

Democracy in Taiwan: The Application of the ADI Survey in 2014

**WEN-JONG JUANG, CHILIK YU, HO-CHIN YANG,
HSIN-CHUNG LIAO**

Introduction

Since its retreat from Mainland China to Taiwan in 1949, the Kuomintang (KMT) controlled almost every aspect of the country, which led to Taiwan becoming a single-party authoritarian regime. The opposition to the authoritarian regime never ceased. It was only in 1986 that an opposition party was formed to mobilize a nationwide challenge to the KMT in the form of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). A year after the birth of DPP, President Chiang Ching-kuo lifted martial law and the process of democratic transformation was officially started in Taiwan.

During the democratic transformation period, corruption was more visible and salient than any other political issues in electoral propaganda (Fell 2002). In fact, the anti-corruption campaigns of DPP in the 1990s were critical to the end of the five-decade single-party authoritarian regime of KMT. In May 2000, when KMT peacefully turned over the presidency to DPP, Taiwan was considered as one of the best cases among third-wave democratization (Yu et al. 2008). As Rigger argues: “Taiwan’s transformation from single-party authoritarianism to multiparty democracy came about with very little violence or bloodshed. Nor did it require wrenching economic or social upheavals. In fact, one might describe Taiwan’s experience as a ‘best-case’ democratization” (2004, 285).

Did Taiwan’s democratic transformation deserve the recognition as one of the best cases among third-wave democratization? How could we

Wen-Jong Juang is Associate Professor and Chair, Department of Public Policy and Management, Shih Hsin University. Chilik Yu is Professor, Department of Public Policy and Management, Shih Hsin University. Ho-Chin Yang is a PhD Candidate at the Department of Public Policy and Management, Shih Hsin University. Hsin-Chung Liao is Assistant Professor, Department of Public Policy and Management, Shih Hsin University.

conduct a more systematic evaluation of the quality of democracy in Taiwan? In this study, the authors used the Asian Democracy Index (ADI) to answer the abovementioned research questions. According to *The Guidebook for the Asian Democracy Index* (2011), ADI, consisting of fifty-seven evaluation indicators, is designed to understand the quality of Asian democracy to identify subsequent Asian democratic characteristics. According to the Consortium for the Asian Democracy Index (CADI), under this aim, it is founded on democratic perspectives, with liberalization and equalization as its core principles that 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... [each] unit has unique characteristics while showing limitations and potentials of other units” (2012, 37).

This is the first time in Taiwan where researchers conducted an expert survey that made use of the ADI framework. As a pilot survey, it is expected that this research be mainly an exploratory study to further understand the various characteristics of democracy in Taiwan. Before reporting and discussing the survey findings, an introduction to the democratic transformation in Taiwan is briefly presented in the next section, which is drawn from Yu and Kuo (2015, 2-8).

Democratic Transformation in Taiwan

According to Yu and Kuo, the transition from an authoritarian to a democratic regime was the most significant political event of the past thirty years in Taiwan (2015, 2). Furthermore, the peaceful transfer of power in 2000 and 2008 coupled with the trial and conviction of a former president were salient events in the democratic transformation process (Yu and Kuo 2015, 2). After experiencing the chaotic politics after the democratization in Taiwan, some people even miss “the good old days” under the Martial Law. The rise of independent media, the growth of civil society organizations, and the rise of the general public’s voice in the policy process have all, independently or collectively, made the task of “running a government” much “harder.”

According to Yu and Kuo, “in the period after World War II, martial law was declared in Taiwan on three separate occasions; during the 228 Incident in 1947, on 10 December 1947 and on 19 May 1949” (2015, 3). The third declaration of martial law was made by Chen Cheng “in his dual role as Governor of Taiwan Provincial Government and Commander-in-Chief of Taiwan Garrison Command Headquarters,” (Yu and Kuo 2015, 3) and executed in the form of Chieh Tzu No.

1 issued by the Taiwan Garrison Command Headquarters. On May 27, 1949, “executive orders related to the martial law were promulgated, implementing a system of military control across Taiwan. When Martial Law was declared in troubled areas, all administrative and judicial authority was assumed by the military, with the highest ranking military officer in the area placed in charge. In this situation, even though defendants in many criminal cases (especially major cases involving sedition, espionage or gang robbery) tended to be civilians, they were still tried in accordance with the Armed Forces Military Justice Law (later renamed the Military Trial Law) and subject to military justice” (Yu and Kuo 2015, 3).

The Taiwan Garrison Command Headquarters, Ministry of National Defense and other executive organs issued “numerous executive orders during the martial law period [that] adversely influenced people’s rights and [obligations, such as] the Measures for the Implementation of Regulations Preventing Illegal Assembly, Associations, Demonstrations, Petitions, Student Strikes, Worker Strikes and Shopkeeper Strikes During the Martial Law Period (1949), Measures for the Control of Newspapers, Magazines and Books During the Martial Law Period in Taiwan Province (1949), Measures for the Inspection of Post and Telecommunications During the Martial Law Period in Taiwan Province (1952), Measures for the Punishment of Gangsters During the Martial Law Period in Taiwan Province (1955)” (Yu and Kuo 2015, 3) and Measures for the Submission of Applications for Access to Coastal Areas and Important Military Facilities by Organs and Individuals in Taiwan.

Yu and Kuo (2015, 3) continue: “In combination, these laws served to greatly undermine various constitutional mandated freedoms and rights, including personal rights, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of secret communication as well as freedom of assembly, association, and movement. This had a hugely detrimental impact on personal freedom because trials in military courts were conducted in accordance with rules that do not apply to civilian courts, for example they were usually held in private and concluded in a single trial with no right of appeal. The only possible redress was through retrial.” In addition, martial law regulations indicated that civilians “subject to military trial would be able to apply for a second trial when martial law was lifted. However, when martial law was repealed, the regulations of the National Security Act were used to deny interested parties the right to seek legal redress,” opting instead to pay “restitution” or “compensation” (Yu and Kuo 2015, 3). After thirty-eight years, martial law was finally lifted on July 15, 1987.

“Before the lifting of martial law, a new National Security Law was passed, which — while less harsh than the old martial law — still contained a significant number of restrictions on freedom of assembly and association, and on political rights. Other existing laws effectively limit freedom of speech and of the press. The most important restrictions of the new National Security Law are contained in the three principles laid down in Article 2, which read: ‘Public assembly and association must not violate the Constitution, advocate Communism or the division of the national territory’ (International Committee for Human Rights in Taiwan, 1987)” (Yu and Kuo 2015, 6).

1986 saw the founding of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). It is a “progressive and liberal political party” (Yu and Kuo 2015, 6). DPP is the first meaningful opposition party in Taiwan” (Yu and Kuo 2015, 6). The party “has traditionally been associated with strong advocacy of human rights and a distinct Taiwanese identity, including promotion of *de jure* Taiwan independence” (Yu and Kuo 2015, 6).

DPP and its affiliated parties “are widely classified as liberal because of their strong human rights stance and endorsement of pluralistic democracy, while the Kuomintang has historically taken a defensive posture on such issues” (Yu and Kuo 2015, 6). Ever since the National Government relocated to Taiwan in 1949, the KMT remained in power throughout the Martial Law period and the unelected Non-reelection Congress. In 1987, after the lifting of Martial Law and especially with the holding of elections for central government representatives in 1991 and 1992, the KMT managed to stay in power by winning more votes in popular elections.

For the first time, in 1996, the ROC President was directly elected. According to Yu and Kuo (2015, 6-7), “[during] the rule of Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo, this was one of the political reforms most often called for by opposition political figures and liberal academics in Taiwan, with a majority favoring a Cabinet system of government. In 1988, after Lee Teng-hui became President, the demand for political reform gradually changed in nature as not only DPP elected officials but also some in KMT began to call for direct presidential elections. In 1990, the activities of the non-mainstream faction of the KMT and an attempt by National Assembly representatives to expand their own power attracted fierce criticism from the DPP. On 18 March, more than 20,000 protesters gathered at Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall to demand the dissolution of the National Assembly and direct Presidential elections. At a National Affairs Conference that convened from June 28 to July 3, the ruling and opposition parties came to a consensus on the need for the president to be elected by all citizens of Taiwan. At that time, the KMT party cen-

ter favored a direct appointment system, but there was already a broad consensus on the need to change the way the President was elected, and the idea of a direct election continued to grow in popularity. While the DPP continued to insist on a direct presidential election, in March 1992, the Legislative Yuan's Secondary group Jisihui as well as lawmakers and National Assembly representatives belonging to the New KMT Alliance, also came out in support of direct presidential elections."

A provisional plenary meeting of the KMT Central Committee was held on February 1994, wherein the Committee "passed a resolution supporting the direct election of the President" (Yu and Kuo 2015, 7). Thus, in July of that year, "a provisional meeting of the National Assembly passed the third reading of a constitutional amendment, confirming the ROC president would henceforth be subject to direct [election; in] March 1996, KMT presidential and vice presidential candidates Lee Teng-hui and Lien Chan were duly elected, the first time the Taiwanese public had voted for a head of state" (Yu and Kuo 2015, 7).

Alternation of Political Parties in Power

As defined by Yu and Kuo (2015, 7) an alternation of political parties in power "refers to the process by which political power is transferred from one party to another through elections, as happens in all democratic countries." In Taiwan, "[following] the revision of the ROC Constitution in 1997, the constitutional system of government in Taiwan has tended towards a dual executive presidential system and as such the Presidential election makes it possible for power to pass from one political party to another" (Yu and Kuo 2015, 7). In 2000, after a two-term limit caught up with President Lee Teng-hui, Lien Chan was chosen by KMT to be its candidate for president. This led to "a serious division in the ranks and one of the most powerful and influential men in the KMT, James Soong C.Y., left the party to run [independently; as a result of this divided vote on March 18, 2000, Lien Chan secured 23.1% of the vote, James Soong 36.84% and the DPP's Chen Shui-bian 39.3%. Chen Shuibian was officially declared ROC President, in the first ever transfer of political power from one party to another in Taiwan" (Yu and Kuo 2015, 7).

Despite winning, "Chen was a 'minority President' faced with a Legislative Yuan controlled by the Pan-Blue (supporters of KMT) camp, making it difficult to pass important laws, budgets, and other [policies; add] to that the lack of clarity in the division of power as laid out in the Constitution and there was a great deal of confusion," a phenomenon one political academic [Tomas Carothers] called "the premature alternation

of power” (Yu and Kuo 2015, 7-8). “Despite this situation and even though Lien Chan and James Soong united to contest the presidential election in 2004, Chen Shui-bian still won the popular vote with 50.11% to the KMT’s 49.89%, securing a second term as ROC President” (Yu and Kuo 2015, 8).

Yu and Kuo (2015, 8) continue: “A Constitutional amendment in 2005 cut the number of legislative seats in half and created a single-district two vote system which worked against the DPP by making it difficult for the Pan-Green camp (DPP and Taiwan Solidarity Union) to concentrate its support.” In January 2008, during the elections for the Legislative Yuan, “the KMT won an overwhelming victory, securing 72% of the seats, which had a knock-on effect on the presidential election a few months later” (Yu and Kuo 2015, 8). “To make things even worse for the DPP, during President Chen Shui-bian’s last years in power there was a steady stream of reports on high-level corruption and kickbacks involving the Presidential Office and inappropriate relationships between politicians and businessmen” (Yu and Kuo 2015, 8). Given these precedents, during the presidential elections held in March 22, “KMT candidate Ma Ying-jeou secured victory with 58% of the popular vote, marking only the second democratic transfer of political power in the history of the ROC” (Yu and Kuo 2015, 8). In 2012, President Ma Ying-jeou won with 51.6 percent of the vote, much less than his 2008 election support rate. In the first two years of President Ma’s second term, his approval and satisfaction rates were fairly low. Thus, it seems that another alternation of political parties in power might happen in the 2016 presidential election in Taiwan.

In sum, Taiwan has experienced the transformation from the martial law period, to the direct presidential election, to the first and second ruling party rotation in the past sixty years. The government now is open to the people, and the people can participate in various political activities and policymaking processes in different ways. For the general public, the most important question should not be who runs the government, but how the government is run. In other words, the quality of democracy should not be assessed by power alternation only. In the next section, we will assess the quality of democracy in Taiwan in many other dimensions by using the ADI criteria.

The ADI Survey in Taiwan, 2014

Survey Method

The survey was implemented in accordance with the framework explained in the Asian Democracy Index Guidebook (2012). According to the guidebook, groups of experts are categorized into conservative/pro-government, central/neutral, and progressive/anti-government groups. Experts from the different groups are further divided into three fields: politics, economy, and civil society. It is an easy task to invite those experts who belong to different specialized fields of knowledge, but the difficulty stems from different ideological positions. Some experts can be judged through their backgrounds or coverage on mass media and others can only be judged by our social networks. Following the Korean team's example (Kim, et al. 2012, 93), "a total of twenty-seven experts composed of scholars and activists were [surveyed; nine experts were assigned to each [area, and each] of these groups of nine [were] comprised of three conservatives, three moderates, and three progressives." The survey was conducted in July of 2014. The survey method was via e-mail and the responses were coded after.

The Overall Results of the Survey

The survey resulted in an overall ADI score of 5.52 for Taiwan, above the median score of a 10-point scale. Further analyzing the democracy indices by area, we can see that political democracy in Taiwan is relatively developed, with a score of 6.56. However, the economic and civil society fields were relatively underdeveloped, evaluated with 5.12 and 4.89 points, respectively. From the perspective of political tendency, the experts with a conservative/pro-government stand gave an overall average score of 6.49; the experts with a central/neutral situation stand, 5.30; and the experts with a progressive/anti-government stand, 4.78 points. The difference between the highest and lowest points is 1.71. This shows that the conservative respondents evaluated Taiwan's democracy as being better than the others (See table 1).

The ADI is comprised of two core principles: liberalization and equalization. Therefore, we can further account for the comparison of democracy indices by examining liberalization indices and the equalization indices by area. It is found that in all three areas, liberalization garnered higher scores (a 6.17-point average) than the equalization

index (4.86-point average). This means that socioeconomic and political equalization in Taiwan is still underdeveloped. The government needs to adopt certain actions to improve from the said underdevelopment.

Table 1. The Perceived Level of Taiwan's Democracy Categorized by Political Tendency

Ideology	Aspect/Area			Mean
	Politics	Economy	Civil Society	
Conservative/ pro-government	7.51	6.07	5.89	6.49
Central/ neutral	6.47	4.57	4.87	5.30
Progressive/ anti-government	5.70	4.72	3.91	4.78
Means	6.56	5.12	4.89	5.52
Conservative – progressive deviation	1.81	1.35	1.98	1.71

In all three areas, the liberalization index earned a better evaluation than equalization. In politics, the average score of liberalization was 7.33 while the average of equalization was 5.70. In economics, the average score of liberalization was 5.93 and the average score of equalization was 4.57. In civil society, liberalization had an average score of 5.26, higher than equalization in the same field, which received an average score of 4.30 (see table 2).

The Assessment of Politics in Taiwan

According to the survey results, the area of politics earned the highest score. A comparison of autonomy, competition, pluralization, and solidarity measures in politics is shown in table 3. First, among the four subprinciples, which is under the principle of liberalization, earned the highest score (8.14 points); the average score of competition, another constituent of liberalization, was 6.80 points. On the other hand, pluralization and

solidarity, which are both constituents of equalization, earned lower scores (5.78 points and 5.64 points).

Second, autonomy has a greatest deviation (2.92 points) between the assessments of the conservative and the progressive respondents. The reason is that compared to the items constituting autonomy, there is a big discrepancy between the opinion of the progressives and conservatives on the gravity of state violence, the protection of civil rights, the freedom to organize and act in political groups, and the permission for political opposition. Solidarity has the most homogenous evaluation (deviation is 1.00 point), the reason for this being that compared with the items constituting solidarity, the progressives and the conservatives have similar opinions about the participatory system and degree of participation, the establishment and implementation of affirmative action, the public credibility of the current democratic institution, and the public attitude of democratic participation (see figure 1).

Table 2. The Mean Values of Core Principles by Area/Field

Ideology	Aspect/Area					
	Politics		Economy		Civil Society	
	Liberalization	Equalization	Liberalization	Equalization	Liberalization	Equalization
Conservative/ pro-government	8.40	6.52	6.96	5.47	6.33	5.19
Central/neutral	7.20	5.67	5.50	3.94	5.52	3.86
Progressive/ anti-government	6.40	4.93	5.33	4.31	3.94	3.86
Mean	7.33	5.70	5.93	4.57	5.26	4.30
Conservative – progressive deviation	2.00	1.59	1.63	1.16	2.39	1.33

Finally, among the eighteen items in politics, the expansion of the universal suffrage (8.78 points), the permission for political opposition (8.56 points), and the protection of civil rights (8.44 points) earned high scores. However, trust in the congress (3.22 points) and trust in the present government (4.22 points) received low scores. According to an expert, this is because government policies lack sustainability and efficiency under a populist democracy, affecting lawmakers' that then prioritize their personal or a certain financial group's interest, and not that of the public.

Table 3. Comparison of the Constituents in the Area of Politics Categorized by Political Tendencies

Ideology	Liberalization		Equalization	
	Autonomy	Competition	Pluralization	Solidarity
Conservative/ pro-government	9.75	7.50	7.17	6.00
Central/neutral	7.83	6.78	5.33	5.93
Progressive/ anti-government	6.83	6.11	4.83	5.00
Means	8.14	6.80	5.78	5.64
Conservative – progressive deviation	2.92	1.39	2.34	1.00

If we compare Korea and Taiwan in the political field in 2014, we can see similarities and differences. First, Korea and Taiwan both earned low evaluations in public trust in government and congress (see table 4). Second, there is a notable disparity in the assessment of the power of non-elected groups (deviation of 3.11) and affirmative action (deviation of 3.00) in the two countries.

Figure 1. The Distribution Map of Responses by Political Tendency in the Area of Politics

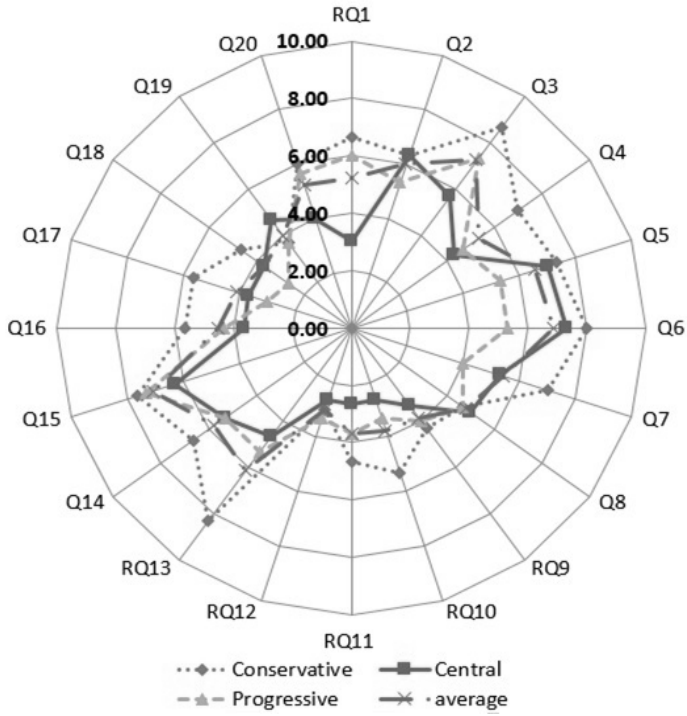


Table 4. Indicators of Democracy in Korea and Taiwan in Politics, 2014

		Attribute	Indicator / Question	KR	TW	
Principles	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?	6.13	7.33	
		▷ Civil rights	2. How well do you think the citizens' freedom is protected in your country?	6.38	8.44	
		▷ 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?	5.88	8.22	
		▷ Permission for political opposition	4. How much do you think the opposition movements to the government or governing groups and the governing ideology are allowed in your country?	5.75	8.56	
	Liberalization	▷ The expansion of the universal suffrage	5. How well do you think suffrage of the citizens is protected in your country?	6.38	8.78	
		▷ Efficiency of the state	6. How well do you think all government agencies implement government policies in your country?	4.25	5.22	
		Competition	▷ 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?	3.00	6.11
			▷ The rule under the laws	8. How well do you think the rule of law is established in your country?	5.75	6.44
			▷ Electoral fairness	9. How fairly do you think elections are conducted in your country?	6.50	8.22
			▷ Transparency	10. How transparent do you think the operations of government agencies are in your country?	4.38	6.00

Table 4. (continued)

		Attribute	Indicator / Question	KR	TW
Principles	Pluralization	▷ Independence and checks and balances between state power apparatuses	11. How well do you think government agencies maintain checks and balance?	4.75	5.44
		▷ Dispersion of political power in the parliament	12. How well do you think the power within the legislature is distributed in your country?	6.25	6.22
		▷ Political representation	13. How well do you think the Parliament or the legislature represent various social groups in your country?	4.63	5.89
	Equalization	▷ Democratization of state institutions	14. How fairly and rationally do you think government agencies are being implemented in your country?	4.13	5.56
		▷ Participation system and degree of participation	15. How actively do you think citizens are participating in elections and other political decision making processes in your country?	4.50	6.78
		Solidarity	▷ Affirmative action	16. How well do you think affirmative actions are established and implemented in your country?	4.00
	▷ The public credibility of the current democratic institution		17. How much do you think the public trust the government?	4.00	4.22
			18. How much do you think the public trust the Parliament/ Legislature?	2.50	3.22
			19. How much do you think the public trust Democracy?	7.00	7.00
Average				5.51	6.93

The Assessment of the Economy in Taiwan

According to the survey results, the de-monopolization score of Taiwan in the area of economy earned an overall score of 5.12. Table 5 summarizes the comparison between autonomy, competition, pluralization, and solidarity in the area of economy according to political tendencies. First, both constituents of liberalization got relatively high scores: the average score of autonomy was 5.94 points and the average score of competition was 5.92 points. However, both two constituents

of equalization earned less than 5 points: the average score of pluralization was 4.09 points and the average score of solidarity was 4.92 points.

Second, competition has the biggest deviation (1.92 points) according to the political tendencies among the four constituents. The conservative respondents gave a relatively high overall score in the area of economy (6.75 points), while the progressives on average gave it a much lower score (4.83 points). As can be seen in figure 2, the biggest deviations in responses of conservatives and progressives in the economic competition subprinciple were in the following indicators: the transparency of the operations of corporations, the fairness of competition between companies, and the government's accountability to protect and guarantee labor rights. Just like in the area of politics, economic solidarity has the least deviation between the overall values of the conservative and the progressive experts (1.14 points). Such evaluations are due to their similar perceptions on the indicators constituting solidarity in the economic field, such as the enforcement of social insurance programs, public monitoring of corporate activities, and an awareness of reducing inequalities.

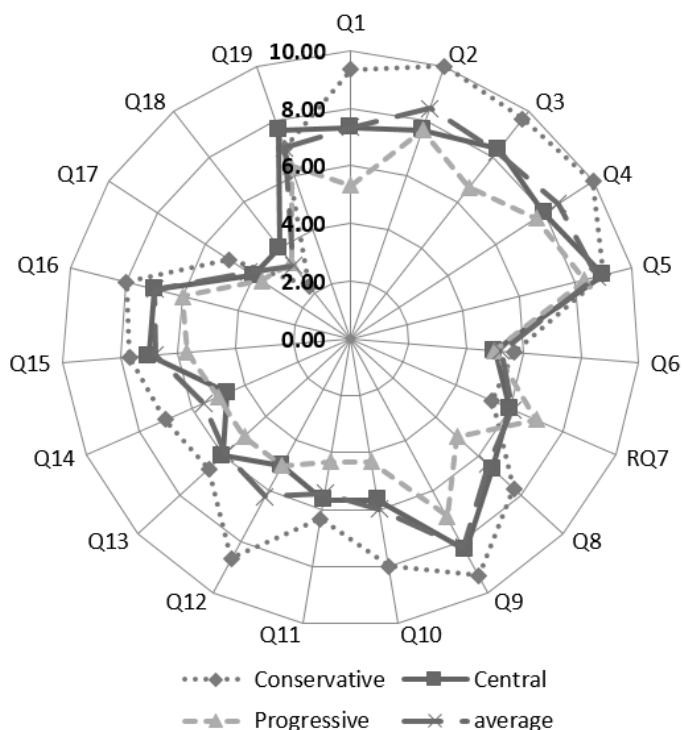
Table 5. Comparison of the Constituents in the Area of Economy Categorized by Political Tendencies

Ideology	Liberalization		Equalization	
	Autonomy	Competition	Pluralization	Solidarity
Conservative/ pro-government	7.17	6.75	5.13	5.71
Central/neutral	4.83	6.17	3.20	4.48
Progressive/ anti-government	5.83	4.83	3.93	4.57
Means	5.94	5.92	4.09	4.92
Conservative – progressive deviation	1.34	1.92	1.20	1.14

Out of the twenty items in the area of economics, only labor and child labor (7.22 points) and the enforcement of social insurance programs

(7.11 points) earned more than 7 points. However, economic monopoly (3.89 points), the inequality of regional economic development (3.78 points), the inequality of income (3.67 points), the activities of labor unions participating in the management process (3.67 points), and the inequality of assets (2.00 points) earned lower values. Most experts think that disparities and inequalities in economics can be understood differently (e.g., the sources of inequality between southern and northern Taiwan or the disparities of prices in real estate).

Figure 2. The Distribution Map of Responses by Political Tendency in the Area of Economy



In their respective countries, Korean and Taiwanese experts have similarly evaluated the status of prohibition of forced labor and child labor

and the independence of the central government in the decisionmaking process from foreign countries and/or foreign capital (see table 6). However, Korean and Taiwanese experts had differing evaluations of labor issues in their respective countries. In labor rights, the deviation in scores among the two sets of country experts was 3.78 points, while their scores in discrimination in the labor market had a 3.33-point deviation.

Table 6. Indicators of Democracy in Korea and Taiwan in Economy, 2014

		Attribute	Indicator / Question	KR	TW	
Principles	Liberalization	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?	4.11	5.22
			▷ Protection of basic labor rights	2. How well do you think labor rights are established in your country?	3.78	6.00
				3. How well do you think the prohibition of forced labor and child labor is observed in your country?	6.78	7.22
			▷ Autonomy of decision making in the policy of the international political economy	4. How independent do you think decision making processes of the central government is from foreign countries and/or foreign capital in your country?	5.56	5.33
		▷ Economic transparency	5. How transparent do you think the corporate operations are in your country?	4.56	6.56	
		▷ Economic fairness	6. How fair do you think the competition between companies is in your country?	4.00	6.89	
		▷ Government's accountability	7. How much effort do you think the government is exerting to protect and guarantee labor rights in your country?	4.11	5.44	
		▷ Corporate accountability	8. How well do you think private companies protect/ guarantee labor rights in your country?	4.22	4.78	

Table 6. (continued)

		Attribute	Indicator / Question	KR	TW	
Principles	Pluralization	▷ Economic monopoly	9. How much do you think the economy is dominated by certain groups in your country?	1.89	3.89	
		▷ Regional inequality	10. How serious do you think the economic disparities/ inequality are between regions in your country?	2.67	3.78	
		▷ Inequality of income	11. How serious do you think the income disparity is in your country?	1.89	3.67	
		▷ Inequality of asset	12. How serious do you think the asset disparity is in your country?	1.33	3.00	
		▷ Inequality of employment	13. How serious do you think discrimination is in the labor market in your country?	2.78	6.11	
	Equalization	▷ The social security system	14. How well do you think support systems for the poor are working in your country?	4.22	5.78	
			15. How well do you think the social insurance programs are operated in your country?	5.11	7.11	
		▷ The activity of trade unions	16. How well-organized do you think labor unions are in your country?	3.56	4.56	
		Solidarity	17. How much influence do you think labor unions have on the policies of the central government in your country?	3.11	4.11	
			18. How much do you think labor unions participate in the management process in your country?	1.89	3.67	
			▷ Corporate watch	19. How well do you think public monitoring is carried out on the corporate activities in your country?	5.00	4.00
			▷ Awareness of reducing inequality	20. How enthusiastic do you think the general public is about improving the economic inequality in your country?	5.00	5.22
		Average				3.78

The Assessment of Civil Society in Taiwan

According to the survey results, the area of civil society in Taiwan earned the lowest overall score. A comparison of autonomy, competition, pluralization, and solidarity measures in civil society is shown in table 7. The area of competition of citizens earned the highest score (5.92 points), while solidarity was the lowest-scoring subprinciple in civil society (4.07 points). Civil society autonomy earned a score of 4.89 points, while civil society pluralization got an average of 4.47 points.

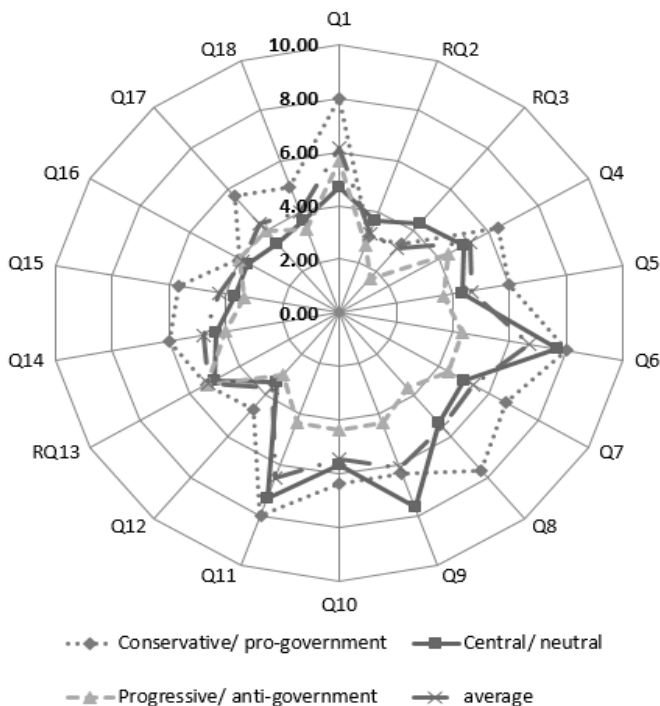
Table 7. Comparison of Constituents in the Area of Civil Society Categorized by Political Tendencies

Ideology	Liberalization		Equalization	
	Autonomy	Competition	Pluralization	Solidarity
Conservative/ pro-government	5.90	7.08	5.42	4.89
Central/neutral	4.95	6.50	4.08	3.56
Progressive/ anti-government	3.81	4.17	3.92	3.78
Means	4.89	5.92	4.47	4.07
Conservative – progressive deviation	2.09	2.91	1.50	1.11

The biggest deviation in scores of respondents based on their political tendencies (at 2.91 points) was in civil society competition. The reason is that on average, the scores by the conservative respondents (7.08 points) was significantly higher than those by the progressive respondents (4.17 points) in that field subprinciple. The items that constitute civil society competition include: the capability of voluntary association, the public good of voluntary association, and the diversity of voluntary associations. Again, as in the fields of politics and economy, civil society solidarity had the most homogenous evaluations (a deviation of 1.11 points). the reason being that the progressives and the conservatives have similar opinions about the enforcement of the institutional guarantee of diversity and af-

firmative action, citizen participation and support of social groups, and the influence of NGOs on the government’s policy making processes (see figure 3).

Figure 3. The Distribution Map of Responses by Political Tendency in the Area of Civil Society



Among the eighteen items in the area of civil society, the provision of education opportunities (6.67 points), the diversity of voluntary associations (6.56 points), the autonomy of society from state intervention (6.11 points) and public good of voluntary association (6.11 points) earned more than 6 points. However, the evaluation on the influence of government organizations on society and the influence of private companies on society earned the lowest evaluation, with a score of only 3.11. According to an expert opinion, the reason that the item on government organizations and private companies influence in society received low scores was the fact that that influence can be seen in the kinds of subsidies and incentives in policy of government organizations and private companies.

Table 8. Indicators of Democracy in Korea and Taiwan in Civil Society, 2014

		Attribute	Question / Indicator	KR	TW
Principles	Liberalization	▷ Autonomy of society from state intervention	1. How free do you think citizens' social activities are from government interference in your country?	4.44	6.11
			2. How much influence do you think government organizations have on society in your country?	3.11	3.11
		▷ Autonomy of society from the market	3. How much do you think private companies have influence on society in your country?	3.56	3.11
		Autonomy (basic needs and basic human development level)	4. How much do you think citizens' basic needs are met in your country?	5.67	5.22
			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?	4.33	4.67
			6. How much do you think citizens are provided with education opportunities in your country?	7.11	6.67
		▷ Tolerance	7. How much do you think citizens respect different cultures, religions, languages, races, nations, and ideas in your country?	4.56	5.33
	Competition	▷ Capability of voluntary association	8. How much influence do you think NGOs have on society in your country?	5.22	5.56
		▷ Public good of voluntary association	9. How well do you think NGOs represent public interest in your country?	5.89	6.11
		▷ Transparency of voluntary association	10. Do you think NGOs are democratically operating in your country?	5.33	5.44
		▷ Diversity of voluntary associations	11. Do you think NGOs well represent different values and demands of society in your country?	5.00	6.56

Table 8. (continued)

		Attribute	Question / Indicator	KR	TW
Principles	Pluralization	▷ Inequality of public spheres	12. Do you think the media is fair and just in your country?	2.78	3.67
		▷ Inequality of culture and information	13. How wide do you think the information gap between citizens is in your country?	4.11	5.22
		▷ Inequality of interest relations	14. Do you think citizens have equal access to cultural facilities and activities in your country?	5.44	4.78
		▷ Inequality of power	15. How equally do you think power is distributed among people in your country?	4.44	4.22
	Equalization	▷ Institutional guarantee of diversity and affirmative actions	16. Do you think affirmative actions are well established and operated in your country?	3.44	3.89
		Solidarity	▷ Participation and support of social groups	17. How actively do you think citizens are participating in NGO activities in your country?	3.67
	▷ Governance of the state and civil society		18. How much influence do you think NGOs have on government's policy making processes in your country?	4.56	4.00
	Average				5.09

Korea and Taiwan have closer scores in civil society indicators in comparison to political and economic indicators (see table 8). It was only in the question of citizens' social activities and government interference that Korean and Taiwanese respondents had a notable (1.67-point) deviation.

In sum, autonomy received the highest score in the area of politics and civil society but not in the area of economy. Competition earned the highest score in the areas of civil society, but not in the area of politics and economy. On the other hand, both pluralization and solidarity, which constitute equalization, earned lower evaluations than the average. In particular, pluralization in economy and solidarity in the economy obtained scores of 4.09 and 4.07, respectively.

Conclusion

This is the first time that the ADI framework was used to explore the politics, economy, and civil society in Taiwan. The overall Asian Democracy Index score is above the median in a 10-point scale. Based on the ADI framework, political democracy is relatively well developed compared to the economic and civil society democracy in Taiwan. Moreover, in all the three areas (politics, economic, and civil society), the liberalization index garnered higher scores than the equalization index, implying that the realization of socioeconomic and political equalization in Taiwan is underdeveloped.

A limitation of the expert survey in this study was the division of the experts into different ideological categories. Although we have exhausted all possible means to check their backgrounds, the categorization is still under subjective judgment and there is no guarantee of perfect accuracy. In addition, the small sample size used in this study may undermine the quality of the results. In the future, if the research resources are available, this study should use a more sophisticated method to divide experts into appropriate ideological categories and expand the sample size.

It is important to note that Taiwan has an expert survey, the Taiwan Public Governance Indicator, to build a subjective assessment of governance level in the country. This project was established as a comprehensive indicator system to serve as the basis for conducting systematic investigation and monitoring of the government's developments on public governance. The "Rule of Law," "Government Efficiency," "Responsiveness," "Transparency," "Corruption Control," "Accountability," and "Public Participation" are included as the contents of this investigation. In the future, a comparison between the results of Taiwan's ADI survey with the results from the Taiwan Public Governance Indicator Survey could inspire new insight and further our understanding of democracy in Taiwan.

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