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Support for Capitalist Liberal Democracy in Southern and Eastern Asia: The Effect of Attitudes towards Inclusiveness

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María Fernanda Granja Jiménez

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The Effect of Attitudes towards Inclusiveness**

María Fernanda Granja Jiménez

Calificación:

Nombre del profesor, Título académico:

Paolo Moncagatta, Ph.D.

Firma del profesor:

Quito, 18 de mayo de 2018

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Firma del estudiante:

Nombres y apellidos:

María Fernanda Granja Jiménez

Código:

00116657

Cédula de Identidad:

0918163866

Lugar y fecha:

Quito, 18 de mayo de 2018

DEDICATION

To that special someone who introduced me to the IR field, gave me my favorite book, and helped me undergo one of my greatest challenges in life so far.

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To my parents for giving me the greatest gift of all, education;

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RESUMEN

Abundantes encuestas se han llevado a cabo alrededor del mundo para determinar el tipo de sistema político preferido por los ciudadanos. Conjuntamente, muchos politólogos han descubierto que el sistema democrático no es el más favorecido a escala mundial. Específicamente, en la región asiática, el sistema democrático liberal capitalista no es el más preferido entre sus ciudadanos. No obstante, este artículo se centra en los ciudadanos que sí respaldan este sistema y examina si las actitudes hacia la inclusión son un factor determinante en el apoyo a la democracia liberal capitalista en Asia Meridional y Oriental. Con este fin, sintetiza los resultados notables de cuatro países en esta región: Mongolia, Japón, Tailandia y Camboya.

Palabras clave: Cultura Política, Apoyo a la Democracia, Democracia Liberal Capitalista, Inclusividad, Asia Meridional, Asia Oriental.

ABSTRACT

Abundant surveys have been conducted worldwide to determine citizens preferred type of political system. Jointly, many political scientists have found that the democratic system is not the most favored at a global scale. Specifically, in the Asian region, the capitalist liberal democratic system is not the most preferred among its citizens. Nonetheless, this article focuses on the citizens who do support this system and examines whether attitudes towards inclusiveness stand as a determinant of support for capitalist liberal democracy in Southern and Eastern Asia. To this end, it synthesizes the noteworthy results of four countries in this region: Mongolia, Japan, Thailand, and Cambodia.

Key Words: Political Culture, Support for Democracy, Capitalist Liberal Democracy, Inclusiveness, Southern Asia, Eastern Asia.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-----------|
| INTRODUCTION | 9 |
| CONCEPTUALIZATION | 10 |
| CAPITALIST LIBERAL DEMOCRACY | 10 |
| <i>Democracy</i> | 11 |
| <i>Liberal</i> | 12 |
| <i>Capitalist</i> | 13 |
| INCLUSIVENESS..... | 15 |
| MEASUREMENT | 17 |
| <i>Dependent Variable - Support for Capitalist Liberal Democracy</i> | 18 |
| <i>Independent Variable – Attitudes towards Inclusiveness</i> | 20 |
| <i>Controlling Variables</i> | 21 |
| COUNTRY SELECTION | 24 |
| EASTERN ASIA | 24 |
| SOUTHERN ASIA | 25 |
| ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS | 26 |
| <i>Mongolia</i> | 27 |
| <i>Japan</i> | 29 |
| <i>Thailand</i> | 30 |
| <i>Cambodia</i> | 31 |
| CONCLUDING REMARKS | 33 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES | 36 |
| ANEX A: ASIAN BAROMETER SURVEY OF DEMOCRACY, GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT | 40 |

Support for Capitalist Liberal Democracy in Southern and Eastern Asia: The Effect of Attitudes towards Inclusiveness

INTRODUCTION

Over the past decades, many political scientists have tried to reply to one of the most intriguing questions in their field of study: What type of political system is the most preferred? As this query becomes popular amongst the experts of political science, so does the numerous surveys and studies that are regularly conducted to answer this mystery. Moreover, even with its controversial issues (and high complexity due to the conceptualization of terms), many have sought Larry Diamond's (2008b) conclusion of democracy as "a universal value" as well as Inglehart and Welzel's (2005) shared statement of democracy as the "universally preferred system of governance" (Shin and Kim 2016). Nonetheless, democracy involves a large range of subdivisions to be taken into consideration, for example, non-liberal and liberal, and within that division, capitalist or socialist (Shin and Kim 2016). Bearing this in mind, new queries arise in this discipline; for instance, what affects or influences the support towards a "capitalist liberal democracy" (CLD)? To this end, the aim of this study is to examine whether attitudes towards inclusiveness stands as a determinant of support towards a capitalist liberal democratic system.

As a start, to truly comprehend the drive of this inquiry, it is fundamental to explain what is understood by the term "capitalist liberal democracy". This is further explained in the first section of this study through analyses previously performed by Shin and Kim (2016). Likewise, in the same section, this paper defines the term "inclusiveness" and explains the difficulty with its conception (Dahl 1971). Then section two elucidates how the measurements were made with the data base used for this study. In this part, questions held by the Asian Barometer Survey (ABS) are highlighted to help explain the variables

employed. Moreover, because my indicator ends up being a binary variable, this study uses logistic regression models. Furthermore, section three describes the motives for selecting the countries of study and section four presents the results and analysis of the key findings. Lastly, the study concludes with the remarks of this work.

CONCEPTUALIZATION

Capitalist Liberal Democracy

Democracy entails many subdivisions and “embraces several distinct attributes” (Moncagatta 2015, 7). Some experts have chosen to sort “procedural minimum definitions that [barely] capture the essential characteristics of a democratic system”; on the other hand, some have “elaborated ‘thicker’ definitions” which include various elements (Moncagatta 2015, 7). This paper concentrates on a specific type of democracy, “capitalist liberal democracy” (CLD), which results from the division of non-liberal and liberal, as well as from capitalist and socialist.

In effect, Shin and Kim (2016) in their article, “Liberal democracy as the end of history: Western theories versus Eastern Asian realities”, offer a table of great value to this study in which they present various types of preferred political systems and their percentages of support in several Asian countries. As previously mentioned, the capitalist liberal democratic system, is one of the least favored systems in the Asian region. Nevertheless, to show the percentages of the countries being studied in an exclusive manner, Table 1 below was constructed.

Table 1. Percentage of Support towards Capitalist Liberal Democracy

Percentage of Support towards Capitalist Liberal Democracy

| Country | Capitalist liberal democracy |
|----------|------------------------------|
| Japan | 14% |
| Mongolia | 21% |
| Thailand | 7% |
| Cambodia | 2% |

Source: 2010 – 2012 Asian Barometer Survey

Moreover, it is evident that Mongolia has the highest percentage of support towards capitalist liberal democracy (21%), followed by Japan (14%), then Thailand (7%) and lastly, Cambodia (2%). These countries were specifically chosen for this study (besides their political, economic, and social history) because of their diverse ranges of support towards capitalist liberal democracy. Furthermore, in the scope of this analysis, and for a better understanding, this article starts off by explaining the conceptualization of the dependent variable which involves several dimensions, cataloged in the following order; first, democracy; second, liberal and; lastly, capitalist.

Democracy

My conceptualization of capitalist liberal democracy is largely based on the definition offered by Shin and Kim (2016). In their article, “Liberal democracy as the end of history: Western theories versus Eastern Asian realities” they propose a valuable approach of understanding this concept and each of its dimensions. In this sense, my characterization of democracy consists of four key elements: 1) *electing*, 2) *multiple parties*, 3) *accountability* and 4) *representative gout*.

Moreover, the first element, *electing* refers to the capability of citizens to be able to choose their own political leader through elections. In this sense, a democracy must have a political system which upholds a “free and fair” election process (Diamond and Molino 2004, 24). *Multiple parties*, the second element, denotes the competition of multiple parties with their own political interests (Diamond and Molino 2004). Although Shin and Kim (2016) describe two multi-party systems, this study focuses particularly on the democratic system (and leaves aside the hybrid system). The next element, *accountability*, raises the opportunity of having citizens telling their government what they need to do for them. Andreas Schedler (1998) argues that vertical accountability is the ability of political leaders to respond to the political decisions of its citizens in a reasonable manner, which includes a process of data collection, justification, and reprimand (or compensation). Moreover, horizontal accountability is synonymous to a process of checks and balances (Diamond and Molino 2004, 26). Lastly, the fourth element, which is *representative gout* refers to the will of governmental leaders to apply what electorates plea. In total, for a political system to be referred to as a democracy it must contain all the four elements previously mentioned above. In the next section, “Measurement”, an explanation is offered for how each of these elements are measured through the Asian Barometer Survey.

Liberal

Within the concept of democracy subsist two divergent groups: liberal and non-liberal. For a long time, especially in the West, liberal democracy has been defined as a “political system marked (...) by free and fair elections,” as well as a system containing “rule of law, separation of powers, and the protection of basic liberties of speech, assembly, religion, and property” (Zakaria 1997, 22). Important to highlight in this section, a liberal democratic system ensures that its citizens will be “free”, free to think, free to speak, and free to act.

Numerous political scientists have also added that democracy cannot be conceived as such without liberalism and that these two terms are inseparably linked. Some have even concluded that “when we speak of democracy in today’s world, we are really speaking not simply of rule by the people, but of liberal (...) democracy” (Plattner 2010, 84).

Nonetheless, though this study focuses in liberal democracy it is indispensable to state that in reality most countries that call themselves “liberal” are not. Half of the “democratizing countries” (Zakaria 1997, 24) are in fact illiberal democracies which although they may have “freely elected governments (...) fail to safeguard basic liberties” and it is impossible to have one without the other (Plattner 2010, 171). Many states claim to have democratic principles and comply with democratic components, when as a matter of fact, it is the opposite. In many cases, illiberal democracies tend to gain validity, hence forte from the fact that they are “reasonably” democracies (Zakaria 1997). According to Zakaria (1997, 23), in Asia, Africa, South America and South-central Europe there are a vast increase of illiberal democracies. Nonetheless, many scholars still defend the fact that citizens of the world today live in a liberal “democratic age” (Zakaria 1997, 42). For this study, the concept of a “liberal” democracy will be assessed considering the view of supporters towards news media censorship.

Capitalist

Within the liberal dimension of a democratic system, lies two separations: capitalist and socialist. Although some scholars of political science argue that practically all “societies are socialist to some degree”, it is crucial to make the distinction between both (Hope 2010). Socialism in essence is the theory that “society does not consist of individuals; it expresses the sum of connections and relationships in which individuals find themselves” (Freedman 1996, 426). From this perspective, citizens don’t exist on their own, but rather depend on

each other. Although it sounds simple, this becomes gradually complex when observed from distinct points of view.

According to Karl Marx, socialist societies are viewed simply from an economic perspective in which production is the ultimate objective (Marx 1993). In this sense, he diminishes socialism by cherry-picking the economic factor and deleting the rest of its qualities. Rosen (1989) summarizes the Marxist belief by stating that the species-being of mankind rests in labour, and that society divides itself into distinct classes upon its qualities of labor force. This also results in two partitions within the society: the exploiting and the exploited (Rosen 1989). Moreover, a fault in Marx's theory that results stimulating for this study is that he believed the economic life was the determinant for a political life, meaning it all revolved around capital and wealth (Rosen 1989).

Bearing that in mind, for this analysis the shift from a socialist to a capitalist society lies in the role of the government within a society. Hegel, for instance, was a contradictor of Marx's thinking and he stressed upon the importance of the political life. In his opinion, the state, in its political form (the law and the government) dictates the character of a society and therefore what the economic life will be (O'Malley 1970). In this sense, it is vital to mention that in this study, the term "capitalist" is analyzed from the political form of a state. In addition, it will be oriented towards the fact that people have the responsibility to look out for their own welfare¹. To sum up, the conceptualization of this dimension is further understood by the role of the state.

¹ To this end, welfare is understood as wellbeing, safety, health, and prosperity.

In conclusion, after having explained in detail the three dimensions that compose the dependent variable, the equation of a capitalist liberal democracy is assembled. The conceptualization of this variable is summed up by the following elements: electing, multiple parties, accountability, representative government, free media, and the role of state. Finally, the next section will further explain how these concepts are transformed into variables to be operably measured.

Inclusiveness

It is true that democracy may be defined in numerous ways. Nonetheless, an imperative factor in its equation is inclusiveness. Robert Dahl (1989), in his construction of the traditional democratic theory, mentions five vital principles to be appraised, one of them being inclusiveness. The definition granted by this author is unpretentious, but tremendously valuable for this study. In simple terms, it involves a democratic process accessible to every human being, which means that all citizens have the opportunity of participating in their country's politics (Dahl 1989). Furthermore, all people should be able to "influence the decision-making process: to vote, to assemble, to protest, and to lobby for their interests" (Diamond and Molino 2004, 23).

In a previously written text, Polyarchy, the same author highlights that "contestation and inclusiveness" are the two dimensions that make up democracy (Dahl, 1971). It can even be argued that these two were essential indicators of democracy back in time, approximately from the 1950's until the year 2000 (Coppedge, Alvarez and Maldonado 2008). Moreover, in this paper, Dahl describes "a true democracy" first, as an "ideal type regime" and second as one in which all governments are expected to be fully responsive to its citizens needs and wants (Dahl and Lindblom, 1953). More importantly, he describes inclusiveness as the

“variation in the proportion of the population” which can partake a political role, plus a function in “controlling and contesting the conduct of the government” (Dahl 1971, 4). This is essential to the definition of inclusiveness because it highlights the population or the citizenries that are truly participants in the system.

Also, to put it in other words, according to the United Nations (UN), more specifically its Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), inclusion is defined as “a process that helps to overcome barriers limiting the presence, [and] participation” of individuals in their society (UNESCO 2017, 7). It is often confused with “equity”; yet, this has a different focus which is the “concern with fairness” and that all individuals are treated “as being of equal importance” (UNESCO 2017, 7). In this sense, to guard democracy, unquestionable international efforts are made worldwide to foster the prominence of inclusive societies².

Moreover, although there may be miscellaneous views to this term, for the purpose of this study it is critical to apprehend inclusiveness as a key factor in the equation of constructing democracy. Although inclusion encompasses several aspects to be considered such as age, class, race, ethnicity, religious affiliation, and more; the impetus of this study forces us to focus on one specific aspect which is gender. When thinking about democracy, is attitudes towards women’s inclusion essential to its construction? Do attitudes towards the inclusion of women in politics have a significant effect on individuals support for a capitalist liberal democratic system? This is what the study aims to respond. In the next section, the measurements for both the dependent and independent variables will be described and clarified along the Asian Barometer Survey.

² The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development serves as a clear example of an international attempt towards inclusion. It puts emphasis “on leaving no one behind” to construct “more inclusive and equitable societies” for all (UNESCO 2017, 3).

MEASUREMENT

All data for the present research was obtained from the Asian Barometer Survey (ABS), Wave 3 conducted between 2010 and 2012. Considering the interest to test the variables of this study in countries of both Southern Asia and Eastern Asia, the ABS was chosen as the all-embracing “cross national survey project” from where to obtain the data. Thus, seven sections of this survey were considered: Traditionalism, Regime Preference, Quality of Governance, Agreement /Disagreement with Specific Statements 2, Globalization, Citizenship, and Socio-economic Background Variables³.

To measure whether attitudes towards inclusiveness is or not a determinant of support for capitalist liberal democracy, logistic regression models were used. This methodology allowed to examine the relationship between “an interval-level independent variable” and “a binary dependent variable” (Pollock 2015, 167). In this case, the binary variable could take the following two stands: individuals either supported a capitalist liberal democratic system (coded as 1) or they did not (coded as 0). Regarding the independent variable, “attitudes towards inclusiveness”, it ranged from a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree).

Considering the aforesaid, the dependent and independent variables are hypothesized to have a positive relationship. This means that as attitudes towards inclusiveness increase, then so should the support for a capitalist liberal democracy. In other terms, those who have more negative attitudes towards inclusiveness should also have a lower support for capitalist liberal democracy in average. Nevertheless, although it can be assumed that the relationship amongst the presented variables is positive, the same cannot be done regarding the shape of

³ Afterwards, the variables selected by the author went through a codification process to be used in the analysis.

the graph. When performing logistic regression models one cannot assume a linear relationship because changes in one variable may not be consistent to changes in another (Pollock 2015, 168).

Moreover, to distinguish supporters of CLD from all other people, a “non-compensatory composite score” was constructed. As a result, the dichotomous variable “support for capitalist liberal democracy” was created in which those who answered “1” in each and every one of the questions were categorized as supporters, and all others as non-supporters. Nevertheless, it is crucial to highlight that there is no scale or range, meaning all questions must be answered “1”, since they are all necessary for the construction of the non-compensatory composite score. As mentioned by Moncagatta (2015, 83) the perks of utilizing “a non-compensatory composite indicator is that (...) it does not allow for negative answers to one or more questions to be compensated by positive answers to the other questions”, which prevents any “conceptualization-measurement inconsistencies”.⁴ The operationalization of the dependent variable, support for CLD is presented in the following section below (the same for the independent variable, attitudes towards inclusiveness).

Dependent Variable - Support for Capitalist Liberal Democracy

The dependent variable, **support for capitalist liberal democracy** is measured through six questions⁵ of the ABS. To observe the support of Southeast Asians and East Asians towards a *capitalist + liberal + democracy* each part of this equation was studied separately.

⁴ Plus, by using “a non-compensatory composite indicator”, equal significance is given for all the indicators, so “it makes no sense in applying different weights (...) if they are all considered necessary for a complete understanding of solid support” (Moncagatta 2015, 83).

⁵ The sequence in which the questions were carried out has been altered for this analysis.

The first dimension to be considered is **democracy**, which was measured through the selection of the four-following series of statements⁶:

1. “Statement 1: Political leaders are chosen by the people through open and competitive elections. Statement 2: Political leaders are chosen on the basis on their virtue and capability even without election.”
2. “Statement 1: Multiple parties compete to represent political interests. Statement 2: One party represents the interests of all the people.”
3. “Statement 1: Government is our employee, the people should tell government what needs to be done. Statement 2: The government is like parent, it should decide what is good for us.”
4. “Statement 1: Government leaders implement what voters want. Statement 2: Government leaders do what they think is best for the people.”

Moreover, to distinguish the respondents who prefer a Democratic system over a Meritocracy, One-party state, or Hybrid system, the respondents had to make the following selection: series 1= statement 1, series 2=statement 1, series 3=statement 1, series 4=statement 1. This means that to obtain a solid support for the *democratic system* supporters must have chosen the first statement in all the 4 series or questions presented above.

The second dimension to be contemplated is **liberal**, which was tested through the assortment of the succeeding statements⁷:

5. “Statement 1: The media should have the right to publish news and ideas without government control. Statement 2: The government should have the right to prevent the media from publishing things that might be politically destabilizing.”

Likewise, to distinguish from non-liberal and liberal, the respondents of the ABS must have selected the first statement over the second one. In this sense, the followers of a *liberal democracy* do not agree with news media censorship, but instead advocate freedom when it comes to publications.

⁶ The first series of statements is equivalent to question 78 in the ABS Wave 3 Core Questionnaire. Series 2=question 79, series 3=question 75, and series 4=question 74.

⁷ This series of statements is equivalent to question 76 in the ABS Wave 3 Core Questionnaire.

The third dimension to be pondered to complete the equation is **capitalist**. It was examined through the miscellany of the next statements⁸:

6. “Statement 1: People should look after themselves and be primarily responsible for their own success in life. Statement 2: The government should bear the main responsibility for taking care of the wellbeing of the people.”

Similarly, to differentiate from capitalist or socialist, the respondents of the ABS were expected to choose from statement 1 and 2 presented above. Those who chose statement 1 supported a capitalist system and thought the government had a reduced role to play in comparison to the supporters of statement 2, which ought to hold the welfare of the society in the government’s hands, demonstrating their support towards a socialist system.

To sum up, the addition of all three dimensions compose the dependent variable identified in this study as *support for capitalist liberal democracy*. For this categorization, respondents of this scrutiny must have chosen the first statement over the second in all the series of statements presented above (which are equivalent to questions 78, 79, 75, 74, 76, and 77 of the AB Survey Core Questionnaire).

Independent Variable – Attitudes towards Inclusiveness

The independent variable of this study is **attitudes towards inclusiveness**, which implies citizens having a more positive or negative attitude towards what was previously defined as inclusiveness for this study. Moreover, attitudes towards inclusiveness were measured by the ABS by asking citizens to express their opinion regarding the following statement and choose within the answers provided.

⁸ This series of statements is equivalent to question 77 in the ABS Wave 3 Core Questionnaire.

Respondents were asked to state whether they “strongly agree”, “somewhat agree”, “somewhat disagree”, or “strongly disagree” with the idea below.

“Women should not be involved in politics as much as men.”⁹

In short, the answers to this question were treated on a scale from 1 to 4, and recoded to go from most negative to positive (strongly disagree=1, somewhat disagree=2, somewhat agree=3, and strongly agree=4). In this sense, those who “strongly agree” with the statement that “women should not be involved in politics as much as men” are considered to have the most negative attitudes towards inclusiveness. Congruently, those who “strongly disagree” are considered to have the most positive attitudes.

Controlling Variables

The controlling variables selected for this study are: traditionalism, corruption, globalization, freedom of speech, government control, and national pride.¹⁰

The variable **traditionalism** was chosen for this study contemplating that in a CLD the role of the individual is greater than the role of the government (as expressed by the capitalist dimension above). Furthermore, it was measured by asking citizens to express if they “strongly agree”, “somewhat agree”, “somewhat disagree” or “strongly disagree” with the following statement:

“For the sake of the national interest, individual interest could be scarified.”

Considering that quality of governance is critical for a democratic system, the variable **corruption** was chosen. It is measured by asking respondents to make a choice between these

⁹ This interrogation may be found in the ABS Wave 3 Core Questionnaire as q139.

¹⁰ These six variables, were measured by the following questions obtained in the ABS Wave 3 Core Questionnaire respectively: q52, q117, q152, q106, q142, and q154. They were recoded by the author when necessary for the logistic regression analysis.

statements – “hardly anyone is involved”, “not a lot of officials are corrupt”, “most officials are corrupt”, and “almost everyone is corrupt” –, which concern the following interrogation:

“How widespread do you think corruption and bribe-taking are in the national government [in capital city]?”

The variable **globalization** was chosen bearing in mind that restraints to the opportunity of trade may result in a menace to a capitalist system where individuals seek to look after themselves. This variable was measured regarding citizen’s different levels of agreement or disagreement with the statement presented below, their options were “strongly agree”, “agree”, “disagree”, and “strongly disagree”.

“We should protect our farmers and workers by limiting the import of foreign goods.”

Considering the importance of citizen’s ability to express themselves freely in a system that defends liberty and democracy, the variable **freedom of expression** was elected. This variable was chosen and tested through citizens differing ranges of agreement and disagreement with the next statement, their alternatives were “strongly agree”, “somewhat agree”, “somewhat disagree”, or “strongly disagree”.

“People are free to speak what they think without fear.”

Contemplating that, excessive jurisdiction from the government to its citizens may result in a menace to the scopes of capitalism, liberty and democracy, the variable **government control** was chosen. It was examined by asking citizens to express if they “strongly agree”, “somewhat agree”, “somewhat disagree” or “strongly disagree” with the idea below.

“The government should decide whether certain ideas should be allowed to be discussed in society.”

The variable **national pride** was chosen considering that it aids in foreseeing an extensive array of politico-economic sequels. Although it may be complex to understand at times, this

variable is deeply linked to a country's history and society. It was measured by asking respondents to select if they feel "very proud", "somewhat proud", "not very proud", or "not proud at all" when asked the following question:

"How proud are you to be a citizen of (country)?"

Additionally, more controlling variables were chosen from the socioeconomic questionnaire of the third Wave of the ABS: **gender, age, education, religiosity, and income.**¹¹ To review how these variables were measured it is optimal to review the questionnaire aforementioned, which is added as Anex A at the end of this paper. Nevertheless, considering that there is a variety of different ways to measure religiosity, this variable will be briefly discussed below.

The variable **religiosity** was selected for this analysis while bearing in mind that both regions chosen for this study are well known for their acceptance towards a great assortment of religions. Moreover, it was measured by asking citizens to respond to the following question with one of the subsequent statements: "several times a day", "once a day", "several times a week", "once a week", "once a month", "only during festivals (or several times a year)", "less often", and "practically never".

"About how often do you practice religious services or rituals these days?"

Likewise, to the independent variable of this analysis, the variables of *traditionalism*, *freedom of expression*, and *government control* were recoded from 1 to 4 and from negative to positive (strongly disagree=1, somewhat disagree=2, somewhat agree=3, and strongly agree=4). In the case of *globalization*, the process of recodification is almost identical (strongly disagree=1, disagree=2, agree=3, and strongly agree=4). For *national pride* the recodification process is also on a scale from 1 to 4, not proud at all=1, not very proud=2,

¹¹ These five socioeconomic background variables, were measured by the following questions found in the ABS Wave 3 Socioeconomic Questionnaire respectively: qSE2, qSE3a, qSE5, qSE7, qSE13.

somewhat proud=3 and very proud=4. In the case of *religiosity*, the recodification is more extensive, practically never=1, less often=2, only during festivals (or several times a year) =3, once a month=4, once a week=5, several times a week=6, once a day=7, several times a day=8. Also, it is vital to mention that the other socioeconomic variables (*gender, age, education, and income*) were recoded if needed following the same pattern from (-) to (+). Lastly, in the case of *corruption*, recodification wasn't necessary considering that the answers were already formulated from less corrupt to more corrupt.

COUNTRY SELECTION

Eastern Asia

Mongolia is particularly interesting for its location; it is positioned north of China and south of Russia. It is highly influenced not only by its frontier countries, but by many neighboring territories as well. A clear example is Mongolia's openness towards many different cultures and religious instructions like Christianity, Buddhism and Islam. It is a conventional country which economy is mostly centered on agriculture and herding. Mongolia is also distinctive since it marks world history for entertaining the most prevalent and unceasing empire of all, the Mongol Empire from 1206 until 1368. Moreover, this East Asian country also results attractive to this study for its political system; Mongolia is a semi-presidential representative democratic republic which constitution grants numerous freedoms (like expression and religion).

Japan's interest for this study lies in its triggering relationship with the United States. It is exceptionally attractive as an East Asian country, for its difference with others of its region, lies in its close bond with this country. Undoubtedly, this ally benefits Japan in its economic aspect; for example, both Japan and the U.S. profit from mutual dependence in trade.

However, the economic aspect is just one way in which this association impacts Japan; for, it also pressures this Asian country to be more actively participant in the international arena, which inherently includes a common share of values (such as liberty, equality, and democracy). In sum, the United States powers Japan in various ways and broadcasts its scope of thought for continuous change and development.

Southern Asia

Thailand is one of the most outstanding countries in Southeast Asia; for instance, it has the second largest economy of its region after Indonesia. Moreover, (different to Cambodia¹²) it was one of the founding members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)¹³, which is just one example of this country's attempt to cooperate at a regional level in terms of economy and politics. Also, it is especially unique because its culture is highly influenced by its religion. Most of Thailand's population is Theravada Buddhist, which means they uphold distinguishing traditions and practices. Conclusively, likewise to its culture, Thailand's government held by a constitutional monarchy in which the hereditary monarch is the head of state, while the prime minister is the head of government is also swayed by its belief system.

Located southeast from Thailand, and dealing with continuous border disputes, is the country of Cambodia. It's territory, greatly affected after the Khmer Rouge bloody killings in the 20th century, still holds vestiges of that time. For this reason, it results in a peculiar country with several distinctions, like its prevalent amount of young population. Moreover, it is a Southeast Asian country that has suffered incessant changes and alterations at all levels. In the last 50 years, for example, this country has changed its name up to four times which is a suggestive illustration of the various changes in the political aspect. Undoubtedly, the vicissitudes at a political level and particularly its political system, has also affected its

¹² Cambodia was the tenth and last country to form part of the ASEAN, in April 30th, 1999.

¹³ Thailand became a member of the ASEAN the 8th of August of 1967 since its creation.

citizens in a social and cultural manner. For example, their current one party system endorsed the Cambodian People’s Party (CPP)¹⁴ to gain such strength that little or no change is tolerated in terms of rule of law and freedom of press.

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

To identify the way in which the probability of the dependent variable fluctuated in accordance to a unit variation in the independent variable, it was necessary to obtain the odds ratio. As explained by Pollock (2015, 170), “an odds ratio of less than 1 says that the odds decrease as the independent variable increases” which highlights a negative relationship. In contrast, “an odds ratio of greater than 1 says that the odds of the dependent variable increase as the independent variable increases”, which suggests a positive relationship (Pollock 2015, 170). On the other hand, if the odds ratio is equivalent to 1 then it is interpreted as having no relationship at all. This is because the odds have no impact on the independent variable which is increasing (Pollock 2015, 170).

As previously mentioned, logistic regression models were specified to explain the dependent variable, *support for capitalist liberal democracy* in all four cases of study. As independent variables, the list described in the section “Measurement” was used. Table 2 below presents the results (or the odds ratio) for the four cases.

Table 2: Odds Ratio

| | Mongolia | Japan | Thailand | Cambodia |
|----------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Inclusiveness | 1.081 (0.446) | 0.946 (0.681) | 1.423* (0.020) | 0.652 (0.078) |
| Traditionalism | .993 (0.955) | 0.849 (0.178) | 1.317 (0.166) | 0.593* (0.040) |
| Corruption | 1.045 (0.551) | 1.035 (0.818) | 0.986 (0.801) | 1.091 (0.500) |

¹⁴ Established as the “Kampuchean People’s Revolutionary Party”, the CPP is Cambodia’s present-day political party.

| | | | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Globalization | 0.924 (0.521) | 1.107 (0.432) | 0.970 (0.811) | 0.524 (0.071) |
| Freedom of Speech | 0.966 (0.688) | 1.319** (0.004) | 1.017 (0.923) | 0.732 (0.119) |
| Government Control | 0.925 (0.460) | 0.753* (0.018) | 0.876 (0.315) | 0.827 (0.502) |
| National Pride | 0.670* (0.018) | 1.105 (0.425) | 0.870 (0.697) | 1.029 (0.934) |
| Gender | 1.106 (0.583) | 0.841 (0.292) | 1.452 (0.119) | 0.724 (0.464) |
| Age | 1.003 (0.634) | 1.001 (0.771) | 0.993 (0.497) | 1.043* (0.037) |
| Education | 1.012 (0.747) | 0.989 (0.844) | 1.017 (0.782) | 1.052 (0.702) |
| Religiosity | 0.953 (0.171) | 0.954 (0.155) | 1.134** (0.006) | 0.977 (0.918) |
| Income | 0.922 (0.295) | 0.985 (0.825) | 0.931 (0.492) | 0.774 (0.177) |
| <i>N</i> | 824 | 1380 | 1179 | 1149 |
| pseudo <i>R</i> ² | 0.0141 | 0.0201 | 0.0377 | 0.123 |

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

As seen, the explained variance in three of the four models is very low [Mongolia (0.0141), Japan (0.0201), and Thailand (0.0377)]. The exception is Cambodia where approximately a 12% can be explained by the model (considering that the pseudo R^2 equals 0.123). By observing the odds ratio table, we can say that in this country, the variables traditionalism and age are the only variables that have significant coefficients. Furthermore, it seems that traditionalism has an important influence in support for capitalist liberal democracy in Cambodia. In the other three cases, although some variables do have an effect, the models result feeble due to the low explained variance.

Mongolia

In Mongolia, when focusing on attitudes towards inclusiveness no significant effect on the probability of supporting a capitalist liberal democratic system is shown. As seen in Figure 1, the graph is skewed to the right; however, considering the 95% confidence intervals, those

who strongly agree could easily stand in the same point with those who strongly disagree making it impossible to do further interpretations. The odds ratio table above allows for the same conclusion, as the estimate shows no statistical significance. In this sense, Figure 1 presented below demonstrates that in Mongolia, attitudes towards inclusiveness does not affect the odds of individuals support towards a capitalist liberal democracy.

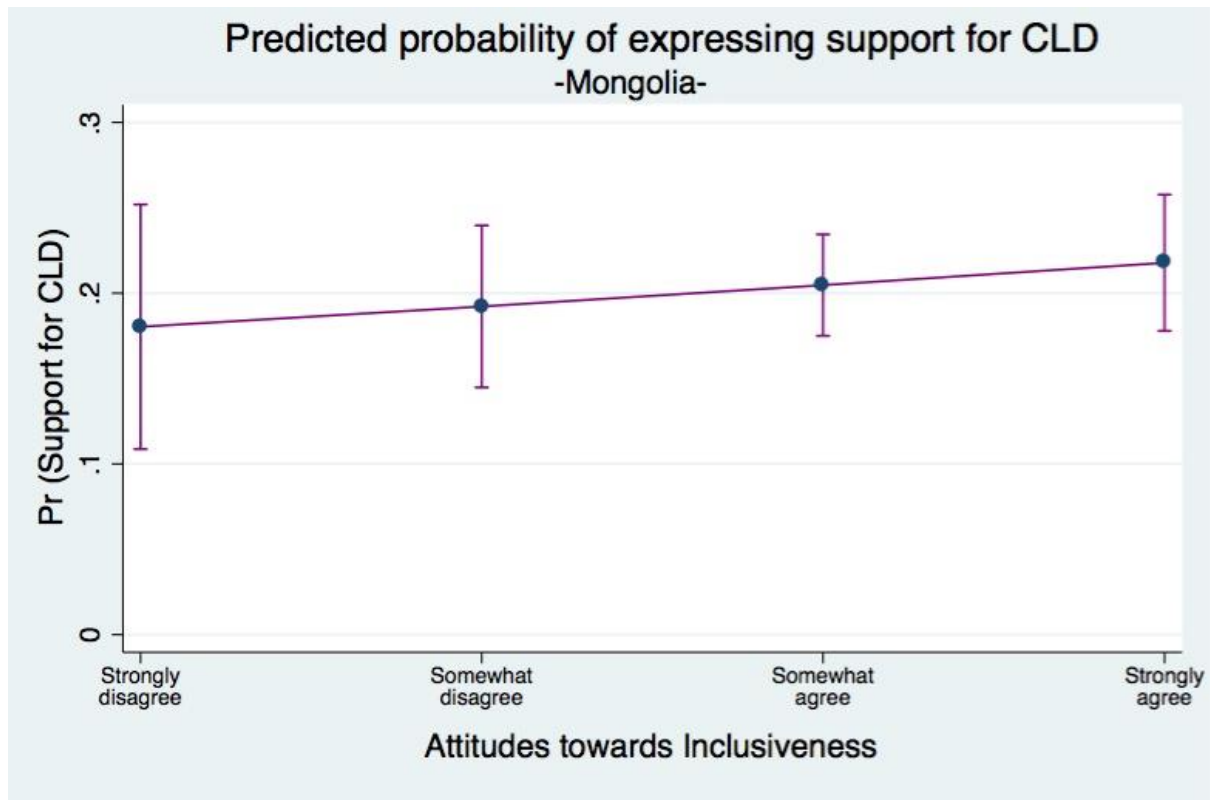


Figure 1. Predicted values of expressing support for capitalist liberal democracy (CLD) in Mongolia as attitudes towards inclusiveness vary, holding all other variables at the mean.

Source: Asian Barometer Survey Wave III (2010-2012)

Nonetheless, the variable “national pride” did prove to influence the likelihood of individuals support towards the capitalist liberal democratic system. These findings may be found in the Table 2 above by the exponentiated coefficient 0.670. Moreover, when the coefficient is employed in the arithmetic equation, $(0.670 - 1) * 100$, the value obtained is -33. This means that the prouder individuals feel about their country, the less their chances of supporting a capitalist liberal democratic system. In other words, the probability of supporting a capitalist

liberal democracy in Mongolia decreases by a 33% chance when there is a 1 unit increase in national pride.

Japan

In Japan, after testing attitudes towards inclusiveness and probability of support towards a capitalist liberal democracy, no significant effect is found. In Figure 2, the graph seems to be skewed to the left; nevertheless, the 95% confidence intervals show that the point that stands on strongly disagree could easily be standing on strongly agrees. Taking this in mind, in Japan, attitudes towards inclusiveness have no effect on individual's chances of supporting a capitalist liberal democracy. This statement is also supported by the values presented in the odds ratio table, where the exponentiated coefficient for inclusiveness in Japan is not significant. The aforesaid results are reinforced by Figure 2 below.

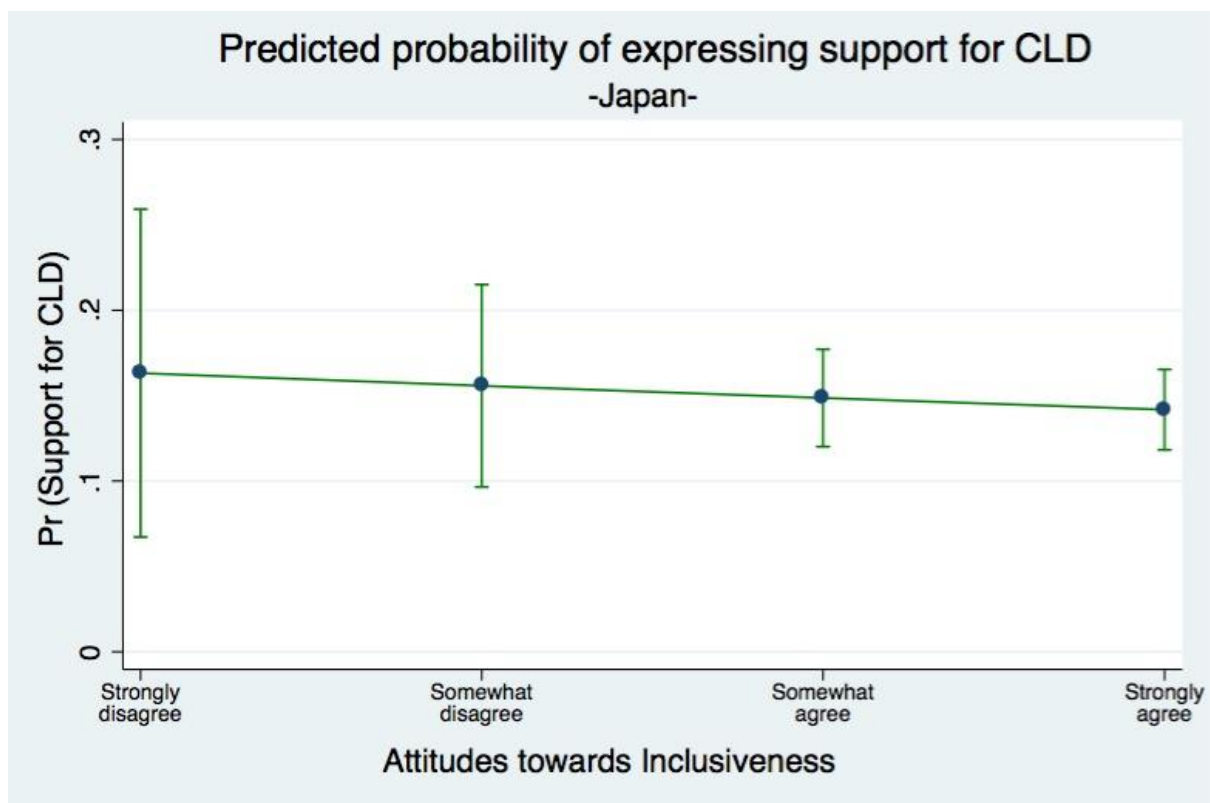


Figure 2. Predicted values of expressing support for capitalist liberal democracy (CLD) in Japan as attitudes towards inclusiveness vary, holding all other variables at the mean.

Source: Asian Barometer Survey Wave III (2010-2012)

However, in Japan, two other variables did demonstrate to have a meaningful effect in the support towards a capitalist liberal democracy: “freedom of speech” and “government control”. In the Table 2, freedom of speech obtains an exponentiated coefficient of 1.319. The coefficient represents a value of 31.9 (rounded 32) as a result of the equation: $(1.319 - 1) * 100$. This highlights a positive relationship between the variables; meaning, as the feeling towards having more freedom of speech increases in Japan by a unit of 1, the probability of support towards a capitalist liberal democracy increases by 32%. On the contrary, regarding government control, the coefficient is 0.753. The value attained through the equation $(0.753 - 1) * 100$ is -24.7 which rounds up to -25. This expresses that as individual’s agreement with government control increases by 1 unit, the probability of support towards a capitalist liberal democracy decreases by 25%.

Thailand

As Figure 3 demonstrates, in Thailand, attitudes towards inclusiveness do indeed influence citizen’s probabilities of supporting a capitalist liberal democracy. Likewise, the odds ratio table also exemplifies the relationship between the dependent variable, and the independent variable, inclusiveness. The value shown in Table 2 for the odds ratio is 1.423. By applying the arithmetic equation, $(1.423 - 1) * 100$, the value gained is 42.3 (rounded to 42%). In effect, in Thailand, citizen’s attitudes towards inclusiveness do induce an alteration in their probability of supporting a capitalist liberal democracy. A 1-unit variation in attitudes towards inclusiveness alters the odds of supporting a capitalist liberal democracy by 42%. The findings in this country are graphed in Figure 3 below.

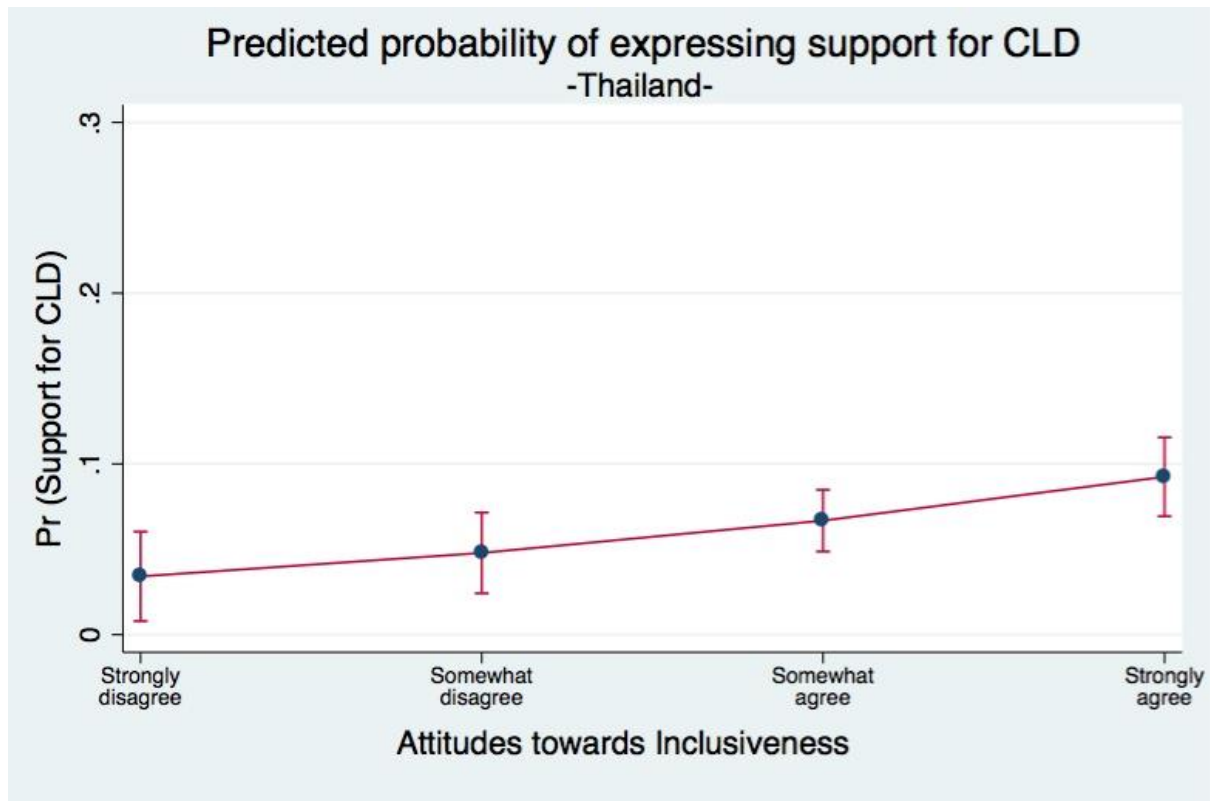


Figure 3. Predicted values of expressing support for capitalist liberal democracy (CLD) in Thailand as attitudes towards inclusiveness vary, holding all other variables at the mean.
Source: Asian Barometer Survey Wave III (2010-2012)

Additionally, another variable also influences the dependent variable of this study. In Thailand, “religiosity” has an effect on the likelihood of supporting a capitalist liberal democracy. In Table 2, this variable obtains an exponentiated coefficient of 1.134, which indicates its influence. When analyzed through the formula, $(1.134-1)*100$ the result obtained is 13.4 rounded to 13%. This means that the more citizens in Thailand practice religion, the more the odds of supporting a capitalist liberal democracy. More specifically, in Thailand, a 1 unit change in religiosity induces a 13% increase in the probability of support for a capitalist liberal democracy.

Cambodia

In the case of Cambodia, figure 4 illustrates that attitudes towards inclusiveness does not affect the odds of citizen’s support towards a capitalist liberal democracy. The graph seems to be skewed to the left, but considering the 95% of confidence intervals there is no significant

relationship between these variables. The same interpretation can be made by looking at Table 2, where the exponentiated coefficient is 0.652. In this sense, citizen's attitudes towards inclusiveness in Cambodia do not spur a change in their probability of supporting a capital liberal democracy. Figure 4 introduced below backs up this analysis.

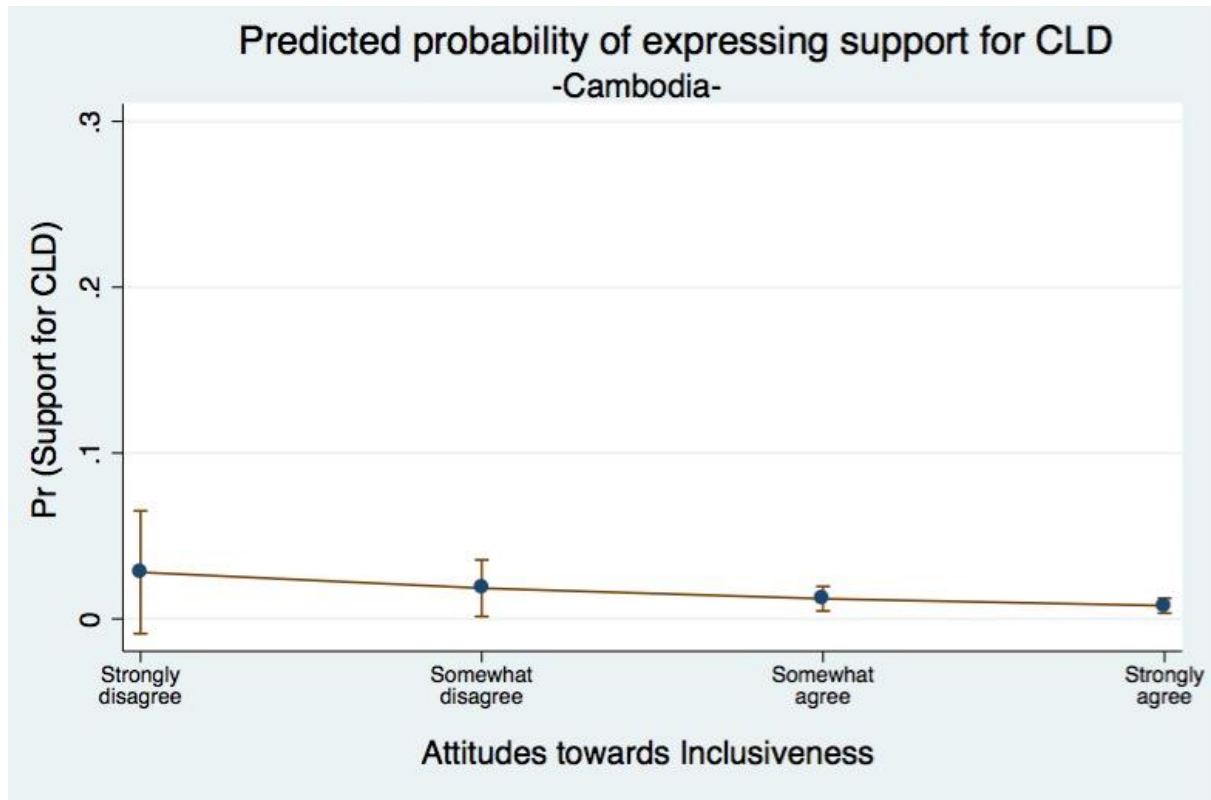


Figure 4. Predicted values of expressing support for capitalist liberal democracy (CLD) in Cambodia as attitudes towards inclusiveness vary, holding all other variables at the mean.

Source: Asian Barometer Survey Wave III (2010-2012)

Nonetheless, in Cambodia, two other variables did influence the probability of supporting a capitalist liberal democracy. First, “traditionalism” proved to have an effect on the dependent variable. This judgment is also exemplified by Table 2, which demonstrates an exponentiated coefficient of 0.593. Moreover, when this coefficient is examined in the arithmetic equation, $(0.593-1)*100$, the result is -40.7 rounded to -41. This means, the more adjacent individuals in Cambodia are towards the concept of traditionalism, the lesser the odds of them supporting a capitalist liberal democracy. In fact, the probability of supporting a capitalist liberal democracy in Cambodia decreases by 41% for every 1 unit of change in traditionalism.

Second, in Cambodia, “age”¹⁵ also had a weight in the probability of individual’s support towards a capital liberal democracy. The odds ratio table displays an exponentiated coefficient of 1.043. When applying the arithmetic equation $(1.043-1)*100$, the calculation obtained is 4.3 which is rounded to 4. This value demonstrates a positive relationship, meaning the older citizens are, the more probable it is that they support a capitalist liberal democracy. More specifically, as the independent variable increases by a 1 unit change, it is 4% more probable that citizens favor this system. Still, it is indispensable to mention that the percentage obtained by this variable is small.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The main objective of this study was to determine if attitudes towards inclusiveness (in terms of the inclusion of women in politics) had a significant effect on support for a capitalist liberal democracy. Previous studies performed by Shin and Kim (2016) concluded that the capitalist liberal democratic system was not the most preferred political system in East Asia, but rather one of the least favored by citizens of its region. Thus, the interest of this study lies in discovering what could possibly affect individuals in East Asia to choose or not to choose the capitalist liberal democratic system over others. More specifically, do attitudes towards inclusiveness have any say in the support for capitalist liberal democracy?

Only in one of the four countries studied, attitudes towards inclusiveness were found to have an effect in support for capitalist liberal democracy. In Thailand, the more citizens disagreed with the fact that women should not be as involved in politics as men (Asian Barometer Survey 2010-2012), the more they supported a capitalist liberal democracy. This is an

¹⁵ “Age” is measured by qSE3a of the socioeconomic questionnaire of the ABS Wave III. Respondents were asked to share their year of birth and it was converted to actual age. The voting age was the lower limit and there was no upper limit.

interesting remark, which highlights that in this country, the inclusion of women in politics does have a weight in the support for CLD. Although this was the only country in which the variable of inclusiveness proved to have an impact, other variables showed significant effects.

For instance, national pride was found to have a significant impact in support of individuals for capitalist liberal democracy in Mongolia. The prouder individuals felt to be a citizen of Mongolia the least they supported this political system. Considering that Mongolia has a semi-presidential representative democratic republic which is based in a multi-party system; an explanation to this finding could be that Mongolians perceive democracy in a different way (than as defined in this study) or that other dimensions such as liberal and capitalist affected citizen's decisions towards this political system.

Moreover, regarding government control, the least citizens in Japan agreed with the fact that the government should decide what ideas are shared in society, the more they agreed with capitalist liberal democracy. Similarly, with freedom of speech, the more citizens in Japan agreed with the fact that people can freely share what they think without fear, the more oriented they were towards supporting a capitalist liberal democratic system. In both circumstances, the individuals in Japan who supported capitalist liberal democracy were oriented towards opting for more freedom (rather than less). It can be implied by the results, that in this East Asian country, supporters of a capitalist liberal democracy are citizens who are against restrains of freedom and in favor of a more liberal government in which they have the right to speak and act without impediments. This is a stimulating finding that highlights the value of freedom and emphasizes the eminence of the liberal dimension.

Furthermore, concerning traditionalism, the more citizens in Cambodia believe that the national interest should go beyond the individual interest (and that it could even be sacrificed), the least they support capital liberal democracy. Among the socioeconomic variables, two were found to have an effect in the dependent variable. Age was found to have an impact in the way citizens in Cambodia supported the capitalist liberal democratic system; the higher the age, the higher the support. Regarding religiosity, it was found that the more religious citizens in Thailand express themselves to be, the more they support capitalist liberal democracy. This is interesting for two main reasons; first, as stated before, Thailand is considered a country highly influenced by its religion (which upholds an abundant number of practitioners), and second, its most common religion (Theravada Buddhist) is immersed in its politics and government.

In general, the variables that had an effect in the support for capitalist liberal democracy, were cases in which individuals agreed mostly with values of freedom, liberty and democracy. As a last remark, it results thought-provoking that neither inclusiveness nor any other variable was found significant in more than one Southeast or East Asian country. As a matter of fact, in each country different variables affected the support for capitalist liberal democracy. In this sense, what was found to be significant in Mongolia was not the case in Japan, and the same with Thailand and Cambodia.

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ANEX A: ASIAN BAROMETER SURVEY OF DEMOCRACY, GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT

A. Asian Barometer Survey III – Core Questionnaire

H. TRADITIONALISM

Please tell me how you feel about the following statements. Would you say you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?

Q52. For the sake of the national interest, individual interest could be sacrificed.

J. REGIME PREFERENCE

Let's talk for a moment about the kind of government you would like to have in this country, which of the following statements do you agree with most? Choose the first or the second statement.

Q74. Statement 1. Government leaders implement what voters want.
Statement 2. Government leaders do what they think is best for the people.

Q75. Statement 1. Government is our employee, the people should tell government what needs to be done.
Statement 2. The government is like parent, it should decide what is good for us.

Q76. Statement 1. The media should have the right to publish news and ideas without government control.
Statement 2. The government should have the right to prevent the media from publishing things that might be politically destabilizing.

Q77. Statement 1. People should look after themselves and be primarily responsible for their own success in life.
Statement 2. The government should bear the main responsibility for taking care of the wellbeing of the people.

Q78. Statement 1. Political leaders are chosen by the people through open and competitive elections.
Statement 2. Political leaders are chosen on the basis on their virtue and capability even without election.

Q79. Statement 1. Multiple parties compete to represent political interests.
Statement 2. One party represents the interest of all the people.

N. QUALITY OF GOVERNANCE

Now I am going to read to you a list of statements that describe how people often feel about the state of affairs in [country name]. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with each of these statements.

Q106. People are free to speak what they think without fear.

Q117. How widespread do you think corruption and bribe-taking are in the national government [in capital city]? Would you say?

R. AGREEMENT/DISAGREEMENT WITH SPECIFIC STATEMENTS

I have here other statements. For each statement, would you say you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?

Q139. Women should not be involved in politics as much as men.

Q142. The government should decide whether certain ideas should be allowed to be discussed in society.

S. GLOBALIZATION

Q152. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "We should protect our farmers and workers by limiting the import of foreign goods". Would you say you strongly agree, agree, disagree, or strongly disagree?

T. CITIZENSHIP

Q154. How proud are you to be a citizen of (COUNTRY)? Are you very proud, somewhat proud, not very proud, not proud at all?

B. Asian Barometer Survey III – Socioeconomic Questionnaire

R. SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND VARIABLES

QSE2. GENDER

- Male
- Female

QSE3a. BIRTH YEAR AND ACTUAL AGE

Use Year of Birth. Then convert to actual age.

[Lower limit: the voting age. No upper limit.]

QSE5. EDUCATION

What is your highest level of education?

- No formal education
- Incomplete primary/elementary
- Complete primary/elementary
- Incomplete secondary/high school: technical/vocational type
- Complete secondary/high school: technical/vocational type
- Incomplete secondary/high school
- Complete secondary/high school
- Some university education
- University education completed
- Post-graduate degree

QSE7. RELIGIOSITY

About how often do you practice religious services or rituals these days?

- Several times a day
- Once a day
- Several times a week
- Once a week
- Once a month
- Only during festivals (or several times a year)
- Less often
- Practically never

QSE13. ANNUAL OR MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME

Here is a scale of household [fill in “annual” or “monthly”] incomes. We would like to know in what group your household on average is, counting all wages, salaries, pensions, dividends, and other incomes that come in before taxes and other deduction.

- Less than ₱ 5,500
- ₱ 5,501 to ₱ 10,000
- ₱ 10,001 to ₱ 20,000
- ₱ 20,001 to ₱ 40,000
- ₱ 40,001 and above