

*Studies in Public Policy Number 292*

KOREANS EVALUATE DEMOCRACY:  
A NEW KOREA BAROMETER SURVEY

DOH C. SHIN UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT SPRINGFIELD

&

RICHARD ROSE, UNIVERSITY OF STRATHCLYDE

Centre for the Study of Public Policy

University of Strathclyde

Glasgow G1 1XH Scotland

1997

*Abstract*

This paper extends to the Republic of Korea the CSPP series of Barometer surveys of mass response to democratization in Eastern Europe. It reports in full, cross-tabulated by age, the responses of 1,117 Koreans interviewed in a nationwide sample survey, 20 May-3 June 1997. The questionnaire combines questions regularly included in interviews in Central and Eastern Europe and Russia. It also includes many questions asked in Shin's previous five Korean surveys. It is thus the sixth in the series of New Korea Barometer surveys. The questionnaire covers attitudes toward democracy, employment, social capital, trust and distrust, and expectations of fair and honest treatment by public officials.

Doh C. Shin is professor of political science at the University of Illinois at Springfield. He is a graduate of Seoul National University, the University of California Berkeley, and the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and has held Fulbright and Social Science Research Council fellowships.

Richard Rose is professor of public policy at the University of Strathclyde, and international scientific advisor to the Paul Lazarsfeld Society, Vienna. He directs a programme of surveys of mass response to transformation in post-Communist societies in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

*(This research was made possible by grants from the Korean Legislative Development Institute and from the British Economic & Social Research Council. We would also like to acknowledge technical support from Gallup Korea, 208 Sajik-Dong, Chongro-Ku, Seoul; email: @gallup.co.kr. Internet: WWW.gallup.co.kr).*

Democratization is a global phenomenon and Korea is a major Asian example of abrupt yet successful transition to democracy from authoritarian rule. Economically, it is a major Asian tiger; its entry into the ranks of advanced industrial societies has been recognized by membership in OECD. However, politically Korea is very much in the process of consolidating newly established democratic institutions while removing the residues of an authoritarian past. In the process, the quality of democracy has been challenged by massive corruption linking some of Korea's largest conglomerates with the highest levels of government, and major street demonstrations and protests,

What do Koreans make of their new democracy? Insofar as economics determines politics, Koreans ought to be positive about their system of government, given the country's phenomenal rate of economic growth. But since the country's economic boom started well before the choice of a President by free elections, this implies that there should have been support for the authoritarian regime in power when the standard of living began to rise. Insofar as the worldwide move to democratization has reached Asia, then Koreans ought to be positive about the current regime—and want to improve the quality of their new democracy.

The best way to understand what people think is to ask them. Since 1988 Doh Shin has been conducting surveys on political culture and the quality of life in Korea. Since 1991 Richard Rose has been conducting surveys of mass response to transformation in 15 post-Communist countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Given the worldwide spread of democracy, it is natural for us to join forces in a collaborative study of Korea, with a questionnaire that permits comparison between how people respond to major political changes in post-Communist new democracies and in Korea. Given differences in culture and past history between continents, the resulting research should help us identify influences on popular support for democracy that are truly cross-cultural, those specific to Asia, and those specific to the legacy of Communism.

This SPP paper presents the first results of a nationwide representative survey in early summer, 1997; a report on the sample is in the appendix. Fieldwork came after a winter of protests against industrial relations laws enacted in haste and some secrecy, publicity concerning corruption in government, and the indictment of President Kim Young Sam's second son on corruption charges. Interviewing was six months before the date of the 1997 presidential election, in which the President is ineligible by law to succeed himself.

The pages that follow report answers to all questions in the survey. When indicators are derived by combining answers to several questions, the procedures for doing so are explained in footnotes. In addition to responses by the adult population as a whole, sub-totals are reported for three age groups. For Koreans under 30 democratization has been a fact of life during most of their political socialization; this group is also the most educated. Koreans age 30 to 59 have experienced the hard times of poverty and authoritarian rule. Koreans age 60 or over have lived through Japanese occupation, and prior to the introduction of democracy had reached a period in life when attitudes tend to become firm. In subsequent SPP papers we will analyze Korean responses in depth with particular reference to the quality of democracy issue and compare and contrast Korean outlooks with the responses of people in post-Communist societies.

18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
------------	------------	----------	------------

#### A. HEALTH

Q1) Over the past 12 months, would you say your physical health has been:

1. Very good	28	22	4	21
2. Good	41	34	34	36
3. Average	22	28	16	24
4. Poor	8	15	43	17
5. Very poor	0	1	3	1

Q2) What about your emotional and mental health? In the past 12 months would you say it has been :

1. Very good	23	18	4	17
2. Good	35	36	37	36
3. Average	28	28	26	28
4. Poor	13	16	30	17
5. Very poor	0	2	3	2

#### B. ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Q3) How would you rate the overall economic condition of our country today?

1. Very good.	-	0	-	0
2. Fairly good	2	3	6	3
3. Not very good	42	39	37	40
4. Bad	55	58	56	57

Q4a) How would you compare the current economic condition of our country with what it was 10 years ago?

1. Much better	13	8	5	9
2. A little better	30	26	29	28
3. About the same	16	13	7	13
4. A little worse	23	27	31	26
5. Much worse	18	26	27	24

	18-29	30-59	60+	Total
	%	%	%	%

Q4b) Since the inception of the Kim Young Sam government, would you say our national economy has become:

1. Much better	0	0	-	0
2. A little better	5	4	3	4
3. About the same	19	16	22	17
4. A little worse	38	38	38	38
5. Much worse	38	43	37	41

Q5) What do you think the economic situation of our country will be in five years?

1. Much better	7	4	4	5
2. A little better	51	53	68	54
3. About the same	32	31	20	30
4. A little worse	7	9	6	8
5. Much worse	3	2	2	2

Q6) As for your own family, how do you rate its economic situation today?

1. Very satisfactory	2	1	-	1
2. Fairly satisfactory	30	18	30	23
3. Not very satisfactory	59	67	52	63
4. Very unsatisfactory	9	13	17	12

Q7a) Compared to 10 years ago, would you say your household economic situation today is:

1. Much better	13	10	-	10
2. A little better	41	38	42	40
3. About the same	28	25	17	25
4. A little worse	16	19	31	20
5. Much worse	1	7	9	6

	18-29	30-59	60+	Total
	%	%	%	%

Q7b) Since the inception of the Kim Young Sam government, would you say your household economic situation has become:

1. Much better	0	1	-	1
2. A little better	18	11	12	13
3. About the same	45	39	42	41
4. A little worse	27	31	33	30
5. Much worse	9	17	13	15

Q8) What do you think the economic situation of your family will be in five years?

1. Much better	15	10	1	10
2. A little better	58	56	52	56
3. About the same	24	27	37	27
4. A little worse	3	5	5	4
5. Much worse	0	2	5	2

Changing household situation<sup>1</sup>:

Standards rising	18	13	12	14
Standards stable, satisfied	17	9	16	12
Standards stable, unsatisfied	28	29	25	28
Standards falling	37	49	47	45

<sup>1</sup>Standards rising: Current household economic situation much better or somewhat better now than before the inception of the Kim Young Sam government (Q7b). Standards stable, satisfied: Current economic situation the same compared with that before the inception of the Kim Young Sam government AND respondent satisfied with current household economic situation (Q6). Standards stable, dissatisfied: Current economic situation the same compared with that before the inception of the Kim Young Sam government AND respondent not satisfied with current household economic situation. Standards falling: Current economic situation a lot worse or a little worse now than that before the inception of the Kim Young Sam government.

	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
--	------------	------------	----------	------------

Future prospects<sup>2</sup>:

Improving	73	66	54	67
Satisfactory	6	4	11	5
Deteriorating	1	1	-	1
Continuing poor	21	29	36	28

## Q9) In the past year has your family:

1. Saved money	56	44	22	44
2. Just got by	27	35	58	36
3. Spent some savings	9	9	9	9
4. Borrowed money	3	5	7	5
5. Spent savings and borrowed money	5	6	4	5

Q10) Some people have to do without things they need. In the past 12 months, has your family had to do without any of the following?

## Q10a) Food

1. Often	1	0	2	1
2. Sometimes	5	5	3	5
3. Rarely	13	21	16	18
4. Never	81	73	78	76

<sup>2</sup>**Improving:** Household economic situation in five years is a lot or a little better than now (Q8). **Satisfactory:** Standards rising or stable and satisfied (Changing household situation) AND economic situation in five years is much the same as now. **Deteriorating:** Standards rising or stable and satisfied (Changing household situation) AND economic situation in five years is a little or a lot worse than now. **Continuing poor:** Standards stable and dissatisfied or standards falling (Changing household situation) AND economic situation in five years is a little or a lot worse than now.

	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
--	------------	------------	----------	------------

## Q10b) Heating, electricity

1. Often	0	0	1	0
2. Sometimes	3	5	6	5
3. Rarely	15	19	14	17
4. Never	81	75	79	77

## Q10c) Clothes

1. Often	1	0	1	1
2. Sometimes	4	4	6	4
3. Rarely	18	22	14	20
4. Never	77	73	78	75

Destitution scale<sup>3</sup>:

0 - Never deprived	75	68	75	71
1	4	4	3	4
2	4	4	3	4
3	10	17	11	14
4	4	4	2	4
5	2	1	2	1
6	1	1	3	1
7	1	0	-	0
9 - Often without all three	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
Mean	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.9
St. deviation	1.5	1.6	1.8	1.6

Q11) If your family was very short of money, is there a friend or relative from whom you could borrow as much as one week's living expenses?

1. Definitely	75	65	55	66
2. Probably	20	27	19	24

<sup>3</sup>**Destitution scale** assigns points ranging from three for often doing without to zero for never doing without food; heating, electricity; clothes, shoes that are really necessary (Qq 10a-c).

	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
--	------------	------------	----------	------------

3. Probably not	3	5	18	6
4. Definitely not	2	2	8	3

Q12) How long do you think it will be before you have reached a standard of living with which you are content?

1. 1-2 years	5	4	4	4
2. 3-5 years	45	32	12	33
3. 6-10 years	31	29	6	26
4. More than 10 years	3	4	-	3
5. Never	-	4	21	5
8. Don't know	10	22	43	22
9. Already content	4	5	14	6

Q13) What do you think of foreigners owning the following properties in this country?

Q13a) Small enterprises, shops, cafes

1. Definitely all right	5	4	2	4
2. Probably all right	29	22	7	22
3. Not so sure	17	16	14	16
4. Definitely not all right	48	58	76	58

Q13b) Big factories

1. Definitely all right	3	5	2	4
2. Probably all right	18	19	10	17
3. Not so sure	15	14	7	13
4. Definitely not all right	63	63	81	65

Q13c) Small land plots

1. Definitely all right	1	2	1	1
2. Probably all right	15	12	6	12
3. Not so sure	14	14	10	13
4. Definitely not all right	70	72	83	73

	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
--	------------	------------	----------	------------

Q13d) Large land plots

1. Definitely all right	1	1	1	1
2. Probably all right	8	7	3	7
3. Not so sure	10	10	7	10
4. Definitely not all right	81	82	89	83

### C. GENERAL POLITICS

Q14) Now I have a few questions about politics in our country. How much influence do you think the votes of people like yourself have on the way this country is governed?

1. A lot	24	24	11	22
2. Some	40	44	64	46
3. A little	27	23	10	22
4. None	7	5	3	5
8. Don't know	2	4	11	4

Q15) Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The best way of choosing our government is an election that gives every voter a choice of candidates and parties?

1. Definitely agree	33	33	19	31
2. Somewhat agree	45	45	61	47
3. Somewhat disagree	13	15	8	14
4. Definitely disagree	4	2	1	2
8. Don't know	4	4	11	5

16) As you know, Korea has been governed by different kinds of political systems in the past 15 years<sup>4</sup>. Here is a scale ranging from a low of 0 to a high of 100. On this scale, 0 means the worst and 100 means the best.

<sup>4</sup>Chun became President in 1980 after the assassination of President Park, protests, strikes, arrests and martial law. In 1987 Roh won a competitive election. In 1992 Kim Young Sam became the first president chosen in three decades to win election as President without military backing.

	18-29	30-59	60+	Total
	%	%	%	%

Q16a) Where on this scale would you place the system of government under the presidency of Chun Doo Whan?

0 (Worst)	4	5	17	7
10	3	3	6	3
20	3	3	10	4
30	7	7	5	7
40	11	8	4	8
50	25	25	23	25
60	17	15	13	15
70	13	15	8	13
80	14	11	8	12
90	3	4	4	4
100 (Best)	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
Mean	53	54	42	52
St. deviation	21	23	28	24

Q16b) Where on this scale, would you place the system of government under the presidency of Roh Tae Woo?

0 (Worst)	5	7	23	8
10	6	5	6	6
20	7	9	9	9
30	13	13	9	13
40	16	17	16	17
50	27	26	19	25
60	17	13	10	13
70	8	5	4	6
80	0	3	2	2
90	-	1	1	1
100 (Best)	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>
Mean	42	41	33	40
St. deviation	19	20	24	21

	18-29	30-59	60+	Total
	%	%	%	%

Q16c) Where on this scale, would you place the system of government under the presidency of Kim Young Sam?

0 (Worst)	8	11	18	11
10	6	9	10	8
20	8	8	6	8
30	14	17	14	16
40	15	11	11	12
50	22	24	26	24
60	14	8	5	10
70	11	7	7	8
80	2	3	2	3
90	-	0	-	0
100 (Best)	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>0</u>
Mean	41	37	34	38
St. deviation	21	22	23	22

Q16d) Where would you place the government our country will have in five years?

0 (Worst)	2	3	2	3
10	1	1	6	2
20	2	2	4	2
30	3	3	5	3
40	2	2	2	2
50	18	26	22	23
60	22	20	12	20
70	21	20	20	20
80	21	16	18	18
90	5	4	4	5
100 (Best)	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
Mean	62	61	57	61
St. deviation	20	20	24	20

	18-29	30-59	60+	Total
	%	%	%	%

Q16e) Where would you place the system of government in North Korea?

0 (Worst)	34	49	66	47
10	21	22	15	21
20	13	12	11	12
30	10	7	4	7
40	7	3	1	4
50	11	4	3	6
60	2	1	-	1
70	0	1	-	1
80	1	1	-	1
100 (Best)	-	0	-	0
Mean	18	12	7	13
St. deviation	20	16	12	17

Q17) Our present system of government is not the only one that this country has had, and some people say we would be better off if the country was governed differently. How much do you agree or disagree with the following:

Q17a) The army should govern the country

1. Agree strongly	2	2	-	2
2. Agree somewhat	9	14	21	14
3. Disagree somewhat	17	22	15	20
4. Disagree strongly	72	62	64	65

Q17b) Better to get rid of Parliament and elections and have a strong leader decide everything

1. Agree strongly	2	5	4	4
2. Agree somewhat	12	16	18	15
3. Disagree somewhat	27	27	47	30
4. Disagree strongly	59	51	31	51

	18-29	30-59	60+	Total
	%	%	%	%

Q17c) The most important decisions about the economy should be made by experts and not the government and Parliament

1. Agree strongly	24	28	26	27
2. Agree somewhat	49	48	54	49
3. Disagree somewhat	18	17	14	17
4. Disagree strongly	9	6	5	7

Q18) Thinking about the national government in Seoul, how much effect do you think its activities have on your day-to-day life? Do they have:

1. A great effect	9	12	13	11
2. Some effect	42	43	63	45
3. Little effect	41	37	18	36
4. No effect at all	8	8	6	8

Q19) How much effect do you think the local government has on your day-to-day life. Do its activities have:

1. A great effect	11	12	8	11
2. Some effect	44	47	70	49
3. Little effect	39	34	17	33
4. No effect at all	6	6	5	6

Q20) Under the present Kim Young Sam government, how much influence do you feel ordinary people like you have on what the government does?

1. A lot	9	10	8	9
2. Some	30	34	54	35
3. A little	51	44	28	44
4. None	11	12	10	11

Q21) To what extent do you think governors take the interests of people like yourself into account when making important decisions?

1. A lot	2	2	3	2
2. Some	23	26	29	26



	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
3. A little	55	48	42	49
4. Not at all	20	23	26	23

Q22) To what extent do you think governors take into account the interests and opinions of private organizations outside government before making decisions?

1. A lot	6	6	2	6
2. Some	40	40	39	40
3. Not much	47	42	46	44
4. Not at all	7	11	13	10

Q23) How would you describe the level of political corruption of the Kim Young Sam government?

1. Very high	30	39	33	36
2. High	52	46	52	49
3. Not so high	18	13	13	15
4. Very little	1	1	1	1

Q24) Who is to be blamed for our country's political problems and how much?

Q24a) North Korea

1. A lot	11	16	12	14
2. Somewhat	54	49	42	49
3. Not much	27	24	20	24
4. Not at all	8	12	26	12

Q24b) President Kim Young Sam

1. A lot	60	66	57	63
2. Somewhat	35	29	42	33
3. Not much	4	3	1	3
4. Not at all	1	1	-	1

	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
--	------------	------------	----------	------------

Q24c) Democratic reforms

1. A lot	25	30	24	28
2. Somewhat	49	51	61	52
3. Not much	21	17	13	18
4. Not at all	4	2	3	3

Q24d) Chaebols

1. A lot	59	54	45	54
2. Somewhat	35	40	49	40
3. Not much	4	5	4	4
4. Not at all	1	1	2	1

Q24e) Labor unions

1. A lot	13	14	13	14
2. Somewhat	49	53	56	52
3. Not much	31	29	24	29
4. Not at all	7	5	6	5

Q24f) Japanese

1. A lot	13	13	12	13
2. Somewhat	55	54	53	54
3. Not much	26	26	24	26
4. Not at all	6	6	11	7

Q24g) Americans

1. A lot	33	31	22	30
2. Somewhat	48	51	58	51
3. Not much	15	14	12	14
4. Not at all	4	4	8	4

	18-29	30-59	60+	Total
	%	%	%	%

Q25a) On the whole, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way the Kim Young Sam government handles problems facing our society? Please choose a number on this scale ranging from a low of 1 (complete dissatisfaction) to a high of 10 (complete satisfaction).

1 (Complete dissatisfaction)	10	15	12	13
2	14	13	8	13
3	29	22	19	23
4	19	19	25	20
5	19	17	21	18
6	6	8	11	8
7	2	4	1	3
8	1	1	2	1
9	-	0	-	0
10 (Complete satisfaction)	-	0	-	0
Mean	3.6	3.6	3.8	3.6
St. deviation	1.5	1.8	1.6	1.7

Q25b) On the same scale, where would you place the way democracy works in our country.

1 (Complete dissatisfaction)	5	4	4	4
2	7	5	1	5
3	12	12	6	11
4	18	14	16	15
5	22	28	36	27
6	17	16	26	18
7	11	12	7	11
8	8	6	1	5
9	0	1	1	1
10 (Complete satisfaction)	-	1	-	0
Mean	4.8	4.9	5.0	4.9
St. deviation	1.8	1.8	1.4	1.8

	18-29	30-59	60+	Total
	%	%	%	%

Q26) Some people say that it will take years for government to deal with the problems inherited from the days of undemocratic governance. Others say that our democratic regime ought to be able to deal with problems right now. With which view do you agree? And how strongly?

1. Definitely agree take years	33	27	21	28
2. Somewhat agree take years	43	45	54	45
3. Somewhat agree deal now	19	20	17	19
4. Definitely agree deal now	5	8	7	7

Q27) If Parliament was suspended and parties abolished, would you:

1. Definitely approve	3	6	6	5
2. Somewhat approve	15	15	6	14
3. Somewhat disapprove	39	37	56	40
4. Definitely disapprove	43	43	31	41

Q28) How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Q28a) Our political system is democratized enough; we should not expect too much.

1. Agree strongly	4	7	7	6
2. Agree somewhat	30	38	31	35
3. Disagree somewhat	45	39	49	42
4. Disagree strongly	21	16	13	17

Q28b) If a government is often restrained by an assembly, it will be unable to achieve great things.

1. Agree strongly	10	12	14	12
2. Agree somewhat	49	50	43	49
3. Disagree somewhat	30	31	36	31
4. Disagree strongly	11	7	7	8

	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
--	------------	------------	----------	------------

Q28c) We can leave things to morally upright leaders.

1. Agree strongly	12	22	33	20
2. Agree somewhat	40	40	42	40
3. Disagree somewhat	37	30	16	30
4. Disagree strongly	11	9	9	9

Q28d) Too many competing groups would undermine social harmony.

1. Agree strongly	14	14	20	15
2. Agree somewhat	49	55	42	52
3. Disagree somewhat	28	26	36	28
4. Disagree strongly	9	5	2	6

Q28e) Too many diverse opinions would undermine social order.

1. Agree strongly	12	14	22	15
2. Agree somewhat	47	53	42	50
3. Disagree somewhat	28	25	31	26
4. Disagree strongly	12	8	5	9

#### D. REUNIFICATION

Q29) Here are four statements we often hear about people in North Korea.

With which statement do you agree most?

1. They are just like us	9	12	7	11
2. While circumstances have created some differences, at heart they are just like us	41	41	53	42
3. They have a somewhat different way of life	44	45	37	43
4. They are foreigners	6	2	3	3

Q30) What do you think of reunifying North and South Korea? In principle, would you say that it is:

1. Highly desirable	37	46	70	47
2. Somewhat desirable	36	33	20	32

	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
--	------------	------------	----------	------------

3. Somewhat undesirable	24	17	6	18
4. Highly undesirable	4	3	3	3

Q31) If it cost a lot of money to people like yourself to reunify Korea, how would you feel about it?

1. Welcome re-unification regardless of its costs	18	29	44	28 <sup>ml</sup>
2. Accept re-unification as an act that cannot be refused	32	27	13	26 <sup>bl</sup>
3. Support re-unification as long as costs were not too much	32	31	35	32 <sup>Cony.</sup>
4. Not support re-unification if costs were too much	17	14	8	14 <sup>du</sup>

#### E. DEMOCRATIZATION

Q32) Let us consider the idea of democracy, not its practice. In principle, how much are you for or against the idea of democracy?

1. Very much for	56	53	52	54
2. Somewhat for	36	39	35	38
3. Against somewhat	6	7	12	7
4. Against very much	1	1	1	1

Q33) With which of the following do you agree most?

1. Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government	67	68	76	69
2. Under certain situations, a dictatorship is preferable	23	21	10	20
3. For people like me it doesn't matter if we have a democratic or non-democratic government	9	11	13	11

	18-29	30-59	60+	Total
	%	%	%	%

Q34) How satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way democracy works in Korea these days? Are you:

1. Very satisfied	2	4	2	3
2. Fairly satisfied	44	47	45	46
3. Not very satisfied	39	39	44	40
4. Not at all satisfied	14	9	9	11

Q35) How much do you agree or disagree with the statement that our political system should be made a lot more democratic than what it is now?

1. Strongly agree	58	46	30	47
2. Somewhat agree	36	43	54	42
3. Somewhat disagree	6	8	15	8
4. Strongly disagree	1	3	1	2

Q36) How much do you agree with the statement that the dictatorial rule like that of a strong leader like Park Chung Hee would be much better than a democracy to handle the serious problems facing the country these days.

1. Strongly agree	17	29	47	28
2. Somewhat agree	41	39	34	39
3. Somewhat disagree	27	21	16	22
4. Strongly disagree	15	11	3	11

Q37) Between the two national goals of democratization and economic development, which do you think is more important?

1. Economic development	50	52	70	54
2. Democratization	10	9	6	9
3. Equally important	40	39	24	37

Q38) Here is a scale ranging from a low of 1 to a high 10. On this scale, 1 means COMPLETE DICTATORSHIP and 10 means COMPLETE DEMOCRACY. The closer to 1 the score is, the more dictatorial our country is; the closer to 10 the score is, the more democratic our country is.

	18-29	30-59	60+	Total
	%	%	%	%

Q38a) On this scale, where would you place our country under the Chun Doo Whan government?

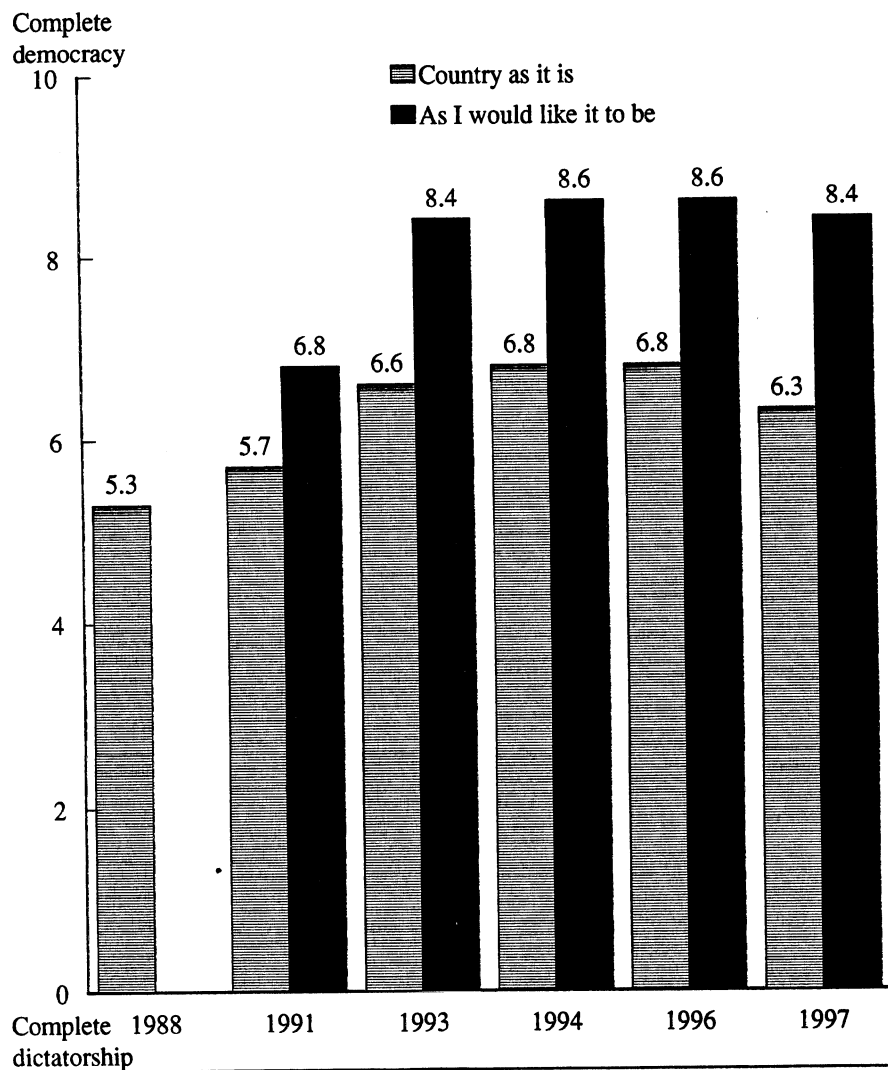
1 (Complete dictatorship)	7	7	9	8
2	15	11	9	12
3	25	22	31	24
4	19	19	18	19
5	18	22	17	21
6	8	10	11	10
7	5	5	4	5
8	2	2	1	2
9	-	0	-	0
10 (Complete democracy)	0	0	-	0
Mean	3.8	4.0	3.8	3.9
St. deviation	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.7

Q38b) Where would you place our country at the present time?

1 (Complete dictatorship)	1	0	-	1
2	1	0	-	0
3	3	3	-	3
4	6	4	3	4
5	22	20	25	21
6	23	24	31	24
7	27	27	30	27
8	15	17	8	15
9	1	3	3	3
10 (Complete democracy)	0	1	-	1
Mean	6.1	6.3	6.2	6.2
St. deviation	1.5	1.4	1.1	1.4

**Figure 1 GAP BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AS IT IS AND WHAT KOREANS WOULD LIKE**

*Q. On this scale, 1 means COMPLETE DICTATORSHIP and 10 means COMPLETE DEMOCRACY. Where would you place our country at the present time? How much democracy would you personally desire for our country today?*



Source: Doh C. Shin, New Korea Barometer, nationwide representative sample surveys.

	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
--	------------	------------	----------	------------

Q38c) To what extent would you personally desire our country to be democratized?

1 (Complete dictatorship)	-	0	1	0
3	0	1	-	0
4	1	1	-	1
5	2	4	3	4
6	1	3	8	3
7	14	10	20	12
8	28	28	35	29
9	27	24	14	23
10 (Complete democracy)	26	29	19	27
Mean	8.5	8.4	8.0	8.4
St. deviation	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.4

Q39) Here is another scale measuring the extent to which people think democracy is suitable for our country. On this scale, 1 means complete unsuitability while 10 means complete suitability.

Q39a) During the present Kim Young Sam government, to what extent is democracy suitable for our country?

1 (Complete unsuitability)	0	1	-	1
2	1	1	1	1
3	3	4	6	4
4	9	11	12	10
5	16	21	26	20
6	17	16	18	16
7	27	20	24	23
8	18	17	6	16
9	6	5	3	5
10 (Complete suitability)	2	4	3	3
Mean	6.4	6.2	5.9	6.2
St. deviation	1.7	1.8	1.6	1.8

	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
Q39b) During the period of the Chun Doo Whan government, to what extent was democracy suitable for our country?				
1 (Complete unsuitability)	3	5	3	4
2	9	6	3	7
3	14	11	26	14
4	19	19	15	19
5	25	26	25	26
6	12	12	11	12
7	10	10	10	10
8	3	6	7	6
9	4	2	1	2
10 (Complete suitability)	1	1	-	1
Mean	4.8	4.9	4.7	4.8
St. deviation	1.9	1.9	1.7	1.9

#### F. NEGATIVE SOCIAL CAPITAL

People often have problems about getting organizations to do what they would like. What do you think a person should do if they had the following problems:

Q40) A military draftee is told that he will be sent to a remote part of the country. How could he try to avoid this assignment?

1. Offer a bribe	3	2	-	2
2. Use connections	11	11	3	10
3. Make up an excuse to rescind the assignment	10	4	2	6
4. Submit a petition to delay it	24	17	8	18
5. Nothing can be done, accept	52	66	86	65

Q41) What should a parent do for a high school student whose grades aren't good enough to be admitted to a university?

1. Offer a bribe	1	1	2	1
2. Use connections	2	2	2	2

	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
3. Make up an excuse to discount poor grades	3	2	1	2
4. Pay a tutor, take exams again to do better	49	34	22	37
5. Nothing can be done, accept	44	60	73	57

Q42) What should a person who needs a governmental permit do if an official says: just be patient, wait?

1. Offer a bribe	5	3	1	4
2. Use connections	21	16	9	17
3. Write to the head office	33	21	8	22
4. Don't worry; check will turn up	22	23	20	23
5. Nothing can be done, just accept	18	36	61	34

Q43) What should a family do to get a government-subsidized apartment, even if not entitled to it by the regulations?

1. Offer a bribe	1	1	-	1
2. Use connections	8	7	4	7
3. Tell a story to make the household appear eligible	21	11	5	13
4. Save money to buy a private apartment, house	63	69	45	64
5. Nothing can be done	8	11	46	15

#### G. VALUE ORIENTATIONS

Q44) On this card you will find five pairs of contrasting statements. For each pair, please choose one statement which comes closest to your view and say whether you definitely agree or somewhat agree.

Q44a) Incomes should be made more equal so there are no big differences in standard of living.

Definitely	17	14	6	14
Somewhat	17	19	15	18

	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
OR Individual achievement should determine pay; more successful people should be paid more.				
Definitely	32	36	47	36
Somewhat	34	31	32	32
Q44b) Individuals should be responsible for their own welfare.				
Definitely	18	22	20	21
Somewhat	34	30	22	30
OR The state should be responsible for everyone's economic security.				
Definitely	15	12	22	14
Somewhat	32	35	36	35
Q44c) The state is best at running enterprises.				
Definitely	3	6	6	5
Somewhat	12	12	18	13
OR An enterprise is best run by private entrepreneurs.				
Definitely	46	45	40	45
Somewhat	38	37	36	37
Q44d) Koreans have much the same values and interests as people in the West.				
Definitely	4	4	3	4
Somewhat	18	15	11	15
OR Koreans have quite different values and interests from people in the West.				
Definitely	34	38	35	37
Somewhat	44	42	50	44
Q44e) Rising prices are the biggest threat to my family.				
Definitely	42	41	31	40
Somewhat	24	27	21	26

	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
OR Unemployment is the biggest threat for my family.				
Definitely	20	21	28	22
Somewhat	14	10	19	12
Q45) Some people feel they have completely free choice and control over their lives, while other people feel that what they do has no real effect on what happens to them. How about you? Where would you place yourself on this scale, where 1 means none at all and 10 means a great deal of free choice and control?				
1 (None at all)	-	1	-	0
2	1	1	3	1
3	6	5	1	5
4	4	7	5	6
5	14	15	12	14
6	17	15	20	16
7	26	23	25	24
8	21	23	27	23
9	10	7	5	7
10 (A great deal)	2	4	2	3
Mean	6.7	6.5	6.7	6.6
St. deviation	1.7	1.8	1.6	1.7
Q46) Here is another scale measuring political attitudes from 1 (extreme left) to 10 (extreme right).				
Q46a) Where on this scale would you put yourself?				
1 (Extreme left)	0	0	-	0
2	2	1	2	2
3	6	3	1	4
4	8	5	2	5
5	28	28	17	26
6	18	17	22	18
7	20	18	30	20

	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
8	11	16	19	15
9	4	6	4	5
10 (Extreme right)	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Mean	5.9	6.3	6.6	6.2
St. deviation	1.7	1.8	1.5	1.7

Q46b) Where on this scale would you put an ordinary North Korean?

1 (Extreme left)	15	22	19	20
2	31	33	28	32
3	22	21	32	23
4	10	9	15	10
5	11	9	3	9
6	3	3	1	3
7	2	1	2	1
8	1	1	-	1
9	2	0	-	1
10 (Extreme right)	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>
Mean	3.2	2.7	2.6	2.8
St. deviation	2.0	1.6	1.2	1.7

Q46c) Where would you put President Kim Young Sam?

1 (Extreme left)	2	2	2	2
2	2	1	2	1
3	3	4	3	3
4	6	6	4	6
5	26	20	17	21
6	16	14	22	15
7	19	16	20	17
8	15	21	14	18
9	8	9	7	9
10 (Extreme right)	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
Mean	6.2	6.5	6.5	6.4
St. deviation	1.9	2.0	2.0	2.0

	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
Q46d) Where would you put North Korean leader Kim Jong Il?				
1 (Extreme left)	61	69	66	67
2	15	13	26	15
3	5	5	4	5
4	3	3	1	2
5	5	3	2	4
6	1	1	-	1
7	3	1	1	2
8	2	1	-	1
9	3	1	-	1
10 (Extreme right)	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>
Mean	2.4	1.9	1.5	2.0
St. deviation	2.5	1.9	0.9	2.0

#### H. POSITIVE SOCIAL CAPITAL

Q47) When you have problems, on whom do you rely first of all? (Two answers permitted).

Q47a) FIRST ANSWER

1. Myself	45	47	39	46
2. Friends	11	4	-	5
3. Family, relatives	41	42	57	44
6. Government	-	0	-	0
7. Church, charities	3	5	4	4
8. Other	0	1	-	0

Q47b) SECOND ANSWER

1. Myself	25	31	41	31
2. Friends	28	17	13	20
3. Family, relatives	42	46	39	44
4. Employer	1	0	-	0
5. Co-workers	1	1	-	1
6. Government	-	0	-	0



	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
7. Church, charities	1	4	4	3
8. Other	1	0	2	1

Q48) If you became seriously ill and needed some help in the house, is there anyone outside your family household that you could count on to help?

1. Definitely	55	42	46	46
2. Probably	31	36	26	33
3. Probably not	8	14	15	12
4. Definitely not	4	5	11	6
5. Don't know	1	2	3	2

Q49) If something went wrong with the house or apartment where you live, what would you do to get it fixed? (Two answers permitted).

Q49.1) FIRST ANSWER

1. Our family would deal with it	55	55	49	54
2. Ask a friend to fix it	2	2	-	1
3. Complain to person responsible for collecting rent	29	20	17	22
4. Pay someone to fix it	14	23	31	21
5. Nothing I could do	0	-	3	1

Q49.2) SECOND ANSWER

1. Our family would deal with it	-	0	-	0
2. Ask a friend to fix it	2	1	2	1
3. Complain to person responsible for collecting rent	22	21	9	20
4. Pay someone to fix it	74	78	88	78
5. Nothing I could do	1	-	2	1

Q50) If you went to do something in the following places, would you expect fair treatment from:

	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
Q50a) Post office				
1. Definitely	35	38	25	35
2. Probably	50	49	59	50
3. Not likely	14	12	15	13
4. Definitely not	2	1	1	1
Q50b) Bank				
1. Definitely	36	36	27	35
2. Probably	47	46	55	47
3. Not likely	15	16	18	16
4. Definitely not	2	1	1	1
Q50c) Local grocery shop				
1. Definitely	50	54	39	51
2. Probably	40	39	51	41
3. Not likely	9	6	9	7
4. Definitely not	1	0	1	1
Q50d) Doctor's office				
1. Definitely	17	19	18	18
2. Probably	38	37	51	39
3. Not likely	38	38	29	37
4. Definitely not	7	6	1	6
Q50e) Local government office				
1. Definitely	11	19	20	17
2. Probably	39	41	49	41
3. Not likely	41	33	29	35
4. Definitely not	10	7	2	7
Q50f) Police				
1. Definitely	11	14	17	14
2. Probably	29	29	43	31

	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
3. Not likely	43	42	36	42
4. Definitely not	17	14	4	14
Q50g) School principal				
1. Definitely	14	20	17	18
2. Probably	42	44	59	45
3. Not likely	35	29	21	30
4. Definitely not	9	7	3	7
Q51) How much do you trust or distrust each of the following listed institutions?				
Q51a) Courts				
1. Trust much	6	7	12	8
2. Trust somewhat	53	48	49	50
3. Do not trust much	39	39	36	39
4. Do not trust at all	2	4	2	4
Q51b) The police				
1. Trust much	2	4	7	4
2. Trust somewhat	29	40	49	38
3. Do not trust much	57	44	43	48
4. Do not trust at all	12	11	1	10
Q51c) The military				
1. Trust much	8	17	16	14
2. Trust somewhat	46	53	64	53
3. Do not trust much	40	25	18	29
4. Do not trust at all	6	4	1	4
Q51d) Churches, temples				
1. Trust much	13	18	17	17
2. Trust somewhat	42	46	54	46

	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
3. Do not trust much	33	29	21	29
4. Do not trust at all	11	7	8	8
Q51e) Civil servants				
1. Trust much	1	5	5	4
2. Trust somewhat	34	42	58	42
3. Do not trust much	50	44	34	44
4. Do not trust at all	14	10	2	10
Q51f) National Assembly				
1. Trust much	-	1	1	1
2. Trust somewhat	17	20	38	21
3. Do not trust much	43	47	45	46
4. Do not trust at all	40	32	17	32
Q51g) Political parties				
1. Trust much	0	1	1	1
2. Trust somewhat	14	19	33	19
3. Do not trust much	46	48	49	47
4. Do not trust at all	40	32	16	32
Q52) Generally speaking, how much do you think the majority of people can be trusted?				
1. A lot	11	14	7	12
2. Somewhat	65	61	81	65
3. A little	23	24	11	22
4. Not at all	1	1	1	1
I. EMPLOYMENT				
D1) Do you or anyone else in your family have a job in order to earn some money?				
1. Self	15	35	17	27
2. Other family members	49	33	44	39

	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
3. Self and others	36	30	28	32
4. No one	-	1	11	2
D2) [IF IN THE LABOUR MARKET] What kind of job do you have?				
1. Agriculture/fishery	2	12	28	11
2. Self-employed and owners of business with less than 10 workers	7	16	7	12
3. Sales/services	10	6	1	6
4. Technical/skilled	7	10	-	7
5. Blue-collar	2	5	7	4
6. White-collar and engineers	24	15	1	16
7. Administrative and managerial	-	1	-	0
8. Professional and free-lance	0	1	-	0
9. Housewife, student	41	32	39	35
11. Unemployed	8	2	15	5
D3) Do you get enough money from your regular job to buy what you really need?				
1. Definitely enough	3	2	-	2
2. Just enough	35	23	16	25
3. Not quite enough	59	66	73	65
4. Definitely not enough	3	9	10	8
Coping <sup>5</sup> :				
With own job	37	25	16	27
With portfolio	51	55	61	55
Not coping	12	20	23	18

<sup>5</sup>Coping: With own job: Respondent earns enough from regular job to buy the things needed (D3). With portfolio: Respondent does not earn enough from regular job but saved money or got by in the past year (Q9). Not coping: household spent savings, borrowed money, sold household goods (Q9).

	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
D4) Do you or anyone in your family have a second job to earn money?				
1. Self	6	6	8	6
2. Other family member does	8	9	11	9
3. Self and others	-	1	3	1
4. No one does	86	83	78	83
D5) Have you or anyone in your family been unemployed during the past year?				
1. Self	3	1	-	2
2. Other family members	4	3	8	4
3. Self and others	1	0	-	0
4. No one	92	95	92	94
J. DEMOGRAPHICS				
D6) Where were you born?				
1. South Korea	99	99	92	98
2. North Korea	0	1	7	1
3. China	-	0	-	0
4. Japan	0	0	1	0
D7) How long have you lived in this area (city/county)?				
Under 6 years	33	24	8	24
6-10 years	14	18	10	16
11-15 years	9	12	3	10
16-20 years	12	10	13	11
21-25 years	16	5	3	8
26-30 years	16	9	11	11
More than 30 years	-	22	53	20
D8) With which of the following do you most closely identify yourself? [SHOW CARD]				
1. Local community, city, eg Seoul	50	55	42	52
2. Region	20	17	33	20

	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
3. South Korea	14	14	5	13
4. North Korea	0	0	-	0
5. Entire Korea, North and South	9	7	6	7
6. Asia	1	0	1	1
7. Other	1	1	-	1
8. Don't know	5	6	12	7
D9) And which do you identify with secondly?				
1. Local community, city, eg Seoul	27	25	8	23
2. Region	32	41	64	42
3. South Korea	19	17	9	16
4. North Korea	1	0	1	1
5. Entire Korea, North and South	11	6	4	7
6. Asia	2	2	1	2
7. Other	1	0	-	0
8. Don't know	8	8	13	9
D10) How much education have you had?				
1. No schooling	-	3	30	6
2. Primary school	1	15	41	14
3. Middle school	1	16	12	11
4. High school	55	44	13	43
5. College	40	21	4	24
6. Graduate school and higher	2	2	-	2
D11) Compared to your parents, have you had:				
1. More education	78	80	77	79
2. About the same amount	20	15	20	17
3. Not as much	2	4	3	3

	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
D12) Do you think of yourself as belonging to upper, upper-middle, middle, lower-middle or lower class?				
1. Upper class	1	1	2	1
2. Upper-middle class	14	6	4	8
3. Middle class	60	55	49	56
4. Lower-middle class	19	25	29	24
5. Lower class	6	13	16	11
D13) What is your average monthly total household income? Please include the incomes of all your family members.				
No income	0	0	3	1
1. Less than 500,000 won	-	4	21	5
2. 500,000 - 799,999	2	4	22	6
3. 800,000 - 999,999	3	4	7	4
4. 1,000,000 - 1,199,999	10	15	17	14
5. 1,200,000 - 1,499,999	15	12	10	13
6. 1,500,000 - 1,999,999	19	25	4	20
7. 2,000,000 - 2,499,999	19	18	4	17
8. 2,500,000 - 2,999,999	8	8	8	8
9. 3,000,000 or more	23	10	5	13
D14) Do you have a religion? If so, which?				
1. Buddhism	22	30	37	29
2. Protestantism	23	22	17	22
3. Catholicism	5	8	7	7
4. Others	1	1	1	1
5. None	48	38	38	41
D15) Do you own the place in which you live now?				
1. Own	56	64	80	64
2. Long-term rent/lease	39	30	18	31
3. Monthly rent	4	6	1	5
4. Other arrangements	1	0	-	0

	18-29 %	30-59 %	60+ %	Total %
Region of residence				
1. Seoul	30	20	32	24
2. Pusan	8	9	4	8
3. Taegu	5	6	1	5
4. Incheon	4	6	-	5
5. Kwangju	2	3	2	3
6. Daejon	3	3	1	3
7. Kyonggi	18	16	12	16
8. Kangwon	3	4	3	3
9. Chongbuk	4	3	4	3
10. Chongnam	2	5	7	4
11. Chonbuk	4	5	7	5
12. Chonnam	2	6	6	5
13. Kyongbuk	5	7	6	6
14. Kyongnam	10	8	14	9
SQ1) Size of Community				
1. Capital	30	20	32	24
2. Large city	23	28	9	24
3. Medium/small city	33	28	20	29
4. Urban town	7	6	8	7
5. Rural area	7	17	31	16
SQ2) Gender				
1. Male	51	51	40	49
2. Female	49	49	60	51

## SAMPLE REPORT

The 1997 New Korea Barometer survey was directed by Professor Doh C. Shin and Professor Richard Rose as part of their ongoing programme of research into mass response to democratization. Fieldwork was undertaken by Gallup Korea. The questionnaire was the primary responsibility of Shin, a native-speaking Korean; Rose was primarily responsible for comparative questions. The questionnaire was pre-tested by Gallup Korea and revised in the light of the pre-test.

The sample was designed to represent the population of the Republic of Korea age 20 and over. The advance report of the 1995 Population and Housing Census of the National Statistical Office was used first to stratify the population by region (Do) and the eight large cities on a basis proportionate to their share of the national population. The island of Cheju-Do, with 1.2 percent of the total population, was excluded. Secondly, each region or large city was stratified by administrative subdivisions (Dong, Eup, Myun) on a basis proportionate to population. At the third stage, the primary sampling units (ban or village) were randomly selected, with 6 to 8 households in a ban and 12 to 15 in a village. At the household level, the interviewer was instructed to select for interview the person whose birthday came next.

Fieldwork was undertaken by regularly employed interviewers of Gallup Korea. Each interviewer participated in a one-day orientation session and completed three trial interviews. A random selection of 20 percent of questionnaires was independently validated. All interviews were face to face. Fieldwork commenced on 20 May and concluded on 3 June 1997. If no one was at home at a household or if the adult selected for interview was not at home, the interviewer was instructed to call back three times. A total of 3,260 addresses were selected; of these, 105 were non-residential units. At 906 addresses there was no one at home after three callbacks, so that the household residents could not be enumerated and a respondent selected. Of the 2,249 households where an individual name could be selected by the birthday method, 453 individuals were not interviewed because they were too old or infirm or absent from the household; 604 refused; and 75 interviews were not completed because of

the respondent's impatience, for which Koreans are notorious. A total of 1,117 interviews were satisfactorily completed. The mean length of interview was 35 minutes; the range was from 20 to 50 minutes.

The representativeness of the respondents was established by comparing their distribution on age, gender, town size, region and education with data from the Republic of Korea census. Differences were within the expected range of sampling fluctuations. To match the sample with the census, the results were marginally weighted by gender within age groups as follows:

	<i>Respondents</i>		
	Census %	Original %	Weighted %
Women	50.7	50.8	50.7
Men	49.3	49.2	49.3
Age 20-29	27.7	27.7	27.8
30-39	27.5	29.9	27.4
40-49	18.2	19.6	18.3
50-59	13.1	13.2	13.2
60 plus	13.5	9.7	13.4
Seoul	23.5	24.0	24.5
Other large cities	24.5	24.6	23.9
Small, medium size cities	29.5	29.4	28.8
Rural towns	7.8	6.5	6.7
Villages	14.7	15.5	16.2
No education	7.3	4.6	6.0
Primary	15.2	13.0	14.4
Middle school	13.8	11.7	11.3
High school	39.0	44.5	42.7
College	24.5	26.2	25.6

The questionnaires were then coded in ASCII and SPSS format in Seoul, for subsequent analysis as reported here.

*Studies in Public Policy*  
COMPARING NEW DEMOCRACIES

286. NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE PARTISANSHIP IN POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. Richard Rose, CSPP and William Mishler, University of Arizona. £3. Ex-UK £4 or \$6.00.
282. WHAT IS THE DEMAND FOR PRICE STABILITY IN POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES? Richard Rose, CSPP. £3. Ex-UK £4 or \$6.00.
280. WHERE ARE POST-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES GOING? Richard Rose, CSPP. £3. Ex-UK £4 or \$6.00.
279. POLITICAL PARTIES AND DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE. Gabor Toka, Central European University, Budapest. £6. Ex-UK £7 or \$7.50.
278. SOCIAL CAPITAL AGAINST THE STATE. Richard Rose, CSPP, Christian Haerpfer, Paul Lazarsfeld Society, and William Mishler, University of Arizona. £4. Ex-UK £5 or \$7.50.
274. POLITICAL PATIENCE IN REGIME TRANSFORMATION: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF POST-COMMUNIST CITIZENS. Richard Rose, CSPP and William Mishler, U. of South Carolina. £3. Ex-UK £4 or \$6.00.
273. POPULAR CONCEPTIONS OF DEMOCRACY IN POST-COMMUNIST EUROPE. Janos Simon, Hungarian Academy of Science. £6. Ex-UK £7 or \$10.50.
259. WHAT IS DIFFERENT ABOUT POST-COMMUNIST PARTY SYSTEMS? Peter Mair, Leiden University, The Netherlands. £4. Ex-UK £5 or \$7.50.
257. POLITICAL COMPETITION AND IDEOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS IN CENTRAL EASTERN EUROPE. Radoslaw Markowski, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw. £4. Ex-UK £5 or \$7.50.
253. EX-COMMUNISTS IN POST-COMMUNIST SOCIETIES. Richard Rose, CSPP. £3. Ex-UK £4 or \$6.00.
252. TRUST, DISTRUST AND SKEPTICISM ABOUT INSTITUTIONS OF CIVIL SOCIETY. William Mishler, University of South Carolina and Richard Rose, CSPP. £4. Ex-UK £5 or \$7.50.
248. WHAT ARE THE ALTERNATIVES TO DEMOCRACY IN POST-COMMUNIST SOCIETIES? Richard Rose, CSPP & William Mishler, U. of South Carolina. £3. Ex-UK £4 or \$6.00.
242. FREEDOM AS A FUNDAMENTAL VALUE. Richard Rose, CSPP. £3. Ex-UK £4 or \$6.00.

**Full results of NEW DEMOCRACIES BAROMETER:**

(Countries: Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovenia, Croatia, Belarus and Ukraine).

270. CHANGE AND STABILITY IN THE NEW DEMOCRACIES BAROMETER: A TREND ANALYSIS. Richard Rose, CSPP and Christian Haerpfer, Paul Lazarsfeld Society, Vienna. £12. Ex-UK £14 or \$20.00.
262. NEW DEMOCRACIES BAROMETER IV. Richard Rose, CSPP and Christian Haerpfer, Paul Lazarsfeld Society, Vienna. £12. Ex-UK £14 or \$20.00.
230. NEW DEMOCRACIES BAROMETER III: LEARNING FROM WHAT IS HAPPENING. Richard Rose, CSPP & Christian Haerpfer, Paul Lazarsfeld Society, Vienna. £10. Ex-UK £11 or \$16.50.
212. ADAPTING TO TRANSFORMATION IN EASTERN EUROPE: New Democracies Barometer-II. Richard Rose, CSPP and Dr Christian Haerpfer, Paul Lazarsfeld Society, Vienna. £12. Ex-UK £13 or \$19.50.
204. NEW DEMOCRACIES BETWEEN STATE AND MARKET: A Baseline Report. Richard Rose, CSPP, and Christian Haerpfer, Paul Lazarsfeld Society, Vienna. £10. Ex-UK £11 or \$16.50. (Includes Austria, does not include Croatia, Belarus or Ukraine).

**25% SAVING IF BOUGHT AS A SET: £42. Ex-UK £47 or \$69**

Orders to: Publications Secretary

Centre for the Study of Public Policy

University of Strathclyde, Glasgow G1 1XH, Scotland

Fax: 44-141-552-4711

241. PARTY SYSTEMS IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE. CONSOLIDATION OR FLUIDITY? Herbert Kitschelt, Duke University & Humboldt Universität, Berlin. £8. Ex-UK £9 or \$13.50.
238. PRESIDENTS vs PRIME MINISTERS: SHAPING EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY IN EASTERN EUROPE. Thomas A Baylis, Political Science, University of Texas. £3. Ex-UK £4 or \$6.00.
236. WHAT CHANCE FOR DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE? TESTING THE CHURCHILL HYPOTHESIS. Richard Rose, CSPP. £4. Ex-UK £5 or \$7.50.
235. PROGRESS ACROSS TIME AND CATCHING UP ACROSS SPACE. Richard Rose, CSPP. £3. Ex-UK £4 or \$6.00.