

'DEMOCRACY IS MORE DIFFICULT THAN PHYSICS'

Evidence from Indonesia, Korea, Philippines and Thailand



Karl D. Jackson

CV Starr Distinguished Professor, Director Asian Studies and Southeast Asia Studies Program
The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies
The Johns Hopkins University

Jae H. Ku

Director, United States-Korea Institute
The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies
The Johns Hopkins University

Giovanna Maria Dora Dore

Visiting Scholar, Southeast Asian Studies Program
The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies
The Johns Hopkins University

INDONESIA

Non-electoral Participation



Indonesia – Non-electoral Participation 2011 (marginals)

	Would never do under any circumstances
Write a letter	80%
Sign a petition	93%
Attend a lawful demonstration	87%
Go to an election rally	87%
Join an illegal strike	95%

INDONESIA

Involvement in Civil Society Organizations



Indonesia – Involvement in CSOs 2011 (marginals)

Do you associate with or belong to any of following non-political civic organizations?

Education, arts, music, sports, cultural activities	11%
Trade unions	5%
Religious organizations	38%
Professional associations	1%
Charitable, social welfare services	18%
Environmental, conservation organizations	5%

PHILIPPINES

Non-electoral Participation



Non-electoral Participation in the Philippines in 2011

	Have Done	Might Do	Would Never Do
Writing a letter to your newspaper or calling a radio, or television show	1% (13)	25% (241)	75% (705)
Signing a petition	3% (29)	28% (269)	69% (664)
Attending a lawful demonstration	2% (23)	17% (162)	81% (744)
Ever participated in any event held by any political party	7% (65)	10% (94)	84% (825)
Participating in an election meeting or rally	9% (89)	21% (203)	70% (668)
Joining unofficial strikes	1% (7)	5% (47)	94% (908)

Non-electoral PARTICIPATION Jakarta, Bangkok, Manila and Seoul



Non-electoral participation in Bangkok, Jakarta, Manila, and Seoul in 2000 and 2011

	Bangkok		Jakarta		Manila		Seoul	
	2000	2011	2000	2011	2000	2011	2000	2011
No NEP	29%	67%	66%	54%	42%	41%	13%	32%
Low NEP	28%	13%	19%	33%	42%	27%	24%	27%
Medium to High NEP	44%	20%	15%	13%	17%	32%	64%	42%

INVOLVEMENT IN CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

Jakarta, Bangkok, Manila and Seoul



Civil Society Membership in Bangkok, Jakarta, Manila, and Seoul in 2000 and 2011

	Bangkok		Jakarta		Manila		Seoul	
	2000	2011	2000	2011	2000	2011	2000	2011
No CSO Membership	42%	24%	65%	50%	64%	50%	65%	67%
One CSO Membership	28%	38%	28%	26%	27%	27%	29%	26%
More than One CSO Membership	30%	38%	8%	24%	9%	23%	6%	7%

“Is Democracy the Only Game in Town?”



“I am going to describe various types of political systems and ask what you think about each as a way of governing your country. For each would you say it is a good or a bad way of governing your country?”

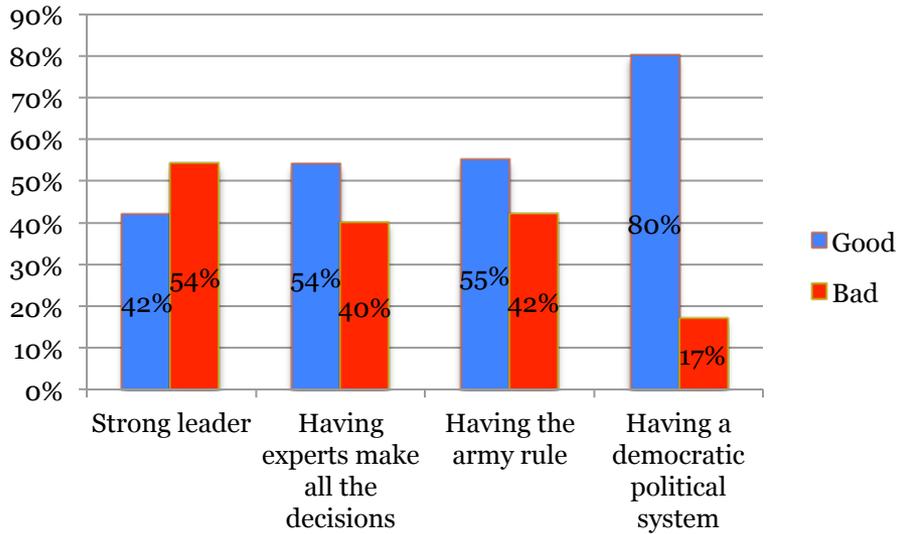
R1. Having a strong leader who does not have to bother with parliament and elections

R2. Having experts make all the decisions for the country

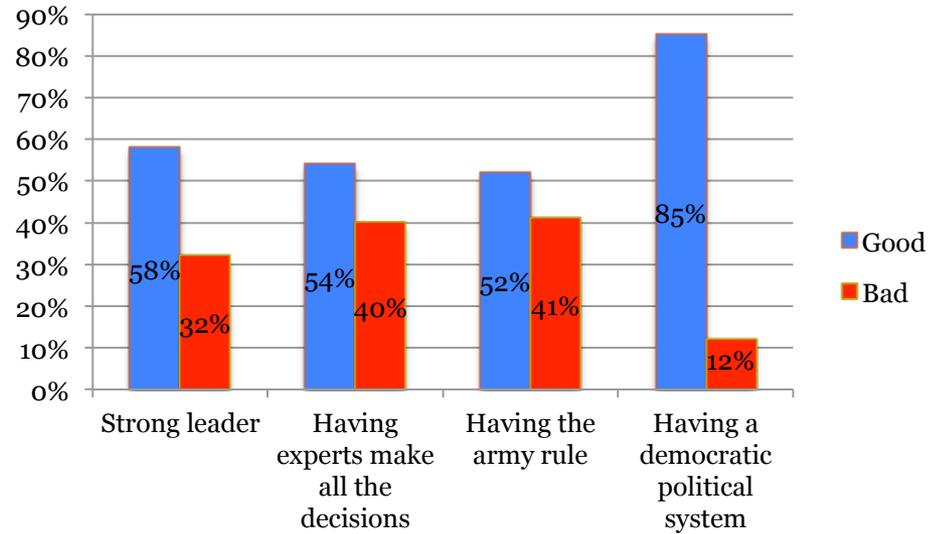
R3. Having the army rule

R4. Having a democratic political system

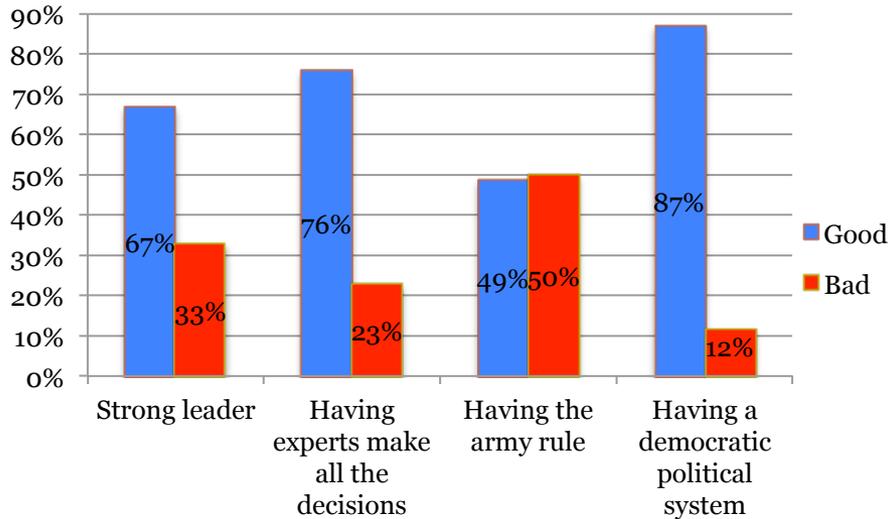
Indonesia 2011 SAIS Survey



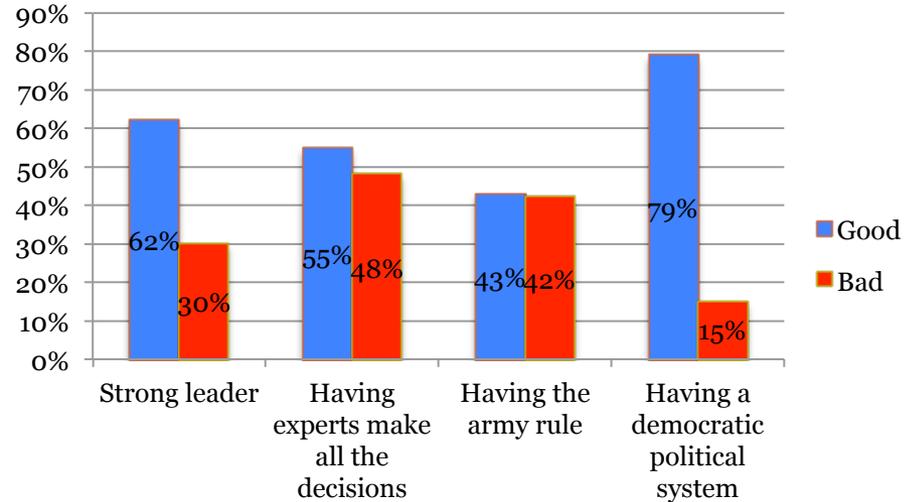
Korea 2011 SAIS Survey



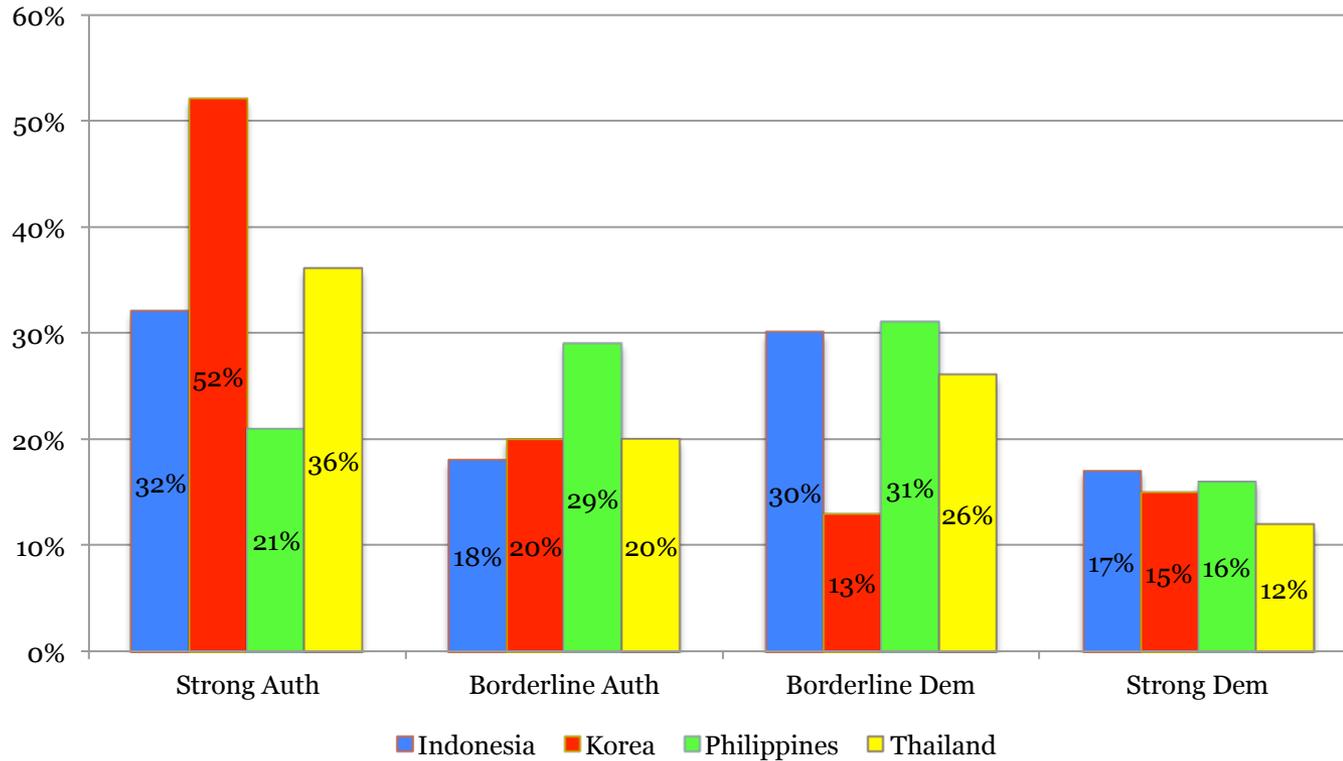
Philippines 2011 SAIS Survey



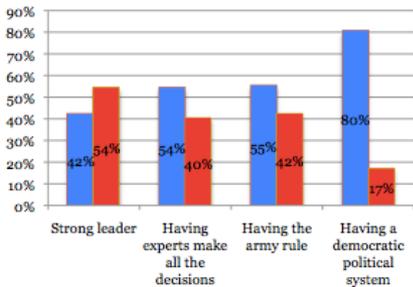
Thailand 2011 SAIS Survey



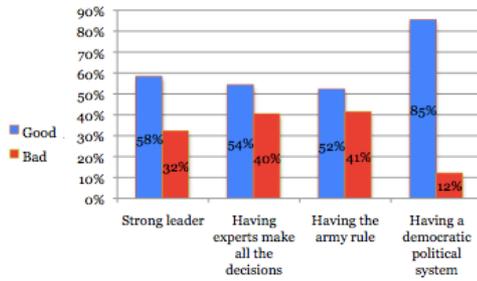
ID, KR, PH, and TH Democracy Scale



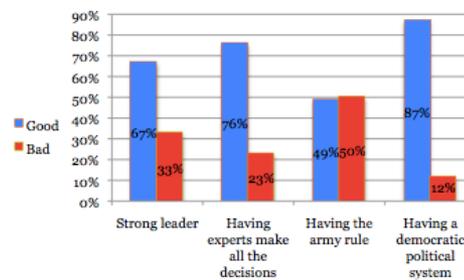
Indonesia 2011 SAIS Survey



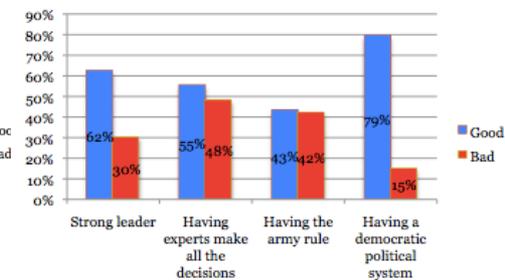
Korea 2011 SAIS Survey



Philippines 2011 SAIS Survey



Thailand 2011 SAIS Survey



“What Does Democracy Mean to You”



- **Indonesia**

- ✦ ‘democracy means that there is no possibility of a prolonged one-man rule’, or ‘democracy means that the government follows the constitution when making decisions’

- **Korea**

- ✦ ‘democracy means that people participate in governing the country’

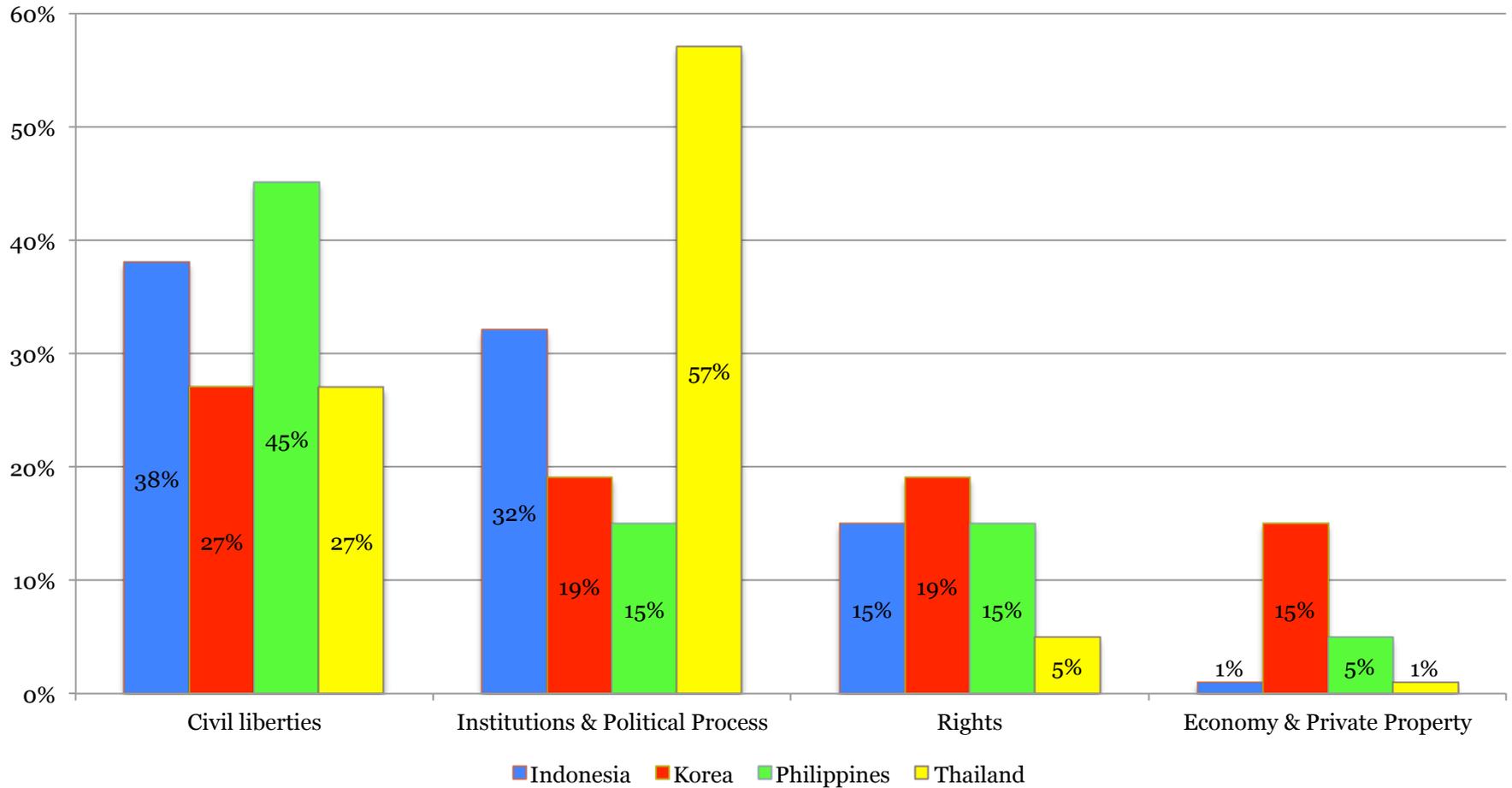
- **Philippines**

- ✦ ‘democracy means that the government is representative’, or ‘democracy means that the country has no martial laws’

- **Thailand**

- ✦ ‘democracy means that a country follows a proper change of government’, or ‘democracy means that the country is not a dictatorship’

Is Democracy a Process or an Outcome?



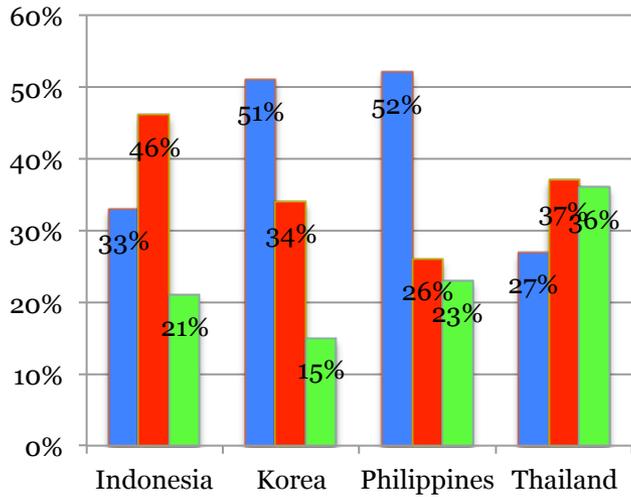
Does Democracy Spread Like a Wave in Asia?



“We all know about different things and you may or may not know about several countries in the next question. Which countries in Asia are democracies?” [SA]

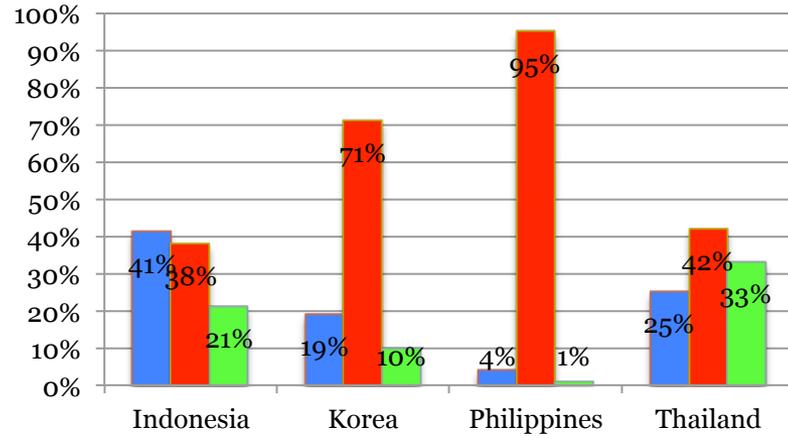
- 1. India
- 2. Indonesia
- 3. Myanmar
- 4. North Korea
- 5. People's Republic of China
- 6. Philippines
- 7. Singapore
- 8. South Korea
- 9. Thailand
- 10. Vietnam

India



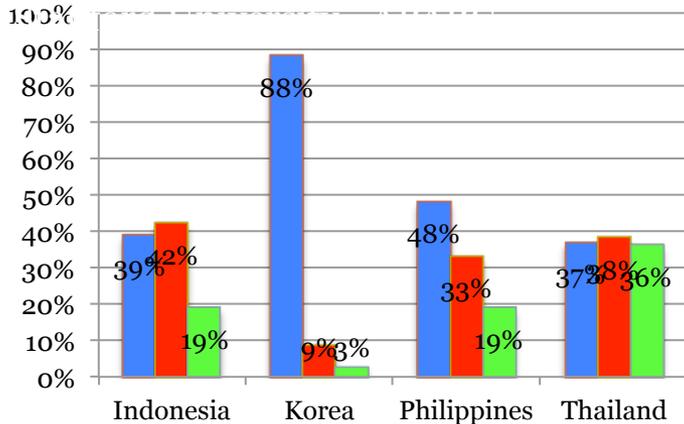
■ Authoritarian ■ Democratic ■ DBK

Philippines



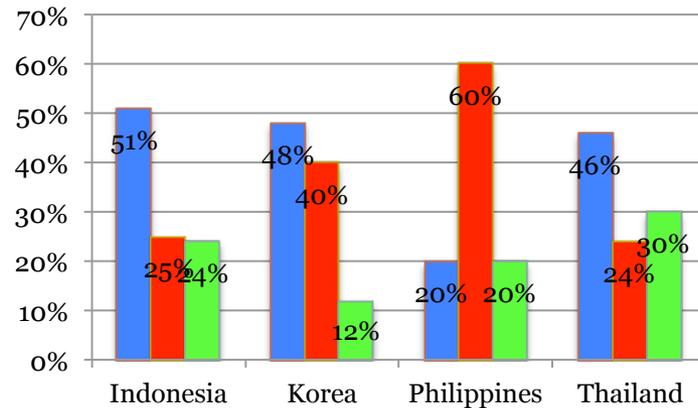
■ Authoritarian ■ Democratic ■ DBK

China



■ Authoritarian ■ Democratic ■ DBK

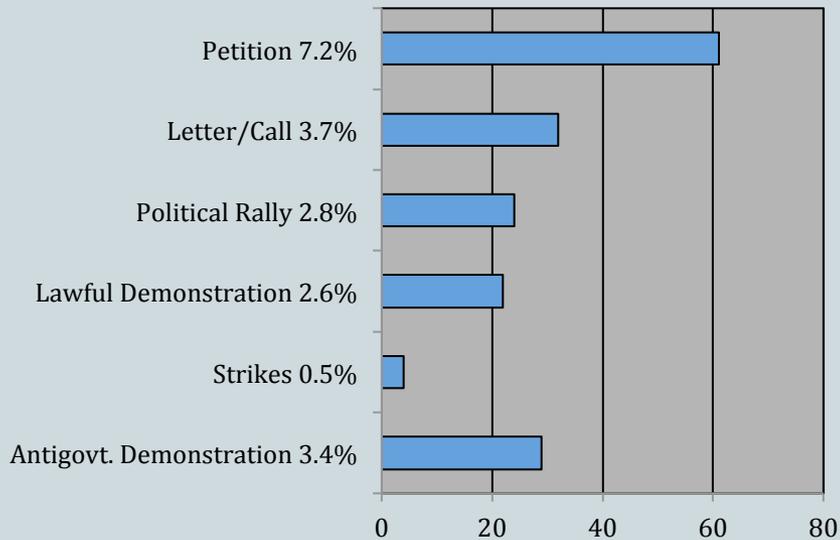
Vietnam



■ Authoritarian ■ Democratic ■ DBK

Korea: NEP Participation in 2000 and 2011

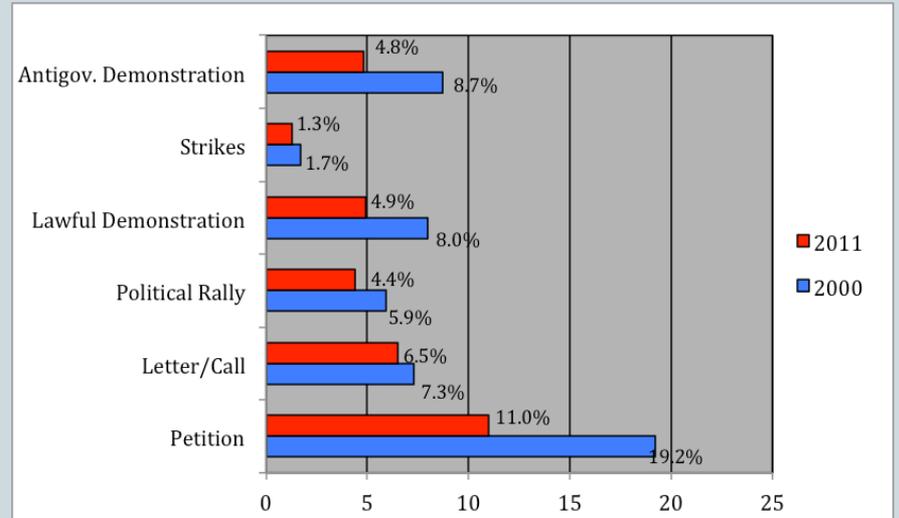
Koreans' engagement in NEP (2011)



Percentages may not add up to 100% due to missing values; Antigovernment demonstration (29), Strikes (4) Lawful demonstration (22), Political rally (24), Letter/call (32), Petition (61).

Source: SAIS 2011 Survey; N=850

Seoul's engagement in NEP (2000; 2011)

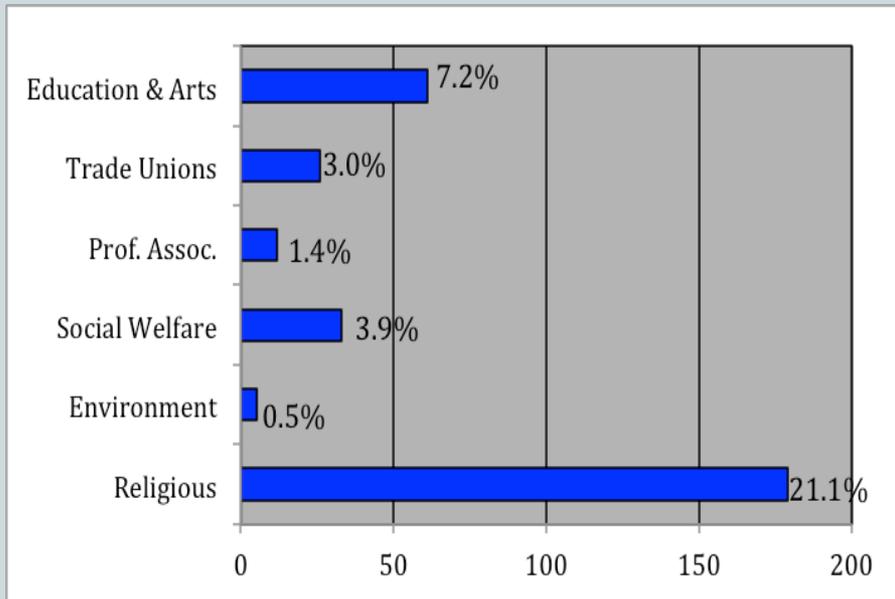


Percentages may not add up to 100% due to missing values; 2000: Antigovernment demonstration (26), Strikes (5), Lawful demonstration (24), Political rally (18), Letter/call (22), Petition (58). Source: SAIS-Yonsei Survey; N=300

2011: Antigovernment demonstration (16), Strikes (4), Lawful demonstration (17), Political rally (15), Letter/call (22), Petition (37). Source: SAIS 2011 Survey, Seoul sample: N=336

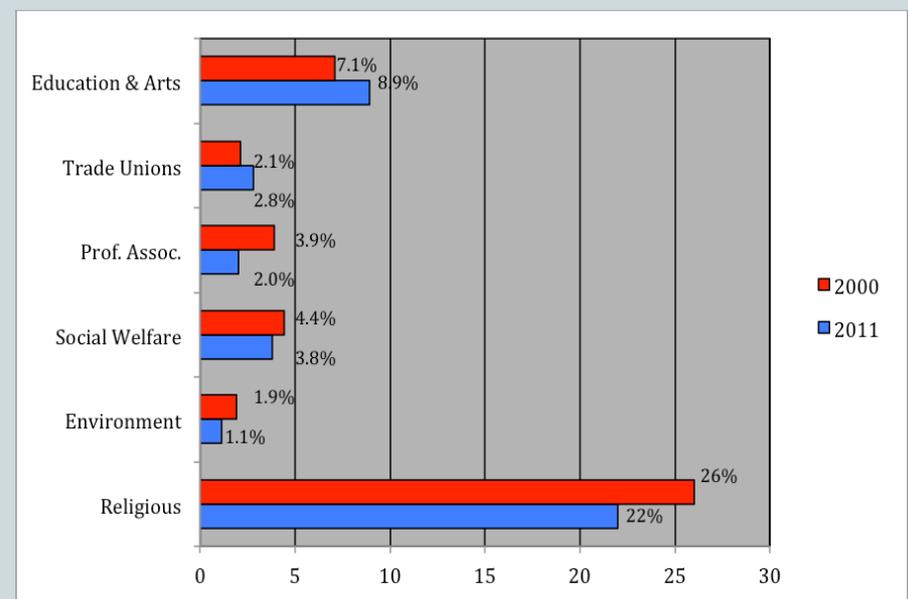
Korea: NEP Participation in 2000 and 2011

Koreans' membership in CSOs (2011)



Percentages may not add up to 100% due to missing values;
 Education & Arts (61), Trade Unions (26), Prof. Assoc. (12),
 Social Welfare (33), Environment (5), Religious (179)

Seoul's membership in CSOs (2000; 2011)



Percentages may not add up to 100% due to missing values;
 2000: Education & Arts (21), Trade Unions (6), Prof. Assoc. (12),
 Social Welfare (13), Environment (6), Religious (78)
 2011: Education & Arts (30), Trade Unions (10), Prof. Assoc. (7),
 Social Welfare (13), Environment (4), Religious (74)

“POLITCS IS MORE DIFFICULT THAN PHYSICS”

