

Understanding Popular Perceptions of Democracy

*Findings from the State of Democracy in South Asia Study
& World Values Survey*

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Abstract

To assess the working of Indian democracy, this paper chooses the lense of the Indian citizen. How do citizens view and define democracy and evaluate its functioning? The State of Democracy in South Asia (SDSA) Project and India Component of the World Values Survey sought responses from a representative sample on a range of questions, directly linked to their assessment of democracy. This paper presents an analysis based on this data.

(Keywords : Democracy, Citizens, Parties, Elections, Freedom popular rule, Socio-Economic, representative, India, Equality)

Introduction: Acknowledgements

In preparing this paper we have received inputs from several colleagues. Peter de Souza, Suhas Palshikar, Sanjay Kumar and Yogendra Yadav were part of the core team which conducted the South Asia study and we would like to thank them for their inputs during the several discussions that we had on the State of Democracy in South Asia report. This paper builds on the SDSA Report and an article jointly written with Suhas Palshikar on 'Democratizing the Meaning of Democracy'. The entire Lokniti team conducted the India component of the World Values Survey. A first draft of this paper was presented at a National Seminar on 'Democracy in India : Strengths and Weaknesses' organized by the Centre for Culture and Development (CCD) at Vadodara on 15/16 March 2013. The authors would like to thank the participants at the Workshop for their valuable inputs and feedback. The authors however, would like to take full responsibility for the analysis presented in this paper.

A: APPROACHING THE THEME

The concept of democracy has, over the years, been defined from multi-track perspectives. The rich literature on democratic theory has attempted to cover a wide range of perspectives on what the idea of democracy has come to mean across time and in varied socio-cultural and economic settings (Dahl 1989; Lijphart and Waisman 1996; Linz and Stepan 1996; Diamond 1999; Shapiro 2003; Diamond and Morino 2005; Chu et.al. 2008; Diamond and Plattner 2008; SDSA 2008;). In India too, the narrative of democracy has covered a range of interpretations undertaken from

diverse perspectives (Suri 2013). To contextualize the focus of this paper, an assessment of the 'democracy debate' globally may be relevant.

In recent years, the emergence of the 'rest of the world' (as against the Global North) as an important site for the practice of democracy has added an interesting new dimension to the narrative of democracy (SDSA Report 2008: 2, Stephan, Linz and Yadav 2010, Shastri and Palshikar 2010). Many contemporary studies on democracy prefer to make a distinction (and search for the distinctive features or similarities) between 'old' and 'new' democracies. The onus often is on the 'new' democracies to fall in line with the 'established' practices as defined and practised in the established democracies of the West. Thus, for some time, the conversations on democracy privileged the procedural dimensions of democracy as being the core of the 'idea' of democracy. The newer studies of democracy allow us to look at possible ways in which the idea of democracy itself can be democratized and pluralized without essentializing or overemphasizing the differences in values as the main explanatory factor for understanding the different perceptions and conceptions of democracy. The newer studies also indicate that 'substance based' ideas of democracy are now increasingly occupying the centre stage. The focus on 'outcomes' along with the 'processes' of democracy, has the potential of enriching the quality and content of the contemporary debates, on what constitutes democracy.

Survey research has brought to the table of democracy an interesting and stirringly different dimension to the conversations on democracy (Ingelhart 1997; Rose et.al. 1998; Mattes and Bratton 2001; Inglehart 2003; Lagos 2003; Fuchs and Roller 2006; Mattes and Bratton 2007; Welzel and Inglehart 2008; SDSA 2008, Suri 2013). It has allowed the discussion on democracy to showcase popular attitudes and perceptions on critical questions of democracy. What constitutes democracy is today being re-worked keeping in mind the 'vision' of citizens who constitute the core of any democratic experiment. This has allowed democracy to be viewed from 'below' rather than merely constructing a meaning that emanates from the academic/theoretical 'high ground'.

Democracy in the modern sense, as an instrumentality for organizing public life and the normative regime that informs governmental activity emerged in India through the colonial experience and with efforts to win national freedom from colonialism. Thus, we find three related but distinct routes through which democracy enters the popular imagination: one, halting introduction of the principle of democratic governments by the colonial power (by way of a minimalist representational character of the government), two, popular struggles for freedom as also for expansion of representative government in which the elite and masses collaborated and three, evolution of ideas and intellectual formulations about the idea of democracy by intellectuals and political actors. These three have shaped the popular conceptions of democracy (Shastri and Palshikar 2010). Here, we limit ourselves to reporting what people understand by democracy, what they associate the idea with

and what the implications of this understanding are for democratic theory.

The present paper draws on data from the first round of the State of Democracy in South Asia study and the Indian component of the World Values Survey. The focus of the paper is on understanding how do common citizens in India define democracy. In several surveys, respondents are offered a menu of choices, to define democracy. The State of Democracy in South Asia allowed respondents to define democracy in whichever manner they wished to besides also giving them menu based choices separately. The India component of the World Values Survey allows the respondents to identify key characteristics of democracy from a menu of options. This allowed for a more authentic articulation of the voice of common citizens on the multiple meanings of democracy.

B: HOW DO CITIZENS ACROSS INDIA VIEW DEMOCRACY

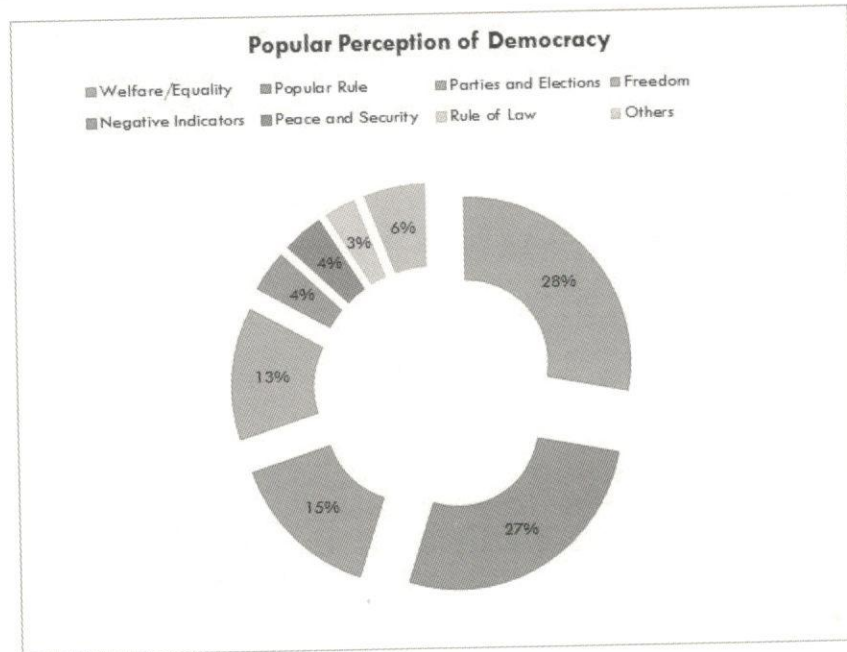
To understand how common citizens in India understood democracy, their response to the question: According to you what is democracy, was analysed. Being an open ended question, the exact response of those interviewed was recorded. The statement of the respondent was then translated into English and after an in depth assessment, the responses were divided into eight categories: a) Popular rule; b) Elections and Parties; c) Rule of law; d) Freedom; e) Equality and Welfare; f) Peace and Security; g) Negative Indicators and h) Others. Responses were clubbed together and arranged in the first seven categories with the balance responses being placed in the last category (others).

Under popular rule, the three most common responses were: i) government by the people; ii) people's power; and iii) people's participation. The Elections and Parties rubric included three frequently mentioned responses: i) Right to vote; ii) Periodic elections; and iii) Representative government. In the Rule of Law slot, the most common response included (besides Rule of Law) Democratic Institutions and Parliament. In the category Freedom, the top responses that were collapsed in this category included i) Liberty; ii) Freedom of Speech; iii) Right to Live. Under the rubric Equality and Welfare, the most common response included were: i) Equality; ii) Employment; iii) Food; iv) Clothing; v) Housing. The Peace and Security category, clubbed responses which included Peace, Solidarity and Security. Among the negative indicators, the most commonly recorded ones included i) poor governance; ii) corruption; iii) chaos.

Across India, close to three of every ten respondents answered this question, viewed democracy from the lense of equality and welfare. Another three of every ten, spoke of democracy as implying popular rule. Another fifteen percent believed that democracy symbolized parties and elections. For a little over thirteen percent, democracy implied freedom. While a very small section of the respondents saw democracy in a negative light, a few others defined it in the language of peace and security. It is clear that across India, the substantive forms of democracy were privileged over the procedural dimensions. The privileging of equality/ welfare and

popular rule as the core elements of democracy by half the respondents is clearly indicative of the window through which people in India viewed the concept of democracy.

Chart 1



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C: DEFINING DEMOCRACY: VARIATIONS ACROSS CRITICAL SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES

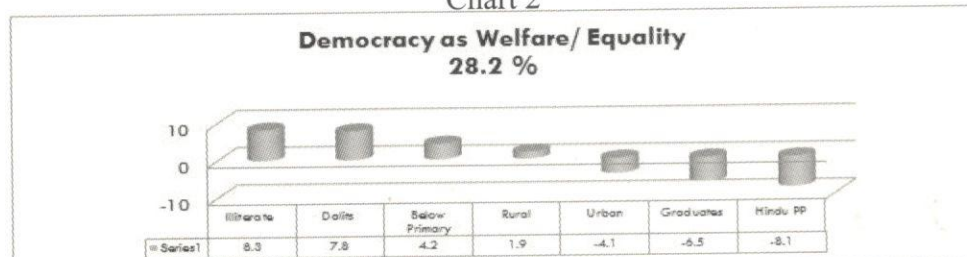
Across India, are there critical differences in how common people view democracy? The response was assessed across select socio-economic variables to ascertain whether there was a variation in how different socio-economic and demographic segments of society viewed democracy. This enables us to ask the critical question: if sections of citizens view democracy differently and consequently expect different things (outcomes) from democracy, what is the likely impact of this difference on the political system and response of citizens to the actions of states and other political actors?

The differences are clearly visible in how different socio-economic groups view democracy as welfare / equality, popular rule, parties and elections and freedom. Given the low reporting of the other dimensions of democracy, these four are focused on.

Democracy as Welfare/ Equality

Who among the Indian citizens tended to give more credence to democracy as symbolizing equality and welfare. Those who did not benefit from access to education were more likely to view democracy from this perspective as compared to those who had benefitted from education. Over one thirds of the illiterate respondents and those who had been unable to complete primary education saw democracy as representing welfare and equality. On the other hand just, just two of every ten graduates took this stand. There was a clear six percentage point difference in the response of urban and rural respondents with rural respondents more likely to endorse the welfare/ equality dimension of democracy. More than two thirds of the Dalit respondents saw democracy as welfare/equality while less than two of every ten from among the Dominant Castes (Peasant proprietary caste) took this stand. It is clear that the more socially and economically marginalized one was the more likely they were to favour the welfare/equality perspective of democracy.

Chart 2

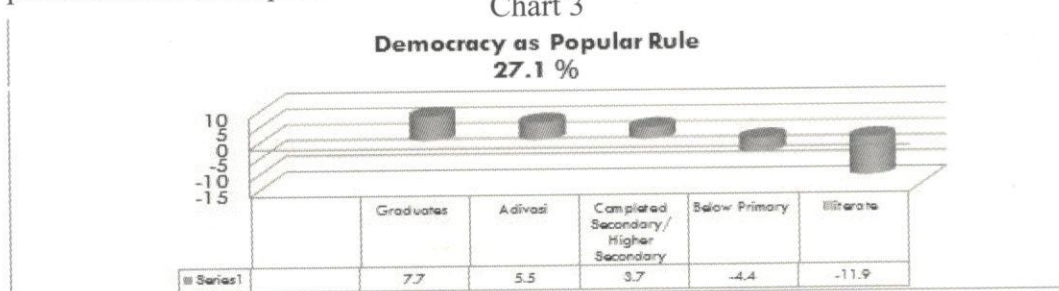


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Democracy as Popular Rule

Access to education had a clear impact on the perception of democracy as popular rule. Those who had benefitted from higher education were more likely to endorse this dimension of democracy as compared to the illiterates and those who did not complete primary school. In India, the dominant and politically powerful peasant proprietary castes tended to define democracy as popular rule more than the others (a difference of six percentage points as compared to the national average). This well could be a reflection of the influence they exercised in reality over the political/democratic process.

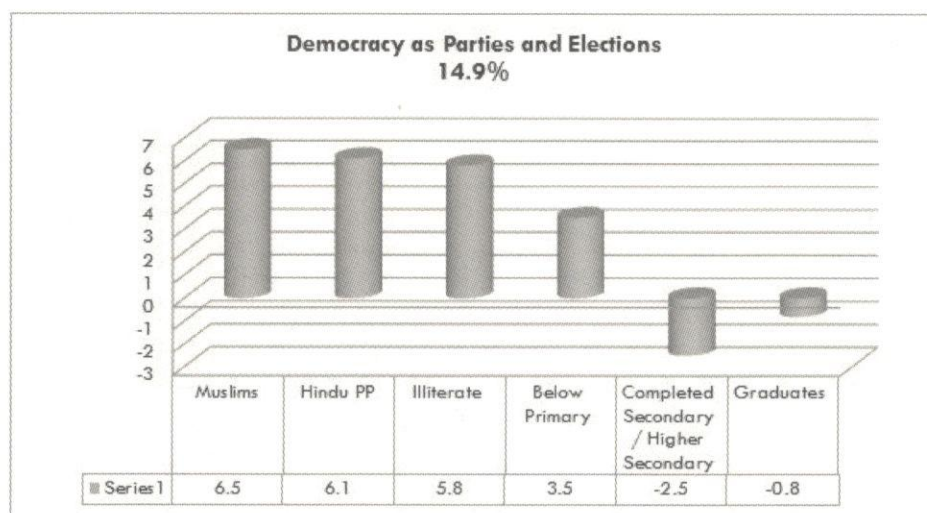
Chart 3



Democracy as Parties and Elections

Education again had a clear impact on whether respondents viewed democracy as parties and elections. Those who were not able to access the benefits of education were more likely to endorse this face of democracy. Over two of every ten illiterate respondents spoke of democracy in the language of parties and elections. The more educated were less likely to speak of democracy in these terms. Those who had not been able to access benefits of formal education tended to more frequently see parties and elections as the visible symbols of democracy as compared to those who had completed school and secured higher degrees. It is also noticed that Muslims and Tribals are more likely to define democracy as elections and parties as compared to majority religious groups and other caste groups. In the case of both these groups, two of every ten respondents explained democracy from the perspective of elections and political parties (clearly five to six percentage points above the national average). Yet again, this could be a reflection of the nature of engagement these social groups have with the democratic process with elections and political parties being the visible forms of democracy for them.

Chart 4

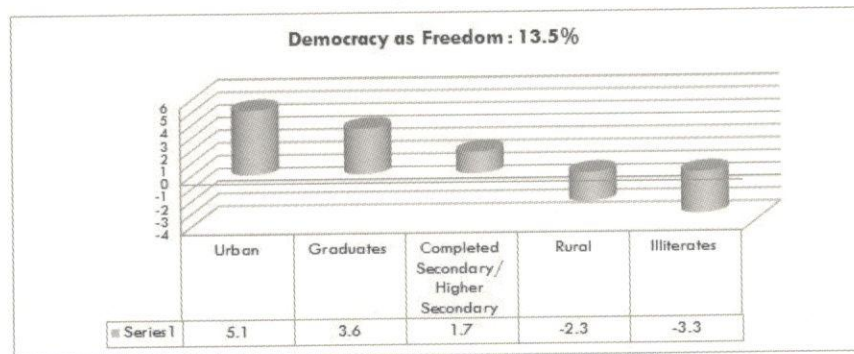


n-2371

Democracy as Freedom

The more educated and urban respondents were more likely to describe democracy in the language of freedom. Close to two of every ten urban respondents and graduates used terms linked to freedom to define democracy. Among the illiterates and rural respondents just one of every ten used freedom related terms to describe democracy.

Chart 5



n-2371

The findings of the India segment of the State of Democracy Study in South Asia revealed important trends. In the shaping popular conceptions of democracy a few factors play a crucial role: education, experience of democratic governance and social status. Education produces a certain amount of universalization of the conception of democracy. Education leads to a more formal, western-oriented and highly sanitized and formalistic notion of democracy whereas, the less educated understand democracy more in terms of delivery, outcomes and palpable effects on their daily lives. Thus, an educated person is more likely to think, reflect and express about democracy much like her counterparts in the more developed democracies. This is why young and urban citizens latch on to the procedural-institutional conceptions of democracy that democracy scholarship is familiar with. Secondly, there is a conflation between democracy as a principle or abstract idea and democracy as a practiced and experienced phenomenon. Side by side, with education and experience, the conception of democracy is also shaped by the context of social asymmetries. Hence democracy is seen as a harbinger of welfare and fair distribution of resources. This expectation derives not so much from the procedural and 'rule of law' dimensions of democracy but it originates from the idea that democracy mandates that those in power will use the instrumentality of governmental power for a positive intervention in the socio-economic dimensions of life in a given society.

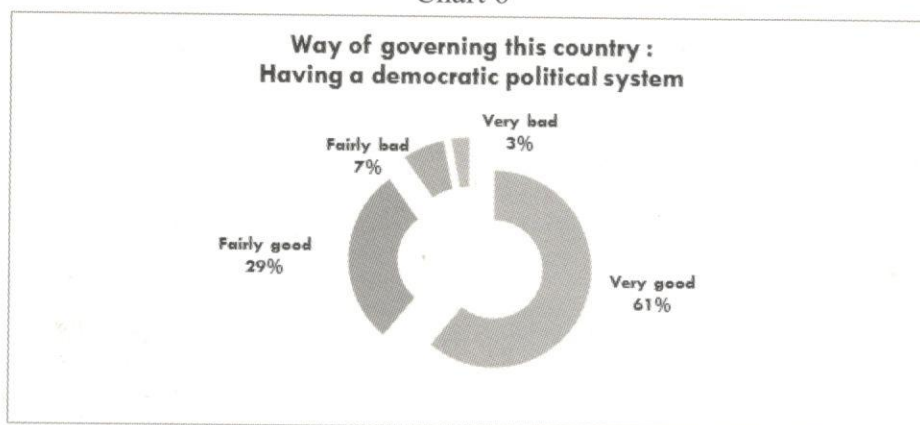
Do subsequent studies endorse this trend or point out to any shifts in attitudes towards democracy among citizens? The second round of the State of Democracy in South Asia survey has just been completed in India. The data from this study should be available for analysis later this year. The India component of the World Values Survey was completed towards in the latter half of 2012. This study taps important dimensions of citizen perceptions on democracy and could be analysed in the backdrop of the findings in India as part of SDSAI.

D: DEMOCRACY FROM THE LENSE OF THE CITIZEN – FINDINGS FROM THE INDIA COMPONENT OF THE WORLD VALUES SURVEY

The India component of the World Values Survey asked a range of questions to tap the attitude of respondents on several important socio-economic and political value preferences. For the purpose of the current analysis, two sets of questions are included.

When respondents were asked on how they would rate a democratic system as a way of governing the country, more than six of every ten respondents who took a stand on the issue asserted that it was very good. Another three of every ten said that it was fairly good as a way of governing the country. Only one of every ten felt that a democratic political system was a fairly bad or very bad way of governing the country.

Chart 6

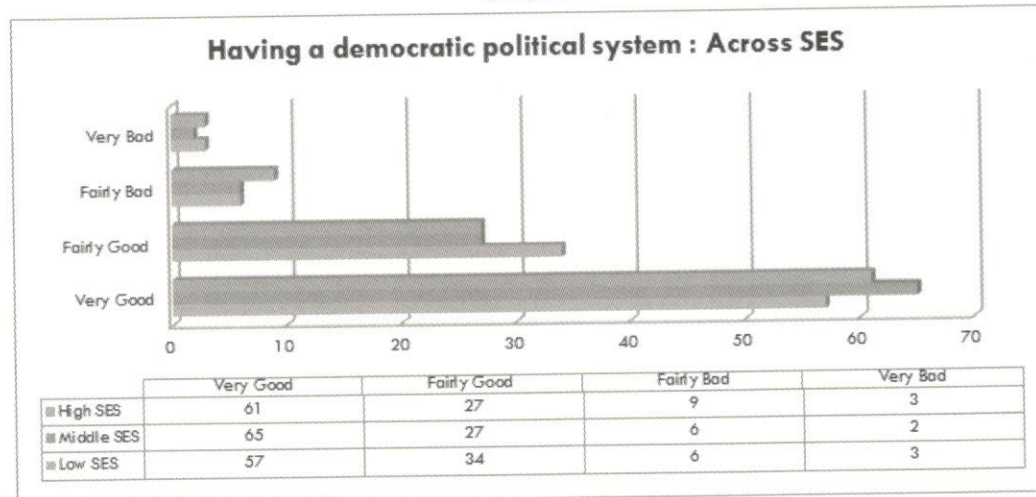


n-3609

Given the overwhelming support for a democratic political system as a way of governing the country, one expected very little variation across socio-economic groups. The only minor variation could be noticed when the response was analyzed across socio-economic status (SES). The strongest endorsement for the democratic political system came from the Middle SES (four percentage points above average) and at the 'very good' level the least was among the Low SES (four percentage points less than average). It must be added that the 'fairly good' endorsement was pronounced among the Low SES (five percentage points above average). It is also important to note that the 'fairly bad' and 'very bad' rating was highest among the High SES (two percentage higher than average). The above narration has important implications. Firstly, the Low SES are not as enthusiastic to endorse a democratic political system as 'very good' as compared to the other groups. Their endorsement is more pronounced in the 'fairly good' category of response. This clearly indicates that

the Lower SES approve of the democratic system but would not unequivocally endorse it as 'very good'. It is relevant to record that the cynicism of the capacities of a democratic political system in the Indian context, is highest in the High SES. This trend is in tune with the findings of the National Election Studies (NES) about the disengagement of the High SES with the political/electoral process in India (Yadav 1999).

Chart 7

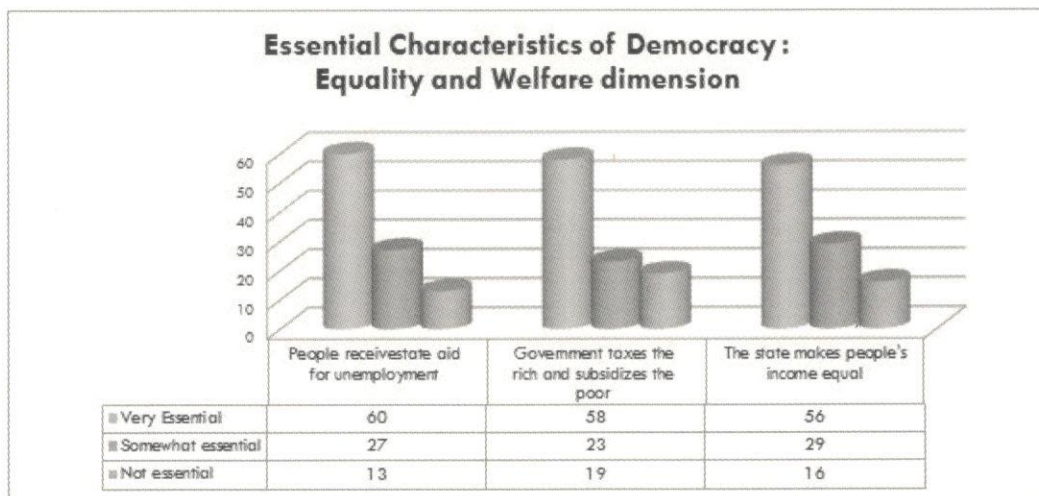


n- 3609

The India component of the World Values Survey also asked the respondents to rate different characteristics of democracy. Seven of these characteristics were taken up for a deeper analysis. It was found that three of them were directly linked to democracy as welfare and equality and four were associated with the vision of democracy as freedom and popular rule.

For the three characteristics linked to welfare and equality, it was found that in all the three cases, a majority of the respondents saw them as very essential characteristics of democracy. The highest support was for the characteristic: People receive state aid for unemployment. Close to two of every ten respondents felt that the government taxing the rich to subsidize the poor was not an essential characteristic of democracy.

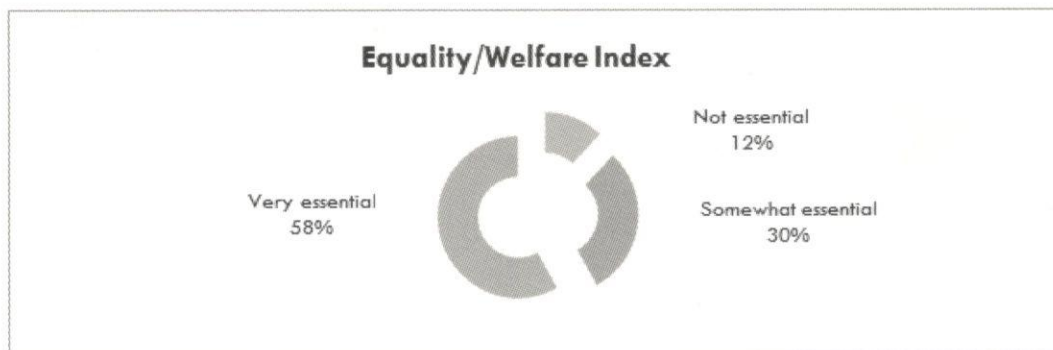
Chart 8



n-3983

If a combined index for equality and welfare dimensions of democracy is developed it is found that close to six of every ten respondents described these characteristics of democracy as being very essential. A little over one of every ten respondents saw it as not essential.

Chart 9

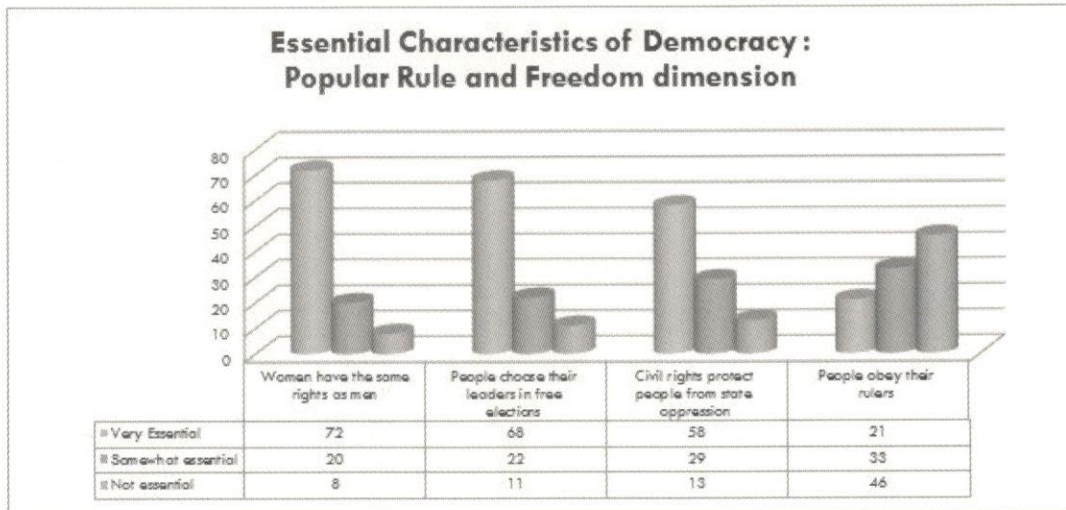


n- 3983

When the response to the characteristics relating to popular rule and freedom were analyzed it was found that there was very strong support for them. Over seven of every ten respondents believed that women having the same rights as men was a very essential feature of democracy. Over two-thirds opined that people choosing their own leader in a free election was an essential characteristic of democracy. Close to six

if every ten respondents felt that the civil rights of people being protected from state oppression was a very essential feature of democracy.

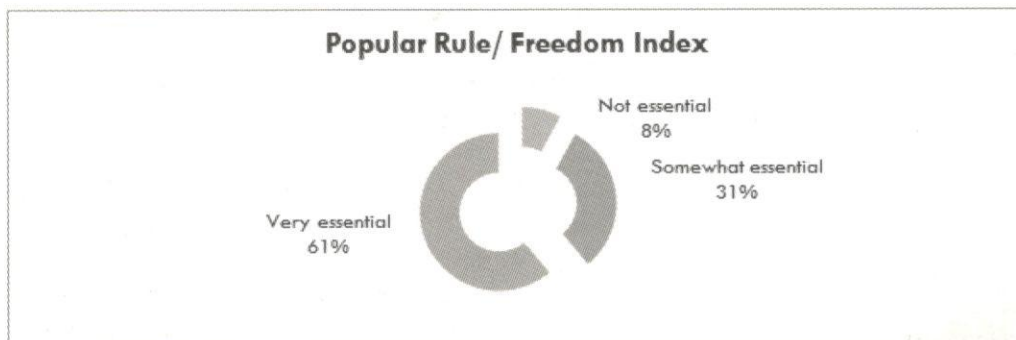
Chart 10



n- 3825

When a comprehensive index of the support for the popular rule/freedom characteristics of democracy is undertaken, it is noticed that over six of every ten respondents felt these dimensions were the very essential components of democracy. Another two of every ten felt that it was a somewhat essential component. Less than one of every ten rated these characteristics as being not essential in defining democracy. Clearly, there was an unequivocal support for the popular rule/freedom dimensions of democracy.

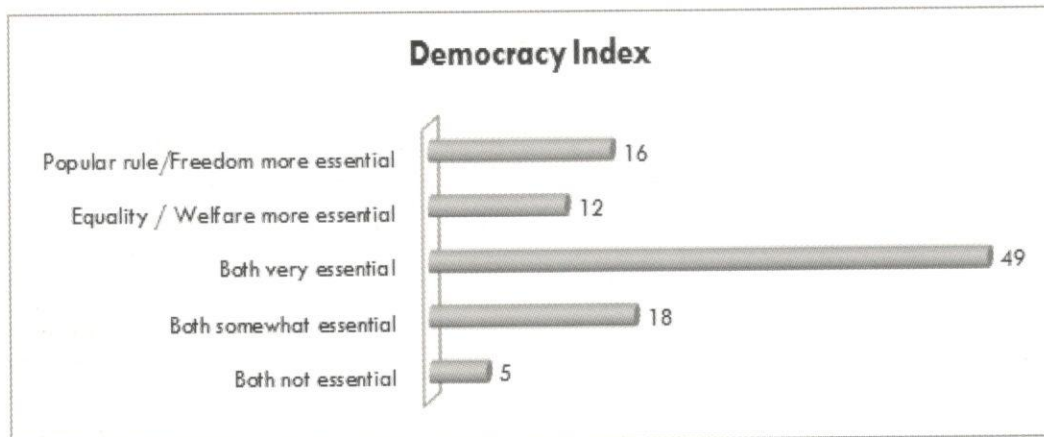
Chart 11



n-3825

When a comprehensive Democracy Index is created combining all the seven elements, it is found that close to half the respondents assert that both dimensions (welfare/equality and popular rule/freedom) are very essential. One-sixth of the respondents felt that the popular rule/freedom dimension alone was very essential while one of every ten respondents felt that same about equality/welfare dimension. Just five percent of the respondents felt that both dimensions were not essential.

Chart 12

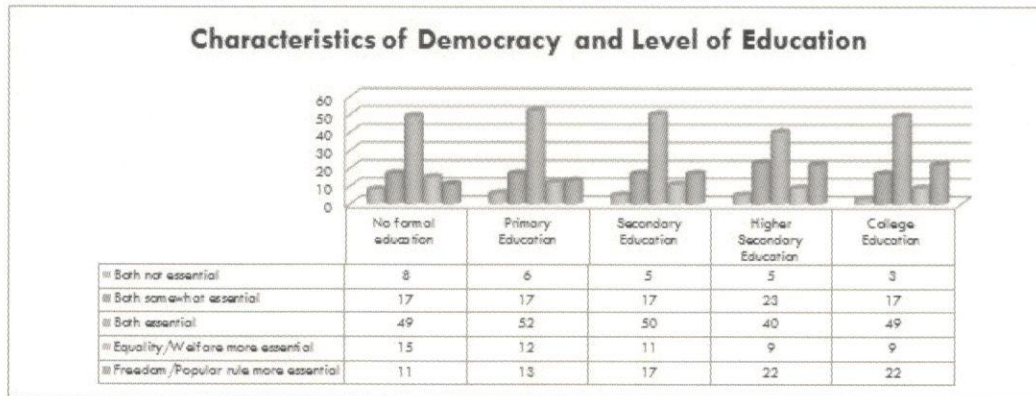


n-3811

Does the India component of the World Values Survey indicate any major variations in response to the characteristics of democracy across social groups and other demographic variables?

If the educational achievement of the respondents is taken into account there are important variations. As access to education increases, the exclusive support for the welfare/equality dimensions of democracy decreases. Among those who had no formal access to education, close to fifteen percent gave greater weightage to the welfare/equality dimensions. Among those who have benefitted from college education, the belief that the equality/welfare dimension is more important is less by over six percentage points as compared to those who had no formal access to education. . On the other hand, two of every ten respondents who had college education would place a premium on the popular rule/freedom aspects of democracy as compared to the welfare/equality components. As access to education reduces, the support for freedom/popular rule over equality/welfare reduces. In the case of those without formal access to education there is more than a ten percentage point difference as compared to those with college education, for the support to freedom/popular rule over welfare/equality.

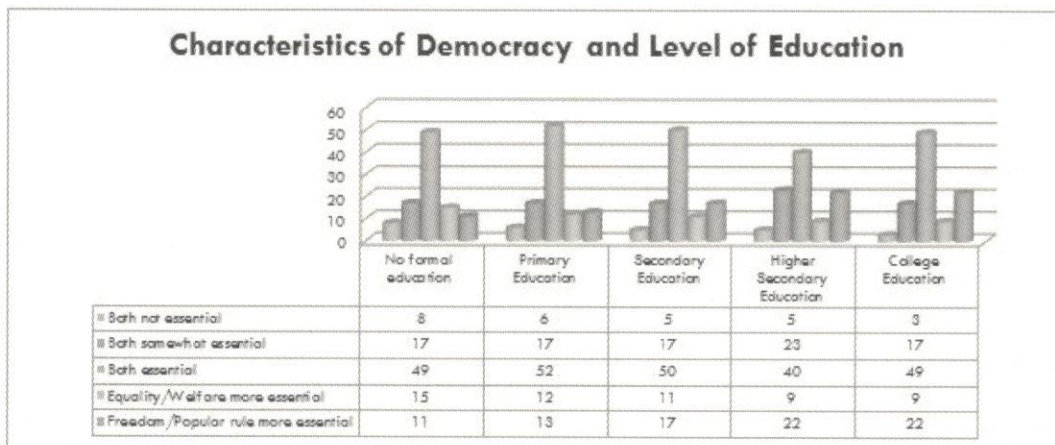
Chart 13



n-3805

The place of residence also makes some difference in the evaluation of the characteristics of democracy. More than half the urban respondents asserted that both welfare/equality and freedom/popular rule were essential components of democracy. There was a seven percentage point decline in this response when it came to rural respondents. Rural respondents were more likely to believe that the equality/welfare component was more essential as compared to urbanites (seven percentage point difference). This again would be a reflection of how democracy pans out in the lives of people in urban and rural India.

Chart 14

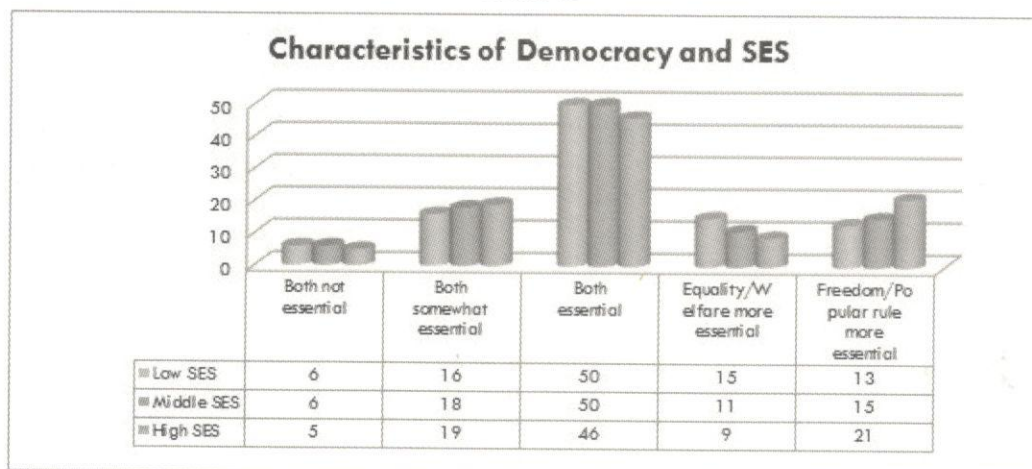


n-3685

If the SES of the respondent is taken into account it is noticed that a majority among the Low SES and Middle SES endorse the view that both the equality/welfare and

freedom/popular rule characteristics of democracy are very essential. The support in the very essential category for both dimensions drops by four percentage points when the response of those in the High SES are taken into account. Those in the Low SES expressed greater support to the Equality/Welfare dimension exclusively as compared to those in the Middle and High SES (difference ranges from 4 to 6 percentage points). On the other hand the exclusive support for the Freedom/Popular rule dimensions of democracy as being more essential was pronounced among the High SES as compared to the Low SES (eight percentage point difference). This is indicative of the impact of SES on the attitudes and perceptions of citizens of democracy.

Chart 15



n-3524

The findings of the India component of the World Values Survey clearly indicates that the way the citizens perceive democracy are in consonance with the conclusions arrived at by the State of Democracy in South Asia Survey. Which dimension of democracy do citizens privilege is visibly linked to their socio-economic status, access to education and place of residence. This implies that the 'real-life' daily experience of people, defines and decides how they view democracy.

The India component of the World Values Survey indicates that more than half the respondents privilege freedom, equality, justice and welfare as representing the idea of democracy. This further buttresses the argument made by the State of Democracy in South Asia study that brought to the discourse on democracy a refreshingly different perspective. Clearly, the substantive forms of democracy are central to the 'idea of democracy' among Indians with the procedural dimensions clearly receiving a lower order of priority. This ordering also brings into sharp focus the relationship of tension between these two dimensions: procedure and substance. It is clear that they

put a premium on outcomes over procedures.

The assertive articulation of the equality, justice and welfare 'face' of democracy, reflects the social dynamics and distinct political processes in operation in different parts of India. With the assertion of political rights by the social groups which were for long subjected to injustice, the showcasing of welfare and justice as the corner stones of democracy seems inevitable. The findings from the surveys also unequivocally articulate the fact that democracy represents the overall hope and aspirations of the marginal sections of society. For many among them, democracy is the gateway to dignity and access to resources. This is where perhaps the dichotomous relation between procedure and substance gets partly dissolved—the marginalized sections see opportunities in both procedure of democracy (as giving dignity) and substance (as ensuring welfare) and hence invest hope in democracy.

It can be asserted that the privileging of freedom, justice, welfare by the underprivileged sections of society gives a voice to what constitutes the heart beat of democracy in this region. The democratic imagination, as seen in the words of citizens as reflected in the SDSA Survey and India component of the World Values Survey, adds an unpretentious new flavour to the multiverse of democracy.

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End Notes

A cross-sectional survey was undertaken in Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka through a rigorously selected probability sample of adult citizens. A total of 19,409 sampled respondents were interviewed at their residences with the help of structured schedules. Strict adherence to probability sampling yielded a sample fairly representative of the social diversity in each country. The survey was carried out between August 2004 and February 2005. The survey instrument was administered by teams of trained investigators. This paper focuses on the India segment of the study. The survey was coordinated by Lokniti, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi. The South Asia study constitutes the South Asia segment of the Global Barometer. For details see SDSA 2007.

The India Component of the World Values Survey is part of the larger global study undertaken in over 65 countries. The latest wave of the study was completed in India in the latter half of 2012. For details on the India study see www.lokniti.org. For the global study see www.worldvaluessurvey.org

The question was asked in the following format : What is democracy, is understood differently by different people. According to you what is democracy? (Record up to two responses exactly). For the purpose of analysis only the first response is considered.

Besides these three, other responses clubbed in this category include public opinion, rule of majority, sovereignty of the people, people's empowerment, local government, democracy in popular terms, autonomy, republic, no dictatorship.

Other responses in this category included political parties and multi-party system.

The other responses included separation of powers, independent judiciary and state restructure.

The other responses in this category were fundamental rights, freedom of movement, freedom of religion, secularism, respect to minorities, freedom of organization, and right to oppose.

The other responses in this category were good governance, care for people, social equality, poverty reduction, basic needs, schooling, agricultural development, electricity supply, drinking water, roads and bridges, development, equality, no exploitation, industrial development, income growth, reservations/ affirmative action, health care, socialism, promotion of trade, communication .

The other responses here were freedom from threat, stability, giving up violence.

The other statements included under this rubric are benefit to the elite, conflicts among leaders, insecurity and incompetence.

Question 37.4 I am going to describe various types of political systems and ask what you think about each way of governing the country : Having a democratic political system – very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad.

Question 38 : Many things are desirable, but not all of them are essential characteristics of democracy. Where would you stand on the ladder . 1, indicating not essential and 10 indicating essential.

- a. Government taxes the rich and subsidizes the poor;
- b. Religious authorities ultimately interpret the law;
- c. People choose their leaders in free elections;
- d. People receive state aid for unemployment;
- e. The army takes over when the government is incompetent
- f. Civil rights protect people from state oppression;
- g. The state makes people's income equal.
- h. People obey their rulers;
- i. Women have the same rights as men.

Socio Economic Status (SES) while analyzing data from the India component of the World Values Survey is done by combining the following variables: a) Education of the respondent; b) Place of residence (urban/rural); c) Caste group; d) Self-analysis of Class group that one belongs to; e) Self analysis of Income group that one belongs to. The SES is classified as Low SES, Middle SES and High SES.

Equality and Welfare dimension : a) Government taxes the rich and subsidizes the poor; d. People receive state aid for unemployment; g. The state makes people's income equal. Popular rule and Freedom dimension: c. People choose their leaders in free elections; f. Civil rights protect people from state oppression; h. People obey their rulers (reverse coded to reflect individual freedom); i. Women have the same rights as men. The response categories were recoded with 1-3 being recoded as not essential, 4-7 as somewhat essential and 8-10 as very essential. An index for both the dimensions of democracy (welfare/equality and popular rule/freedom) was then developed.

For Index construction

1. Responses to each individual question from 38 (a) to (i) were coded as:
 - Response scale 1 to 3 = 1 (not essential for democracy)
 - Response scale 4 to 7 = 2 (somewhat essential for democracy)
 - Response scale 8 to 10 = 3 (very essential for democracy)
2. Question 38 (a), (d) and (g) were combined to construct index of Equality/ Welfare such that each individual response was identifiable and could be

coded according to the majority opinion. For eg:

- a. Response category 111 was coded (1), 112 was coded (1) etc
 - b. Response category 122 was coded (2), 313 was coded (3) etc.
 - c. Responses where there was no majority opinion were coded in the middle category. eg.- 123, 312, 213 etc. coded (2).
 - d. For each response code example see table 1 below.
3. The new codes were labeled similarly as
 - a. 1- not essential for democracy
 - b. 2- somewhat essential for democracy
 - c. 3- very essential for democracy

Table i- Construction of individual indices

Response combination	New code
111	1
112	1
113	2
121	1
122	2
123	2
131	1
132	2
133	3
211	1
212	2
213	2
221	2
222	2
223	2
231	2
232	2
233	3
311	1
312	2
313	3
321	2
322	2
323	3
331	3
332	3
333	3

On the question 'People obey their rulers' the coding has been reversed

Same method as above was used to construct Index of Popular Rule/ Freedom

For Democracy Index

1. Both the indices were combined together to construct the Democracy Index.
2. The first variable is preference for Equality/ Welfare and the second is Popular Rule / Freedom.
3. Hence the response categories are coded as follows:
 - 11 coded as (1)- *Both not essential*
 - 22 coded as (2)- *Both somewhat essential*
 - 33 coded as (3)- *Both very essential*
4. The rest of the categories are coded based on the greater response (Table II).

For eg

- Response category 21 shows more preference for the first variable which we have placed as Equality/ Welfare and coded as (4) - *Equality/ Welfare more essential*.
- Similarly response category 12 coded according to preference for the second variable which we have placed as Popular Rule/ Freedom and coded as (5) – *Popular Rule/ Freedom more essential*.

Table II- Construction of Democracy Index

Response combination	New code	Label
11	1	Both not essential
12	5	Popular Rule/ Freedom more essential
13	5	Popular Rule / Freedom more essential
21	4	Popular Rule / Welfare more essential
22	2	Both somewhat essential
23	5	Popular Rule / Freedom more essential
31	4	Equality/ Welfare more essential
32	4	Equality/ Welfare more essential
33	3	Both very essential