a reasonable choice for this study.

When limiting the subject to expert groups, securing objectivity is the most important issue. In the course of sampling, systematic errors are likely included. In addition, if experts are not specialized in the survey topic, they can be unfamiliar with the questions, either. In this case, expert surveys may deliver not much different outcomes from those of ordinary citizens.

Therefore, in order to secure objectivity and specialty, this study chose two methods. First, in deciding the sample group, ideological criteria were applied. In other words, according to each country's situation, expert groups were given choices of conservative, central, and progressive groups, or pro-government, neutral, and anti-government groups, and then let them evaluate their tendency by themselves. This strategy is to secure objectivity by letting them express their political color. Then, different evaluation groups were adopted for different analyses. In other words, each of political, economic, and civil society fields was evaluated by different expert groups.

Based on this strategy, nine expert groups are needed. Each group make independent evaluations on different topics, and finally representatives in charge of each country's survey collect the survey results. Such composition of evaluation groups is an effort to secure objectivity and specialty, as well as to enable diverse analyses on each country's report.

Survey Methodology

The expert survey utilizes a two-part questionnaire. First, the questionnaires were developed based on the 11-point scale to quantify the result. Considering that the respondents are experts, the 11-point scale was utilized as they are expected to provide more precise answers. Another section is composed of questions that ask respondents' opinions. This qualitative part was designed to complement the quantified answers by adding the rationales of the answers. This survey is expected to gather sufficient information about each country's democracy.

Survey representatives of each country will collect subjective and objective index that can be analyzed along with the surveys so that the limitations of the survey method can be complemented. This is an attempt to more objectively present the potentials and limitations of each country's democracy.

Individual surveys were conducted. According to the situations that each country faces, e-mail surveys or individual interviews may be utilized. In addition, for more objective and in-depth analyses, FGIs or other supplementary methods can also be adopted.

Survey Analysis

In conformity with the composition of the survey questionnaires, analyses were conducted in two different ways. First, each question was evaluated. Scores of each question were determined by the average that respondents provided. Therefore, survey representatives in each country must establish a database of the scores for each questionnaire. Problems can arise when the experts of three different groups give extremely different scores. In such cases, each survey organization was allowed to select a score according to their criteria. However, when the difference is too great to reconcile, reevaluation of the question may be asked of the experts.

The next stage is to analyze respondents' comments. As mentioned before, the comments help to overcome limitations of quantitative evaluation as these rationales help the ADI analysts to better understand the specific meanings of each rating. In this stage of analysis, the survey representatives of each country adopt other objective and subjective index that they have gathered in order to enrich their analysis.

As previously mentioned, when the analysis of the individual questions are completed, the individual indicators are combined into more comprehensive indices. As seen in the composition of the indices, the Asian Democracy Index allows for the consideration of different indices according to different fields, and those indices can more specifically express the conditions of democratization of each country. By dividing the indices by principle, the liberalization and equalization indices can be obtained. The liberalization index evaluates whether each field is independent, and if they have established their own self-reference system. A high liberalization index represents that the country has established institutional and procedural democracy to some extent. The equalization index shows whether power is evenly distributed in each field. A high equalization index means that the country has established a strong democratic foundation and has great potential to democratize further. By comparing the liberalization index and the equalization index, or by obtaining index of subprinciples, such as autonomy, competition, pluralization, and solidarity, it is possible to understand limitations and potentials of a country's democracy.

As mentioned, the ADI contemplates three different fields: politics, economy, and civil society. Accordingly, political democracy index, economic democracy index, and civil society democracy index can be created. Comparing these indices may provide insight into the strengths and weaknesses of each country's democracy. For example, if a country has a high political democracy index but low economic democracy index, the country has a weak democratic

foundation. If a country has a low political democracy index but a high civil society democracy index, the country has a great potential to further develop its democracy.

The Asian Democracy Index can create a wide range of indicators beyond principles or fields. For example, by combining the minority protection index of the political field and the minority protection index of the civil society field, a minority protection index of a country can be formed. Similarly, combining the participation indices of each field can establish a country's overall participation index. Such computations can help fully express a country's democracy.

In summary, the Asian Democracy Index enables wide-ranging analyses. By adding qualitative information obtained from comments, and utilizing other subjective and objective index, it will be possible to conduct more objective and in-depth analyses on each country's democratic condition.

Reference

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