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PREVIEW

**A dissertation entitled**

PREADULT LEARNING OF DEMOCRATIC ORIENTATIONS

IN THREE NATIONS,

THE UNITED STATES, KOREA AND JAPAN

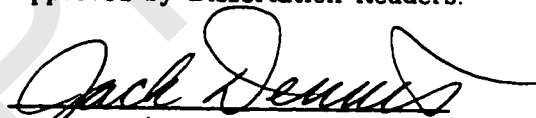
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Degree to be awarded: December 19<sup>96</sup> May 19\_\_ August 19\_\_

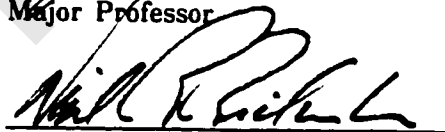
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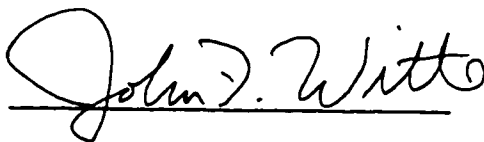



Major Professor

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PREVIEW

PREADULT LEARNING OF DEMOCRATIC ORIENTATIONS  
IN THREE NATIONS, THE UNITED STATES, KOREA AND JAPAN

By  
JUNG-IL GILL

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
(Political Science)

at the  
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1996

PREVIEW

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## **Chapter 1. Introduction**

Democracy is often defined as a form of political system which offers institutional and procedural guarantees of public debate and choice. A democratic system should provide extensive competition for power through regular, free, and fair elections, inclusive citizenship conferring rights of participation on virtually all adults, and extensive civil and political liberties to allow for pluralism of information and organization.<sup>1</sup> There is no doubt that such institutional arrangements are an indispensable element of democracy. Yet, democracy requires more than the formal, institutional guarantees.

A major requirement among others<sup>2</sup> is a supportive political culture, the acceptance by the citizenry and political elites of the principles underlying formal democratic institutions.<sup>3</sup> A democratic political system makes itself viable and stable when members of the system believe that democracy is the best form of government, and feel that their commitment to democratic processes is worthwhile. Conversely, when such beliefs and attitudes are weak or absent in the minds of people, as have been observed under many historical circumstances, a democratic political system becomes vulnerable to both internal and

external threats, and sometimes gives way to other forms of government, such as authoritarian or totalitarian rule.

Given such a systematic relationship between the political system and the political culture, one who is concerned with the present state of democracy in a political system may look first to the attitudes and behaviors of contemporary citizens toward democratic institutions and processes. If the focus of his or her concern shifts from the present condition of democracy to the future prospects for democracy, a natural point of departure for such inquiry is to examine the content and course of new young members' learning about democratic norms, principles, and institutions. This is because the future state of democracy--whether it will become a greater or a lesser democracy--depends, in large part, upon the extent of democratic attitudes and behaviors that the young members carry when they reach political majority of in the nation of the future.

The present thesis deals with the emerging process of democratic political culture by investigating the patterns of preadult learning of a certain set of attitudes and behaviors required for sustenance of democracy. Our inquiry takes a comparative perspective of the preadult learning patterns. We attempt to compare and

contrast the patterns of preadult learning about underlying democratic principles and norms across three political systems, the United States, Korea, and Japan.

Basic questions that we address in the present thesis are: (1) How supportive or non-supportive do younger members of these three countries become toward certain set of democratic norms as they move closer to an adult stage of political life?; (2) How systematically similar or different are patterns of preadult democratic learning across the countries?; and (3) What implications do systematic cross-national variations, if any, have for the future state of democracy in each of the countries?

To the extent that Almond has characterized political socialization as "the process of induction into the political culture,"<sup>4</sup> our research object--preadult learning about democratic aspects of political culture--represents a special case of political socialization research. Thus, our analysis shall be conducted under a broader framework of the general theory of political socialization.

In the following, we will first examine theoretical aspects of political socialization. The examination includes general definitions of political socialization,

its basic assumptions, and conceptual framework which identifies some causal link of political socialization, e.g., the conditions in which political socialization takes place and the consequences that it may bring about for the political system.

In the part that follows, we will attempt to define the scope of our inquiry, in line with the general theory of political socialization. we first elaborate the classification of democratic orientations which are to be investigated, the operational aspects of the orientations, and the cross-national, comparative dimensions of the preadult learning patterns. In the next part, we account for the research method and empirical data that are used for our empirical analysis, which will be followed by the description of outline of the present study.

### **1. Political Socialization: Definition and Its Conceptual Framework**

We shall define political socialization as "those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behavior." <sup>5</sup>

We conceptualize political socialization in terms of what Dennis has called "a flow of influence paradigm."<sup>6</sup> This paradigm basically understands that political socialization is not only influenced by the present state

of a given political system, but also political socialization itself influences the future of the political system. More explicit accounts of the influence paradigm are presented in Figure 1-1.

(Figure 1-1 should be about here)

The left-hand side of Figure 1-1 outlines the aspect of political socialization as a consequence of systemic influence of the political system. The system's influence can directly act upon political learning process, and also act through various social agents or agencies upon the process. From this perspective, political socialization is a dependent variable of the political system; and social agents are an intervening variable of the political system and political socialization.

The right-hand side of Figure 1-1, by contrast, deals with political socialization as a force of influencing the political system. The path of such influence addresses the question about what effects political socialization has upon the political system. In other words, what impact will the early political learning by new members bring about to the political system, as they becomes mature, and emerge as a political majority?

We will take the two-way causal link that the "flow of influence paradigm" addresses to our comparative analysis of preadult political learning. By do so, we will attempt to explain cross-national differences and similarities of preadult political learning at systemic levels and/or at the levels of agents who bridge preadults and the political system. At the same time, we will address a question to ourselves, regarding what such cross-national variations in the patterns of preadult political development may suggest for the future democratic state of the political systems.

## **2. Three Dimensions of Democratic Orientations**

A major substantive problem we confront in the present study is the definition and scope of democracy. As we speak of preadult learning of democratic orientations, we should make clear first what we mean by democracy, and what elements of democratic attitudes we should investigate concerning preadult development. But, as students of political theory agree, democracy is far from being a single coherent and consistent concept or theory. Instead, democracy contains so many philosophical meanings and many historical experiences of different societies, that it cannot be readily summed up by any single account. How then do we encapsulate such a complex

ideas that surround the concept of democracy, and translate them into a manageable form appropriate for the study of preadult development?

Perhaps the most pragmatic way to follow here is to examine the previous literature that discusses the problems involved in conceptualizing democracy, from the perspective of political socialization, and to select the most inclusive among such inquiries as a model for our inquiry. In this respect, we find two relevant studies from the field of political socialization. One study proposes an integrated model for democratic citizenship in the political socialization research. In this study, Ichilov suggests that preadult learning of democratic citizenship roles can be explored mainly on two major dimensions of democracy, liberal and participatory democracy.<sup>7</sup> The other study that draws our attention to underlying themes is the work by Dennis and his associates. The authors, in their comparative political socialization study, identify three themes of democracy as appropriate for the investigation of preadult democratic learning: liberal democracy, populistic and participant democracy, and pluralist democracy.<sup>8</sup>

These two studies overlap, in that both include liberal and participant (or participatory) democracy as

basic dimensions on which preadult learning may take place. But, the latter study, by Dennis, et al., is more appealing than the former in the sense that it has a broader coverage of democratic themes, by adding the theme of pluralist democracy to those of liberal and participant democracy. Therefore, we take the general scheme of democracy that Dennis and his associates outline as a model for our clarification of democracy and related attitudes.

Liberal democracy, or more specifically "classical liberal democracy",<sup>9</sup> stresses the utmost worth of the individual citizen, and claims that the rights and prerogatives of the individual are of paramount value in a democracy. This theme of liberalism embraces the preference for limited government that restricts the role of government only to the protection of individuals' rights and interests from unreasonable intrusions of others, including the state.

Classical liberalism not simply advocates the rights of the individual, but also gives equal credence to the values of individual responsibility and self-reliance. To the extent that one's rights and the opportunity to pursue one's interests are secured, individuals are required to accept the burden of civic responsibility in civic sphere of life. Individual citizens are expected to perform at

least minimal civic obligations regularly, such as participation in elections. Individuals should thus become self-sufficient, without having recourse to public authority for assistance, if they fail in a fair and free society to attain what they want.

The second major theme of democratic theory and practice is populistic and participant democracy. This theme emphasizes the role of the collective body of citizens, rather than the role of the individual citizen, in political processes. This theme maintains that popular rule or popular sovereignty is the fundamental norm of democracy, and assumes a close tie between members of the public and their government: the citizens should actively participate in the political process. Thus government becomes self-organized government; and the government should thus respond to the public which determines its character and composition.

The third major theme is pluralist democracy, or political pluralism. This theme stresses the essential functions of intermediary groups in linking individuals to the broader political system. This theme of democracy advocates that diverse interests and differing political perspectives of the individual citizens should become

grouped into multiple organizations, and that when such multiple, representative organizations compete with one another, democracy will operate most efficiently.

### **3. Attitudinal Dimensions of Democratic Orientations**

In order to make these themes of democracy operational for examining preadult political development, we select a set of the attitudes which correspond to each of these three themes of democracy, and translate them into questions that preadults can respond to.

On the dimension of liberal democracy, we examine four different types of attitudes: egocentrism, self-assertiveness, a sense of self-reliance and the norm of civic duty to participate. Egocentrism and self-assertiveness represent the "rights" side of classical liberal democratic ideas; and the senses of self-reliance and of civic duty exemplify the "responsibility" side.

With regard to attitudes related to populist and participant democracy, we examine three major attitudes: recognition of the central role of the citizenry in political processes, endorsement of a majority rule as a legitimate decision-making norm, and motivation to participate in political processes. We also add two attitudes that are deemed to affect the individual's participatory motivation: sense of political efficacy and

feelings of trust toward political authorities.

In the development of attitudes pertaining to pluralist democracy, we put our empirical focus on the political parties as the attitudinal object of preadult development. This choice reflects not simply the fact that political parties are the most viable, central institution of political pluralism in most contemporary political systems, but also that the parties are likely to be a most visible set of political objects for young people. Relative to the political parties, we include two attitudes, sense of attachment to a party (i.e., political party identification), and support for the idea of pluralist competition, in the form of partisan competition.

More detailed discussion of the procedures of measurement will be included in Chapters 2 to 4, which deal with the empirical aspects of preadult development on each dimension of democracy in the three political systems where we make this investigation.

#### **4. Hypotheses**

Our basic question in the present study is: How supportive or non-supportive on each democratic dimension do younger members of the United States, Korea, and Japan

become as they approach adult political life in these political systems?

Comparing broadly their contemporary operations and structure of democracy, we can probably say that these three countries are more similar, rather than different in these terms.<sup>10</sup> For example, each has reasonably elaborate statements of the guarantees of individual rights and liberties; each has free, frequent and meaningful elections; each has an active system of representative democracy, both at the national and the local level; and each has political parties that exhibit intense competition.

Within this general range of similarities however, these three countries are nonetheless quite different, at least in terms of their historical progression toward democracy, and each's underlying cultural patterns.<sup>11</sup> We anticipate that these differences of history and culture may well be reflected in their children's learning about democratic values.

In terms of the duration of democracy, the United States is among the oldest of all existing democracies, and the country itself was the origin of what Huntington has called "the first wave of democratization."<sup>12</sup> Japan has a shorter democratic experience relative to the United

States, but nonethelss has a fairly long history of democracy. Limited democracy was first introduced in Japan in the 1920s, but was disrupted by military rule in the 1930s and early 1940s. Full democracy was restored by the Allied Occupation during the postwar period. Among the three nations of our comparison, Korea has the shortest democratic experience. Western style democracy was first brought to Korea at the termination of the Japanese rule in 1945; But this regime was discontinued through a military coup in 1961, and democracy then was restored by 1987.<sup>13</sup>

The differing historical patterns of democratization described above may thus have differentiating influences on contemporary preadult democratic learning, with some likely disadvantage for the newest democracy of these, viz., Korea. Because of the relatively short period of Korea's democratic experience, there may well remain some undemocratic residues in the society, including the schools, families and other presumptive agents of political socialization. Older generations, who often serve as primary sources of preadult learning, are themselves often untutored and inexperienced in democratic processes. Thus, might waver their commitment to democratic values.

Established programs of instruction carried out

through educational institutions or the mass media may also provide some echoes of earlier undemocratic values. Such residual effects, originating mainly from the short length of the reestablished democracy, may put Korean preadults at a disadvantage to Korean preadults comparatively speaking. But it is not entirely clear whether such effects would apply to all three dimensions of democracy outlined above, according to which we examine preadult political development, or only to one or two of them.

Another potential factor that may have a profound effect on preadult democratic learning is the differing cultural interpretation of certain democratic values, particularly the set of values associated with liberal democracy. There is no doubt that a liberal tradition is fundamental, perhaps the most fundamental of any, to American history and experience.<sup>14</sup> By contrast, such a liberal tradition barely exists in either the Korean or the Japanese culture. Instead, what is prevalent in these societies is a somewhat anti-liberal culture of traditional Confucianism. The latter puts its emphasis on the rights of the group over those of the individual, authority over liberty, and responsibilities over rights.<sup>15</sup> One might indeed identify these Confucian values as "peculiarly hostile to democracy",<sup>16</sup> which

suggests the possibility that such an anti-liberal culture persistent in Korea and Japan could work as a barrier to preadult learning of democratic attitudes, especially those pertaining most directly to liberal democracy.

Taking into account the possibility of such historical and cultural limitations on democracy, we might thus expect some important cross-national variations in the patterns of preadult learning of democratic orientations. Young Americans are likely to find themselves in the most favorable environment for democratic learning; their Korean counterparts are likely to be the least favored; and the Japanese are likely to be found somewhere between the other two.

In addition to these expected general cross-national variations in the patterns of preadult learning of democratic orientations, we are also interested in whatever variations in preadult political development, may exist within each nation, by gender and by the extent of preadults' interaction with presumptive socializing agents, such as the family, the school, and the news media. Earlier political socialization studies, particularly American ones, have consistently shown that there emerge some significant gender differences in