Democracy, leadership and political culture in Korea: With specific focus on political efficacy and trust

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The present paper reviews the development of democracy in the West and Korea. The first part of the paper provide a cultural framework for understanding the development of democracy in West and Korea. In the second part of the paper, an empirical study conducted in Korea will be presented. A survey questionnaire was developed to assess respondents' conception of political participation, political efficacy, trust, leadership, and social relations and it has been administered to national stratified sample in Korea (n=1,000). The results indicate that Korean respondents support the basic ideas of liberal democracy, such as the right to vote, participate in political organization, freedom of speech, and criticize government. At the same time, Korean respondents supported collective values, such as harmonious family life, harmonious social relations, and governmental welfare programs. Although Koreans trusted close ingroup members, such as family members and friends, they were less likely to trust their colleagues and outgroup members and were not likely to trust political and governmental institutions. Moreover, Korean respondents showed a low degree of political participation and efficacy and a high degree of political alienation. As for leadership, Koreans preferred moral and strong leaders. The overall results indicate that in Korea, although the basic ideals of democracy are valued, the method of implementing these ideals is different from the West. Detailed analysis of the results and implications of the study will be presented.

key words : Democracy, leadership, political culture, political efficacy, trust

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Introduction

The 19th century paved the way for the rise and development and three political ideologies of liberal democracy, fascism, and communism in the West. In the 20th century, ideological battle among these political theories, representing the far rights (e.g., German fascism), far left (e.g., Russian communism) and liberal democracies (e.g., the USA), occupied the center stage. Proponents of a particular political ideology claimed legitimacy and universality of their position and denied such a claim by other positions. The ideological battle that began in the West was then transported to Africa, Asia and Latin America and became the battleground for ideological supremacy. The colonial domination by the West became transformed into ideological battle among three political theories. The Korean peninsula occupied the center stage in the latter part of the 20th century as the last vestiges of the Cold War politics.

During the close of the 20th century, a large number of authoritarian and communist states have self-destructed and have been transformed into democratic nations. Fukuyama (1992) claims that since traditional monarchism, fascist Right, communistic Left, and authoritarian governments were infected with fundamental internal contradictions of grave defects and irrationality, their collapse was inevitable. Liberal democracy, on the other hand, was free from such defects and it was emerging victorious. He points out that "for a very large part of the world, there is now no ideology with pretensions to universality that is in a position to challenge liberal democracy, and no universal principle of legitimacy other than the sovereignty of people" (p. 45). He claims that liberal democracy represents the final form of human government and constitutes the end point of mankinds ideological evolution.

The optimism of Fukuyama was widely shared in the USA and his book became a national best seller. With the September 11, 2001 terrorist bombing of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, the confidence in the supremacy of liberal democracy has been shaken. With the unexpected event, the clash of civilization espoused by Huntington (1993) gained popularity.

The thesis presented by Fukuyama represents the positivistic, linear, and universalistic conception of democracy. The thesis of Huntington represents the cultural relativist position in which differences in civilization are viewed as fundamental and hence the clash of civilization is viewed as inevitable. These two extreme positions have been the dominant form of discourse in comparative social sciences (Kim, 2000; Shweder, 1991; Triandis et al., 1980). There is, however, a third approach that attempts to provide an integrated understanding of democracy and culture: the indigenous psychologies approach and the political culture approach. They point out that although the ideas of democracy may be widely shared, they must be integrated with existing cultural beliefs, values and norms and implemented in a particular cultural context. They are not absolute in a universal or relative sense since they are cultural constructed.

The purpose of this paper is to review the development of democracy in the West and in

Korea from a cultural perspective. In the first part of this paper, the concepts of democracy and culture are defined. In the second section, the cultural transformations that paved the way for the development of democracy in the West will be reviewed. In the third section, democracy that has evolved and developed in Korea will be outlined. In the fourth section, a conceptual framework, focusing specifically on trust and political efficacy, will be provided. In the fifth section, an empirical study conducted with a national stratified sample will be provided. Finally, the challenges that Korean and modern democracies face will be discussed.

Democracy

Democracy comes from the Greek word *demokratia*, which means, rule by the people. People around the world generally agree to the universality of the basic idea that people should rule themselves or have representatives speak and act on their behalf. The question then emerges: How should this be done? This has been the point of contention and the focus of cross-cultural debate.

One of the most frequently cited definition of democracy has been articulated by Diamond, Juan and Lipset (1990). Democracy denotes a system of government that meet three essential conditions: "Meaningful and extensive *competition* among individuals and organized groups (especially political parties) for all effective positions of government power, at regular intervals and excluding the use

of force; a highly inclusive level of *political participation* in the selection of leaders and policies, at least through regular and fair elections, such that no major (adult) social group is excluded; and a level of *civil and political liberties* - freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom to form and join organizations - sufficient to ensure the integrity of political competition and participation" (p. 6-7). This definition delineates the concept of democracy into three key components: competition among political parties, political participation through voting, and respect for civil liberties. This definition reflects Western cultural framework that emphasizes political parties, ideologies, competition, individual rights and freedom. In contrast, the values of relatedness, benevolence, and collective welfare form the core of democratic ideal in East Asia.

Secondly, many social scientists have used positivistic models to claim universality and to explain cultural similarities and differences (Kim, 2000; Shweder, 1991). These positivistic models, however, fail to explain the dynamics and diversity inherent in democratic systems. Although ideas of democracy may be widely valued, accepted and heralded, they must be constituted and implemented by people, in a particular cultural context, using available natural and human resources.

As with all human activities, an idea must be transformed and constructed into reality using available natural and human resources. Democratic ideas that are shared must be implemented through socialization, institutions, and political systems in a particular cultural context. The ideas of democracy have evolved from both West and

East, and they are integration of ideas from many cultures and civilizations. Although the West is currently championing these ideals, these ideas were developed and implemented in many parts of the world for many centuries.

When Europe was in the grip of superstition, fear, famine, and plagues during Dark Ages, civilization in other parts of the world flourished. Europeans learned about Greek philosophy and idea about democracy, rationality and developments in mathematics and science from the Muslim scholars from Middle East. With Marco Polo's travel to Asia, Europeans awoke to new possibilities of wealth, knowledge, science and technology. The desire to find a shorter and cheaper route to the East led to the discovery of the Americas. Most of the vegetables that we eat come from Indian communities who have learned to cultivate them. When the USA constitution was being drafted, the final form was inspired by ideas developed by the Iroquois League of Nations. The Enlightenment made democracy possible, which in turn were made possible from the knowledge, technology and resources obtained from the Middle East, Far East, Africa and the New World.

Culture

Culture is an *emergent* property of individuals and groups interacting with their natural and human environment. Culture is defined as the collective utilization of natural and human resources to achieve desired outcomes. Differences in cultures exist because we have different goals and developed different aspects of our environment to achieve those goals. We have attached meanings and values on them. Through socialization, children internalize existing meaning, values, beliefs, norms and skills. As a result, "the most important thing... that we know about a person is what he takes for granted, and the most elemental and important facts about a society are those things that are seldom debated and generally regarded as settled" (Wirth, 1946, p. xxiv). Although children have the potential to learn any language, they usually learn one particular language and use that language is used organize their thoughts, communicate with others, and construct their world.

A culture is not a static entity but has a past, present, and future. (See Figure 1). Culture is usually associated with the past (e.g., history, philosophy, art, and literature). With the aid of our memory, we can understand the past achievements. The most important aspect of culture, however, is not the product of culture, but the creators of these products. Based on the understanding of the past accomplishments and available resources, individuals can infer what is possible, which is not yet real. They can work individually or collectively in realizing this possibility by using available resources and skills to create a work of art or to build a better society. Democracy is an example of a creative process that allows people to discuss, to participate, and to construct a desired society. Democracy as we know today has a past, but the future of democracy cannot be determined in advance. It will depend on the
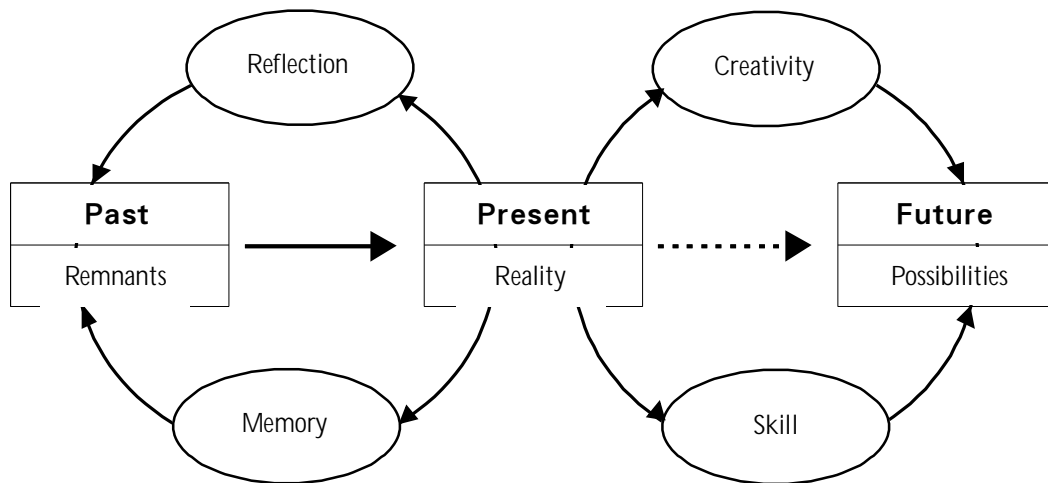
Figure 1. Time and culture change

next generation who could shape, modify or transform it.

The society that we hold dear and that we have built for ourselves and for our children can have a different meaning for our children. If it is a society created by adults and imposed upon them, then it can be perceived as a prison. They must be allowed to participate in the building and renewal process. They must be allowed to build a society that is able to suit their needs and goals. However, we do not allow our children to become full participants of democracy until they reach the age of 18 or 19 years.

Finally, cultures change not in a mechanical or positivistic way. Contrary to the thesis presented by Fukuyama, democracy did not evolve in a logical, sequential, or evolutionary manner. Democracy arose out of clash of ideas, individuals, and groups and people were able to integrate these ideas into new forms. Cultures and democracy undergo changes through dialectical transformations.

The first transformation: Understanding nature

Darwinian theory is partially right in pointing out that human being were able to survive because we have adapted to our ecology. Contrary to Darwinian theory, human beings were able to adapt to our environment not because our natural instinct, but because we were able to *overcome* our instincts. Like all animals, it is our natural instinct to fear fire. However, we were able to go beyond our natural fears and realized that fire existed only when there was wood and it can be extinguished by water. With this understanding, we began to harness its power to our benefit.

We began to use fire to protect us from predators. We learned to cook food over the fire,

which increased the kind and type of food that could be consumed. We used fire to transform wood, clay, and iron into weapons, utensils, boats, and houses. We learned to create fire on demand by rubbing two stones or wood together or through the use of chemicals. This reflective and causal understanding differentiates humans from other animals and allowed us to understand nature and to control it.

We have traditionally killed and consumed animals like cows, pigs, and chickens that existed in the wild. We have overcome our instinct and domesticated them and raised them as a mean of storing and producing food. Similarly, wild rice, wheat, or vegetables, were cultivated to multiply the amount of food that could be produced from the land. We have also managed to transform our natural enemies into our allies. Predators such as wolves and lions were transformed as dogs and cats, which now serve as our protectors, guardians and as our companions.

We communicated newfound knowledge to other people and to succeeding generations. We have developed oral and written traditions to record and accumulate this knowledge. With each succeeding generation, experiential knowledge accumulated and they were abstracted and shared in oral or written form. With these transformational understanding, people could depend on the food produced from the land and from livestock for a steady supply of food. With agricultural efficiency, enough food could be produced from the land to support a large number of people. With these advances, social, political, and religious institutions were created and institutionalized to manage a growing number of people.

The second transformation: Understanding God

Religions provide certainty in an uncertain world and answers to the mysterious and wondrous world. Although tribal communities developed animistic religions, major religions emerged to subjugate tribal religions. In Europe, Christianity became the dominant religion. The main tenet of Christianity is the Divine creation of the heaven, earth, and all living forms, including human beings.

Christianity was liberating to many, especially to the slaves, since it taught that all humans are equal in the eyes of God. At the same time, Christianity affirmed a single grand order and hierarchy - from God to angels to human to animals, from pope to archbishop to bishop to priest to lay person, and also from king to vassal to sub-vassal to serf (Leahey, 1987).

In Christian cultures, God represented the Truth, light, beauty, and goodness and thus occupied the center. Human beings, who are the created, were in the periphery. In order to know the Truth, one had to seek the Will of God. The Truth was revealed through Him or through His revelations, Bible, or nature. Access to knowledge was limited to only a select few priests and the translation of the Bible into vernacular language was forbidden.

In the 16th century, the discovery of the New World and advances in science and technology forced the Catholic Church to examine its basic

teachings. Martin Luther demanded reforms to address corruption and decadence in 1517. The teachings of the Church were directly challenged when Christopher Columbus discovered the New World that was not mentioned in the bible. The Portuguese explorer Magellan circumnavigated around the earth, disproving the idea that the earth was flat. Copernicus distributed his findings, which put the sun at the center and earth in the periphery. Similarly, Galileo published his findings in 1632 validating Copernicus theory. Since these ideas directly challenged the teachings of the church, Galileo was put on a house arrest until he died in 1642.

The third transformation: Understanding ourselves

The Renaissance in Europe represents a cultural revolution: A different way of perceiving and understanding the world. From Renaissance, there was a shift in people's perception of reality. During Renaissance, people realized that individuals have the potential to discover the Truth first-hand and many of the teaching propagated by the Church were dogmatic, arbitrary, and erroneous. (See Kim, 2000, 2001 for a detailed analysis).

Descarte's dualism allowed the separation of mind from body and science from religion. Science studied the physical world and mechanical cause-effect, while Christianity dealt with the spiritual world. His view created a duality of thought, dichotomy between mind and body, and right and wrong. With these discoveries, enlightenment brought the belief of naturalism, with eternal optimism, and "hopes of perpetual

progress, of the perfectibility of humanity, of useful and profound knowledge of the universe" (Leahey, 1987, p. 171).

The fourth transformation: Controlling nature

Drastic alteration in the ecology began in the 18th century Europe in which human beings exerted greater control over the environment. Numerous factors contributed to the change: The rise of international trade and commerce, the consolidation of nation states, rapid developments in science and technology, greater agricultural efficiency, and industrialization and urbanization. Roads were created to move commodities efficiently. Machines were created to produce goods in mass quantity. Coals were used generate energy and to operate these machines. Paper money increased efficient trade and circulation capital and goods. These changes resulted in a movement away from subsistence economies to market economies. With greater agricultural efficiency and the consolidation of land by kings, many serfs and peasants were dislocated from their agricultural communities. They congregated in the newly formed cities.

In traditional agricultural communities, trust, cooperation, and collective sharing were important aspects of daily life (Tönnies, 1957). In the newly formed urban communities, people worked with strangers, regulated by machines, and worked for wages. The relationship was contractual, with workers providing their labor for their salary, and the law of supply and demand defined amount they were paid. In many instances, workers were viewed an extension of machines or as commodities

and exploited, as in the slaves trade in the 18th century. In this dehumanizing context, there was no one to protect the rights of these unrelated individuals.

Collective action began to appear to protest the working conditions and working relationships. New forms of collectives emerged in Europe defined by class (e.g., ruling class, merchant class, and working class) or by common interest (e.g., union). Members of the working class began to organize and lobby their interests through protest, strikes, and revolutions.

The Cartesian duality, which separated the natural world from the spiritual world, the rational soul from the body, allowed science to proceed without the interference from the church. From 1859, however, with the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, religions were pushed to the periphery. Darwinian Theory provided a purely mechanical explanation of the natural world and eliminated the necessity of a separate human and spiritual world. Human beings were part of nature and not part of God's divine creation. With the displacement of Christianity, Darwinian theory created a moral, social, and political vacuum and a new breed of ideologues (e.g., Friedreich Nietsche, Karl Marx, Francis Galton, and Sigmund Freud) filled the epistemological void. Burke (1985) points out that Darwinian theory paved the way for the reification of three political ideologies: German Nazism, American free enterprise capitalism, and Russian communism.

German Fascism

According Burke (1985), Ernest Haeckel fused Darwin's law of competition, struggle, and the survival of the fittest with the idea of superior German culture advocated by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. Haeckel called for the creation of a superior German culture based on Aryan racial superiority. He took the argument one step further by advocating that this superiority can be maintained by conducting systematic racial purification. Haeckel's ideas "united trends already developing in Germany of racism, imperialism, romanticism, nationalism, and anti-semitism" (p. 263). Anthropologist Otto Ammon stated that "Darwin must become the new religion of Germany. The racial struggle is necessary for mankind" (p. 266). German scholars and politicians used social Darwinism to create and justify German Nazism.

Russian communism

Advocates of communism, such as Karl Marx, criticized the capitalistic exploitation of workers, the dehumanizing aspects of the uncontrolled market economy, and the excessive individualism. Marx called for the creating a new society based on communal ownership rather than individual ownership, a centralized planning and distribution system, rather than a system based on the law of supply and demand. Darwinian theory provided the necessary scientific support for his dialectical materialism. The struggle for survival in nature is reflected in the struggle between classes. Revolution would be the basis for progress and development of a better society. He wrote to Frederick Engels: "*Origin* is the natural history foundation for our views" (Burke, 1985, p. 273).

American free enterprise capitalism

In England and the USA, Darwin's theory took on a different form. Herbert Spencer argued that natural selection should be allowed to take its course and governments should not interfere by helping the poor, frail, and helpless. In the United States, social Darwinism blended in well with capitalism and rugged individualism. Burke (1985) points out that American industrialist, Andrew Carnegie, defended the inequality and "the concentration of business, industrial and commercial in the hand of few; the law of competition between these, as being essential to the future progress of the human race" (p. 271). John D. Rockefeller pointed out that "the growth of a large business is merely the survival of the fittest and this is not an evil tendency in business, but it is a merely the working out of a law of nature and a law of God" (p. 271).

Francis Galton took this argument one step further. He argued that intelligence is a biological trait that is transmitted from one generation to another. People with status and wealth possessed superior intelligence and destitute and poor possessed inferior intelligence. He designated certain races (Caucasians), historical epochs (Greek), sex (men), and cultures (Anglo-Saxon) as biologically superior to others. He argued for scientific measurement of innate ability and supported eugenics or racial purification.

American scholars, such as Lewis Terman at Stanford University, Robert Yerkes at Harvard University and Henry Garrett at Columbia University made this possible. Terman developed the Stanford-Binet IQ test to measure innate intelligence. Terman and his colleagues actively supported the forced sterilization of deviants, segregation of African Americans, and restriction of immigrants from Asia. By 1928, 21 states enacted laws to forcefully sterilize individuals. In 1924, the National Origins Act was passed to exclude Asians from immigrating to the USA. In USA, social Darwinism was used not only to justify social inequality as being natural and hence inevitable, but also used as a means for social control (Chorover, 1980).

Across the world, social Darwinism was used to justify racism, establishing authoritarian fascism and communism, in denying basic human rights to individuals, and paved the way for mass genocide. During and after World War II, the world had to deal with the destruction of morality and humanity caused by equating and treating humans as animals.

The sixth transformation: Affirming human rights and dignity

The Allied nations had to fight against the fascist Germany and Japan. This situation created a need for individuals of diverse cultural background to unite and fight against a common enemy, which killed more than six millions people based on eugenics ideals. On a broader scale, people realized justifying inequalities and injustices in the name of social Darwinism created irrevocable harm to victims and to society. Hatred, torture, and mass murder were justified using social Darwinism and immigration restriction, forced sterilization, and genocide became reified in the

name of science, progress, and of greater good (Chorover, 1980).

After World War II, the world had to deal with the destruction of morality and humanity caused by equating and treating humans as animals. On December 10, 1948, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that supports the universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedom for all without distinction to race, sex, language, or religion. At the societal level, the conclusion of World War II signaled a move towards cooperation and nation building. In the USA, the Supreme Court ruled against the segregation policy and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and 1968 banned discrimination based on race, sex, color, national origin, or religion. The Immigration Act of 1965 lifted restrictive racial quotas.

Human rights

Human rights and rationality became the pillar upon which civil society was built and constructed. Human rights are fundamental rights, especially those believed to belong to an individual and in whose exercise a government may not interfere, as the rights to speak, associate, and work. Human rights are literally rights a person has simply because he or she is a human being. Human rights are the "highest moral rights" and "they regulate the fundamental structures and practices of social life, and in ordinary circumstances they take priority over other moral, legal, and political rights" (O'Donnelly, 1989, p. 1). The concept of human rights includes the ideas of rectitude

(something being right) and entitlement (someone having rights). Although human rights are not universal in empirical or analytical sense, but they are believed to represent a moral and ideal standard that *should* be accepted universally (O'Donnelly, 1989).

Liberal democracy

In the West, the liberal tradition focuses on a rational individual's rights to freely choose, define, and search for self-fulfillment (Kim, 2000). The content of self-fulfillment depends on the goals that individuals freely choose. The nature of the goal can vary from one individual to another and can range from hedonistic fulfillment to self-actualization. This freedom of choice is collectively guaranteed by respect for individual rights. At the interpersonal level, individuals are considered to be independent, autonomous, self-sufficient, and respectful of the rights of others.

From a societal point of view, individuals are considered to be abstract and universal entity. Their status and roles are not ascribed or predetermined, but defined by their personal achievements (i.e., educational, occupational, and economic achievements). They interact with others using basic principles (e.g., equality, equity, non-interference, and detachability), or through established rules, contracts, and laws. Individuals with similar goals are brought together into a group and they remain with the group as long as it satisfies their needs. Laws and regulations are institutionalized to protect individual rights and articulate their duties; everyone is able to assert these rights through the legal system. The

state is governed by elected officials, whose role is to protect individual rights and the viability of public institutions.

A liberal conception of rights focuses on negative rights, such as non-interference, and lacks a clear articulation of substantive goals such as the common good, collective welfare, and social harmony. This is because, according to liberal theorists, individuals and not a collective body should decide their own determinate ends. For this reason, rights are stated in negative terms, or as an "opportunity concept," such as pursuit of any determinate ends (Taylor, 1985). An ideal society consists of "free and rational sovereigns in the kingdom of ends" (Kant, 1959, p. 53). Substantive goals represent a weak version of rights called the "manifesto sense of rights" (Feinberg, 1973). Rights in the manifesto sense (such a right to education, health, and well-being) involve no corresponding duties of others, and thus they are not "mandatory, definite, and binding" (Lee, 1991).

East Asian perspective:
Harmony with nature, self and others

In contrast to Western emphasis on rationality, East Asian worldview focuses on emotions that bind individuals and family members together. For example, the Chinese, Japanese and Korean word for human being is written as 人間 (literally translated, it means human between). In other words, the human essence can be defined in terms of what happens between individuals and not within an individual. Relational emotions that binds and bonds individuals together, not the private and narcissistic emotions, are emphasized.

In East Asia, relationship and emotional attachments are considered stable, while rationality and individuality are relatively unstable. This is not to say individualism and rationality do not exist. They do exist, but they play a secondary role to relationships and emotions. Relationships and emotions are the focus, while individuals and rationality are relegated to the background.

Unlike Christianity, East Asian philosophy and religions assume that human beings are essential good and this goodness is realizable in ones lifetime. Although East Asian philosophy acknowledges the existence of conflict between opposing forces, such as *um* (陰) and *yang* (陽), but unlike the West, East Asian philosophy focuses on the balance or harmony between opposing forces. The focus is not on the dichotomous contrast between black and white, but in the shades of grey that are in between the two extreme poles. In East Asia, extremes should be avoided and the middle path should be taken. Although Western science and technology have been adopted, traditional epistemological beliefs that emphasize human-relatedness coexist with, and have not been replaced by, individualistic Western epistemologies.

Confucianism

Confucius (551-479 B.C.) saw the universe and all living things in it as a manifestation of a unifying force called the *Doe* (道, Truth, Unity,

or the Way). *Doe* constitutes the very essence, basis, and unit of life that perpetuates order, goodness, and righteousness (Lew, 1977). *Doe* manifests itself in humans through *duk (*德, virtue). Virtue is a gift received from Heaven and it is the "locus of where Heaven and I meet" (Lew, 1977, p. 154). Virtue can be realized through self-cultivation. It provides the fundamental source of insight and strength to rule peacefully and harmoniously within oneself, one's family, one's nation, and the world.

In Confucianism the following the Way or the *Doe* is the basis of governance. A person follows the way of the *Doe* by developing one's Virtue (德). Morality and Virtue are the basis of Confucian governance: "Guide them by edicts, keep them in line with punishments, and the common people will stay out of trouble but will have no sense of shame. Guide them by virtue, keep them in line with the rites, and they will, besides having a sense of shame, reform themselves" (Analects, II.3)

When Confucius was asked about government, he answered as follows: "To govern is to correct. If you set an example by being correct, who would dare to remain incorrect?" (XII.17). Only by setting a moral example, a leader can rule the people: "If a man is correct in his own person, then there will be obedience without orders being given; but if he is not correct in his own person, there will not be obedience even though orders are given" (XIII.6)

The state is considered to be an extension of family. Ideal ruler is like a benevolent father who takes care of his family members. Lau (1979)

points out that in Confucianism, "the common people should be treated with the same loving care given to babies who cannot fend for themselves and Mencius describes such rulers as father and mother to the people" (p. 37). Moreover, "Confucius advocated a strong paternalism in government and this remained unchanged as a basic principle throughout the whole history of Confucianism" (p. 36-37).

For a ruler, earning the trust of the people is considered essential. When Tzu-kung asked Confucius about government, he answered as follows (Analects, XII.7):

Confucius: *Give them enough food, given them enough arms, and the common people will have trust in you.*
Tsu-kung: *If one had to give up one of these three, which should one give up first?*
Confucius*: Give up arms.*
Tzu-kung*: If one had to give up one of the remaining two, which should one give up first?*
Confucius: *Give up food. Death has always been with us since the beginning of time, but when there is no trust, the common people will have nothing to stand on.*

Confucianism in modern East Asia

In modern East Asia, Asian leaders have often used Confucianism to justify their government policies and program and even their authoritarian rule. President Park Chung-hee was the first Asian leader who used Korean culture to justify his authoritarian rule. Other leaders such as prime minister Lee Kwan Yew of Singapore, Mahathir bin Muhammad of Malaysia reject the universality

of Western democracy and argued that there are fundamental value differences in Asia. Scholars, such as Tu Wei-Ming, joined forces with the politicians and used Confucianism to defend Asian values. This debate became known as the Asian values debate.

In this debate, Confucianism is often used to justify authoritarian rule and denying citizens basic human rights. The position also reifies indirectly ingroup favoritism, nepotism and corruption. However, such a position is a gross distortion of Confucianism. Firstly, Confucius was a forceful advocate of selecting government officials based on merit and have not advocated, supported, or justified nepotism, ingroup favoritism or dictatorship. These are the basic problems that he was fighting against. Confucius felt that a person who has cultivated Virtue should become a government official and should serve the larger public. In Confucianism, learning and holding a government position are considered a twin activity. In other words, "when a man in office finds that he can more than cope with his duties, then he studies; when a student finds that he can more than cope with his studies, then he takes office" (Analects, XIX.13). He has pointed out that, "to give these qualities their fullest realization the gentleman must take part in government" (XV.32).

Although the basis of the self and interpersonal relationship is morality, the goal is to expand the boundary of morality beyond the family and community to include the nation and the world. Confucian philosophy separates personal private life (私) from public life (公) and he advocated a different set of principles and rules. In private

life, such as the family setting, Confucian morality focuses on Human-Heartedness (仁) and Rightness (義). In the public life, Propriety (禮), Knowledge (智) and Trust (信) must also be included. For this reason, education was essentially for all people who held public offices, and especially the ruler. An individual must learn that public life include many people and many dimensions. An individual had to navigate between the personal and public spheres and to balance the demands of the two. It is achieving the *balance* and *harmony* between individual and collective needs and not the denial of individual rights that is the ultimate goal. The key to achieving this balance and harmony is morality and it was considered the basic foundation for ones legitimacy, credibility, and effectiveness.

Confucius advocates his ideas more than 2,500 years ago and we must interpret his teachings in the appropriate historical context. Although he is considered the leading philosopher in East Asia, his ideas were not accepted during his lifetime. He only managed to become a mayor of small town during his lifetime since his ideas were considered revolutionary. Confucian ideas have been subsequently accepted and institutionalized over the past 2,500 years. Confucian cultures have evolved from the traditional agricultural communities to rapidly developing industrialized nations. Many people think that East Asian societies have simply Westernized, but the situation is much more complex.

Although some aspects of Western cultures have been adopted, the more significant changes involve the transformation of Confucian cultures

Table 1. Transformation of Confucian values

Rural	Urban
Agricultural	Industrial
Past-oriented	Future-oriented
Extended-family	Nuclear family
Ancestor	Children
Status quo	Change
Conservatism	Progress
Harmony with nature	Control environment
Formalism	Pragmatism
Cooperation	Competition
Sex differentiation	Equality

that now emphasize the future rather than the past. (See Table 1). In the traditional agricultural communities, conservatism, formalism, status quo, cooperation, and harmony with nature were emphasized. There was the emphasis on the extended family, elderly and ancestors, with strict sex-role differentiation. In modern urban areas, the emphasis is placed upon progress, change, pragmatism, competition and control over the environment. The nuclear family replaced the traditional extended family and the focus is on children, with significantly less sex-role differentiation. Although the emphasis has been changed from the past to the future, the importance of human relationship and emotional bonds remains strong.

Capitalism, communism and liberalism that evolved in the West were externally imposed in Asia through colonization. Although many countries are still struggling, attempting to cope with the destructive forces, East Asian countries were able to develop collective strategies that were compatible with both modernization and with their traditional cultural values (Kim, 1988). Industrialization, urbanization, and capitalism have not significantly altered the underlying cultural value system that emphasizes human relationship, emotional bonds and harmony in the family. The phenomenal economic, educational and political progresses have been achieved because of the maintenance of human-relatedness, and not in spite of it.

Democracy in Korea

Although Korea has a long history, experiences with modern democracy have been limited. Confucianism was adopted around 1,500 years ago as the ruling political ideology. When Yi Dynasty was found in 1392, Confucianism became the sole guideline for political governance and it also became the guideline for social and private life. During the 19th century, as a staunch neo-Confucian state, Korea resisted all attempts to modernize and internationalize, until she was forcefully colonized by Japan in 1910. When Korea was liberated by the Allied forces in 1945 from Japan, Korea was arbitrarily divided along the ideological line by the Soviet Union and the USA. Politics in South Korea has been deeply enmeshed with the Cold War mentality that followed the division of the two Koreas and still persists in modern Korea.

According to Choi (1993), although USA publicly supported the democratization in South Korea, institutionalization of liberal democracy was relatively low in the priority list. The US military

government placed anti-communism as its top priority and the creation of a market economy as its second priority. In 1948, it supported the authoritarian rule of Rhee Syung-man as the first president of South Korea (henceforth abbreviated as Korea) and enacted the National Security Law to control the spread, proliferation, and rise of communism. The National Security Law gave the US military and South Korean governments the right to use coercive force against any Korean citizen who challenged their authority. The goal was to suppress all dissent and eliminate all oppositions, all the way from the socialist Left to conservative Right.

For the next five years after the liberation, the Korean peninsula became the battlefront for ideological supremacy leading to the Korean War in 1950. The Korean War lasted for three year in which more than three million people lost their lives and 10 million people were dislocated and separated from their family members. With the tentative armistice agreement signed in 1953, the Korean peninsula continued the legacy of Cold War politics. After the Korean War, the size of the Korean army quadrupled to 600,000 and police were given expanded powers. Rhee's government was totally dependent on the aid from the US government, with 70% of its total budget coming from the USA.

On April 19, 1960 students protested against the rigged March 15 election and pervasive corruption and incompetence. Rhee declared martial law and police was mobilized to suppress the student demonstration. When the troop refused to take action against the demonstrators,

Rhee was forced to resign on April 26. On August, the National Assembly elected Yun Bo-sun as the successor.

On May 16, 1961 general Park Chung-hee led a *coup d'etat* and declared a martial law. In March 1962, Yun Bo-sun was forced to resign and Park appointed himself as the acting president. In the October 1963 election, Park narrowly defeated Yun Bo-sun to become the president. Upon taking office, Park criticized Western democracy and supported a guided democracy that would limit freedom of speech and press for the greater good of society. Park pointed out that a strong leadership was essential in transforming a backward Korea and supported the idea of Korean democracy. He is one of the first Asian leaders to use cultural relativism to criticize Western democracy and to defend his authoritarian regime.

Rather than focusing on the development of a civil society, Park focused on national security interests as the top priority and economic progress as the basis of the development of a strong state. Park felt that the USA was using liberal democracy and human rights as a way of controlling and protecting their own interests, while keeping Korea economically and politically dependent. Park rejected the forced dependency created by the USA and lashed out against expansionist policy pursued by the USA. The USA did not support Park and his policies. The USA attempted to block his *coup d'etat* in 1961 and rejected Park's Five Year plan.

Since Park believed existing light industries would not transform the Korean economy, he pushed for the development of heavy industries

(such as car manufacturing, steel industry, shipbuilding, and construction). Since USA was unwilling to provide the necessary technological and financial assistance to support and realize these initiatives, Park turned to Japan. On December 18, 1965, Park signed the normalization of diplomatic relationship with Japan. As a compensation for the damages for their 35 years of colonial occupation, the Japanese government paid the Korean government $200 million in compensation, $300 million in investment loans (Federation of Korean Industries, 1991; Sakong, 1993).

The Korean public was outraged when they learned about the palty settlement and for not obtaining a formal apology from the Japanese government. Even with the fierce opposition, Park push ahead with his Five Year Plan and used the money obtained from the Japanese government to invest in heavy industries and transforming Korean economy.

For Park, Japanese society and economy provided an ideal model for Korea. As early as 1963, Park stated that the "case of the Meiji imperial restoration will be of great help to the performance of our own revolution, and my interest in this direction remains strong and constant" (Amsden, 1989, p. 52). Korea adopted tested Japanese technologies and followed the example and direction laid out by Japan. Japan became Korea's most important trading partner after 1965. Thousands of managers, engineers, skilled workers, and company executives went to Japan to learn about modern Japanese technology and management style. In terms of technology

transfer payments for importing foreign technology from 1962 to 1976, Japan was ranked first with 56.1% of the total, followed by the USA with 29.7% (Sakong, 1993). The foreign direct investment from Japan increased tenfold after 1965. For the total direct foreign investment from 1962 to 1991, 43.4% came from Japan, and the USA was the distant second with 27.6% (Sakong, 1993).

At the beginning of the 1960's, Korea had all the problems of a resource-poor, low-income, under-developed nation. The vast majority of people were dependent on agricultural products produced on scarce farmland. The literacy rate and educational level was one of the lowest in the world. Korea's per capita GNP in 1961 stood at a meagre $82, and she was considered one of the poorest nations in the world. From 1965, however, Korea experienced a phenomenal transformation in the economic, education and social sectors. The economy grew at an average annual rate of over 8%, to become one of the fastest growing economies in the world. The per capita GNP increased to $1,640 in 1981 and by 1997, it has increased to $10,000.

Although Park's policies did now allow for any dissent in the political sphere, his economic policy has transformed Korea as the most rapidly developing economy in the modern era. Park's strong leadership was a double-edge sword. Under his strong leadership, large-scale corruption, incompetence and nepotism that have plagued the previous governments, were controlled. His initiated guided development and supported the *jaebol* (large conglomerates) on a contingency-

based model. In other words, few and select number of companies (e.g., Daewoo, Hyundai, LG, and Samsung) received heavy subsides from the government and monopoly of the domestic market on the condition that they use the profit to become competitive in the international market. At the same time, his strong leadership was absolutist and did not allow for any dissent or opposition from political opposition, such as Kim Young-sam and Kim Dae-jung.

Political sphere

Park Chung-hee placed national security and economic development as the highest priorities. Park used the threat from North Korea to justify his dictatorship and ruled with iron-fist. Using the National Security Law, political dissidents (such as Kim Dae-jung and Kim Yong-sam) were arrested, harassed and tortured. It was used to deny Korean citizens their basic human rights. Park ruled Korea with iron-fist for nearly 20 years (1961-1979), until he was assassinated on October 26, 1979.

With the political crisis, a martial law was declared and Choe Kyu-ha was named as the acting president. On December 12, 1979 General Chun Doo-hwan initiated a bloody military *coup d'etat*, and took over military control. On April 1980, when students demonstrated against the government, Chun declared martial law on May 17. Around 30 political leaders were put under house arrest, the National Assembly was dissolved, and all political activities were banned. On August 16, Choe Kyu-ha was forced to resign

and Chun appointed himself as the president on September 1. As soon as Chun took office, he replaced the National Assembly with 81 appointees and dismissed 937 editors and journalists and forced newspapers, radio and TV stations to consolidate under the government's control.

Under his rule, he was able to control the high level of inflation that was plaguing the nation. The oil crisis in the late 1970's led to the double-digit inflation in Korea and stifled the export-driven economy. Although Chun was hated for the oppressive and authoritarian regime, nepotism and corruption, he is recognized for controlling the high level of inflation and for stepping down after just one term.

Chun appointed General Roh Tae-woo, who assisted in the 1979 *coup d'etat*, as his presidential successor in June 1987. Over a million people demonstrated in cities across the country to protest the continued dictatorial rule, nepotism and corruption. During this time, with the ousting of Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines by a popular uprising, the US government made it clear to Roh that it will not support the imposition of a martial law. On June 29, 1987, Roh was forced to accept political reforms, direct president elections, and restoration of civil rights. With the breakdown of the coalition between opposition leaders Kim Yong-sam and Kim Dae-jung, Roh was elected as the new president on February 25, 1988. It represented a first peaceful transfer of power in modern South Korea. Roh's major accomplishment was his Northern Policy, which paved the way for signing a diplomatic relationship with its former Cold

War enemies (i.e., Soviet Union and China).

Before the 1993 election, Kim Yong-sam joined the Roh's government and he was elected as the first civilian president. Kim Yong-sam enjoyed more that 90% of the popular support for his anti-corruption movement. The support, however, gradually waned with his failure to control corruption and with the ailing economy, which collapsed at the end of 1997.

When Kim Dae-jung was elected in 1997, for the first time political power was peacefully transferred to an opposition leader. When Kim Dae-jung took over the country, the economy shrank more than 30%. He led the country from the economic collapse to economic recovery. The Korean government has paid the loans received from the International Monetary Funds and the Korean economy has recovered from the crisis. His Sunshine Policy received international attention when he traveled to Pyongyang on June 15, 2000 for a historic summit meeting with Kim Jong-il. On 2000, he received international recognition when he was awarded the Rafto Prize for Human Rights and the Nobel Peace Prize for promoting peace and dialogue with North Korea. During the closing years of his presidency, however, his government has been marred by corruption and nepotism.

Looking back to the past 50 years, it is ironic that under the authoritarian regime, Korean economy grew at a phenomenal rate and corruption was under control. However, with the election of the first civilian government, corruption and mismanagement nearly destroyed the country. With the election of the first opposition leader as the president, Kim Dae-jung, hopes for flowering democracy and re-unification with North Korea blossomed. With the stalled talks with North Korea and charges of corruption and nepotism, and with the new revelation about North Korea's nuclear program, people's optimism has faded and transformed into anger, cynicism and alienation.

Political efficacy and trust

Although the basic ideas of democracy (i.e., political participation, representation, liberties, and decision-making) are widely accepted, these ideas are constituted and implemented in a particular cultural context. An empirical study was conducted with a national sample in 2000 to examine whether Korean cultural values affect peoples perception of good government, rights, leadership, democracy, values, and social relations, with specific focus on political efficacy and trust. It is a part of a larger collaborative study that examines political cultures in East Asia and Nordic countries.

Political participation is a key aspect of democracy and it is influenced by political efficacy (Almond & Power, 1978; Boyer & Ahn, 1991; Sigelman & Feldman, 1983). Campbell, Gurin and Miller (1954) define political efficacy as the belief that individuals are effective in having an impact on the political process and system (i.e., the *input process*). Political inefficacy represents the feelings of powerlessness, alienation and ignorance of the current political system. Easton and Dennis (1967) measured political inefficacy by the following

three statement: 1) *Bureaucrats don't care much what people like me think*, 2) *People like me don't have any influence on what government does*, and 3) *Politics seem so complicated that people like me can't really understand what is going on*. Political efficacy is the negation of the above three statements.

Political trust refers to peoples views about the *outputs* of the system, such as the trust of politicians, political system, and institutions. Gamson (1968) defines political trust as the feeling that the government is acting on behalf of individuals or public's interest, whether or not individuals participate in the political process. Hardin (1998) cites an anonymous Greek philosopher who states: "The first result of lawfulness is trust, which greatly benefits all people and is among the greatest goods. The result of trust is that property has common benefits, so that even just a little property suffices, since it is circulated, whereas without this even a great amount does not suffice" (p. 9). Similarly, John Locke pointed out that "the relationship of citizens to government is one of trust, not one of contract" (Hardin, 1998, p.9). Even Confucius (1979) considered trust as the most importance basis for governance.

By combining political efficacy with trust, Paige (1971) identified four political orientations: *Allegiant* (high efficacy and high trust), *Dissident* (high efficacy and low trust), *Subordinate* (low efficacy and high trust), and *Alienated* (low efficacy and low trust). (See Table 2). In the *Allegiant* orientation, Paige (1971) points out that individuals feel that the government will be run in their interests and that they can influence it when necessary and thus they will be active

Table 2. Political orientation

Trust \ Political efficacy	High	Low
High	**Allegiant**	**Subordinate**
Low	**Dissident**	**Alienated**

supporters of the existing political structure. *Alienation*, in contrast, is characterized by withdrawal from the system: "Despite the fact that this group regards the existing political structure as unfair, their low level of political interest and information will prevent them from supporting even radical political movements." *Dissident* orientation represents people who believe that "the government is regarded as untrustworthy and there is a feeling that something can and should be done about it." Finally, *Subordinates* believe that the government is acting in their best interests, and it leads to a loyal, unquestioning faith in the existing political structure" (p. 811-813).

Method

A workshop was held in Copenhagen, Denmark in October 1997 to discuss broad guidelines for the research cooperation and to draft a pilot questionnaire. Based on the workshop, a pilot survey was conducted in 1998. A final questionnaire was developed through collaborative interdisciplinary cooperation. The survey questionnaire covers the areas of government policies, trust, political efficacy, rights, leadership, values, and social relations. The

full questionnaire can be found at http://eurasia.nias.ku.dk/epcren.

For questions with several items, factor analysis was conducted. Based on the factor analysis, items that loaded higher than .30 on a particular factor were combined into a scale. The number of items, mean, standard deviation, and Cronbach alpha of the scales are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Scale mean, Standard deviation, and Cronbach *alpha*

Scales/variables	Items	Mean (SD)	Alpha
Discuss: Ingroup	3	2.49 (.67)	.65
Colleagues	2	2.54 (.75)	.81
Disagreement: Ingroup	3	1.98 (.55)	.63
Colleagues	2	2.04 (.55)	.83
Political efficacy	3	2.17 (.69)	.69
Influence: Informal	4	1.17 (.30)	.64
Formal	4	1.45 (.26)	.42
Candidate: Integrity	4	3.27 (.53)	.66
Party	1	2.38 (.95)	-
Trust: Political	2	1.61 (.62)	.78
Institutions	8	2.11 (.52)	.84
Strangers	3	2.10 (.60)	.72
Colleagues	2	2.51 (.61)	.66
Ingroup members	3	3.09 (.60)	.60
Rights: Importance	6	3.21 (.55)	.79
Satisfaction	1	2.64 (.62)	.84
Leader: Moral	3	3.23 (.47)	.57
Disinterested	1	2.95 (.81)	-
Manipulative	1	2.01 (.84)	-
Strong	4	2.90 (.53)	.56
Social status	1	4.74 (1.56)	-
Political wing	1	6.07 (1.97)	-
Political functioning	1	3.99 (1.73)	-
Life-satisfaction	1	5.20 (1.82)	-

Scale and variables names are capitalized. As shown in Table 3, the Cronbach alpha for the scales showed an acceptable level of reliability.

A four-point response format (1=Not at all to 4=Very Much, 1=Strongly Disagree to 4= Strongly Agree) was adopted for most scales. A 3-point scale was used for Disagree Ingroup and Disagree Colleague (1=try to win them over, 2=keep silent, and 3=pretend to agree) and Political Influence (1=never, 2=sometimes, 3= often). An 11-point scale was used for the following scales: Political Functioning (0=working very badly to 10=working very well), Social Status (0=low, 5=middle, and 10=high), Political Wing (0=Left, 5=Center, and 10=Right), and Life-Satisfaction (0=very dissatisfied to 10=very satisfied).

The results provided in the tables are divided into the following seven sections: Background information, Political Participation, Leadership, Trust, Values, and Beliefs. For the section on government policy, Welfare State consists of support for the following government programs: Social welfare, education, social security, unemployment benefits, fighting crime, and eliminating poverty. Economic Growth and Fighting Pollution are one item question that assess whether government should support these programs. Also, items assessed respondents willingness to pay taxes for Aid to Developing Nations and Environmental Protection. Active Government represents respondents support for the active government role in society and the Free-market represents respondents demand for less interference from the government and allowing free-market

forces to determine the outcome.

For the section of Political Participation, Discuss Ingroup consists discussing political issues with family members, a close friend, and neighbors. Discuss Colleagues consists of a close colleague and a superior. For Disagreement Ingroup, it assessed whether a person would try to win them over, keep silent, or try to pretend to agree when they disagree with family members, neighbors, and a close friend. For Disagreement Colleagues, it includes a close colleague and a superior. For political influence, Influence Informal involves participating in non-governmental organizations, such as using family network, contacting the media, and working through organizations such as the trade union. Influence Formal involves voting, contacting government officials, and working through political parties.

For leadership, the Candidate Integrity includes the four items that voters would look for in a political candidate in an election: Candidates political ideas, moral character, strong leadership, and independence from economic interests. Candidate Party consists of one item, linked to candidates party affiliation. Moral Leader consists of items that emphasize morality, harmony, and paternalism. Disinterested Leader consists of one item, which states that leaders stop thinking about the interests of people after taking office. Manipulative Leader is a person who understands the political power game. Strong Leader consists of items that support loyal, strong and moral leadership.

For trust, Trust Political consists of trusting the National Assembly and political parties. Trust

Institutions includes trade union, media, legal system, public offices, police, armed forces, major companies and educational system. Trust Strangers is composed of university alumni, fellow countryman, and foreigners. Trust Colleagues includes colleagues and superiors. Trust Ingroup Members includes family, friends, and neighbors.

For values, respondents were asked how important the following values are in socializing their children. The scale, Value Responsible, consists of the following eight items: Good manner, independence, hard work, responsibility, tolerance, respect, and thrift. Value Submissiveness consists of religious faith, unselfishness, and obedience. Value Determination consists of determination, creativity, the ability to think for oneself, self-restraint, and ambition.

In the section on beliefs, Importance of Rights consists of the respondents support for the following rights: the rights to vote, participate in organizations, demonstrate, to be fully informed of functions of government, freedom of speech and to criticize government. Respondents were also asked whether people are generally Trustworthy, Exploitive, Cooperative, Selfish, and whether ideal society is like a family (Family Ideal), parents have to earn respect from their children (Earn Respect) and good and evil applies all time (Universality).

In the background information section, in addition to the demographic information, respondents were asked their Social Status, how well the political system was functioning (Political Functioning), their Political Wing (from Left to Right), and Life-Satisfaction. Satisfaction with

Rights assesses how much the respondents are satisfied with the above six rights. Finally, respondents were asked whether they voted in the last presidential election (1=Yes and 2=No), how much time they spend reading newspaper daily (Read Newspaper), and watching news on the television (Watch TV).

Cluster analysis was conducted linking political efficacy with trust. The cluster analysis is based on the respondents' scores on three items of political efficacy and 10 items of institutional trust. The K-Means method was employed as the algorithm since the sample size of this study was large (Dilon & Goldstein, 1984). The number of clusters was set in advance to four. For political efficacy, the coding was reversed so that higher the number, the higher the political efficacy.

Sampling. The population in the Korean survey is the entire Korean population over the age 20 years. Hyundai Research Institute conducted the interviews in April 2000. The sampling was carried out by the use of a multi-stage stratified quota sampling. The target size was 1,000 respondents and to secure this sample size and a total of 1,150 people were contacted.

Results

Background information. In terms of sample characteristics, there were equal number of men and women in both samples. (See Table 4). The mean age was 40 and majority of respondents have graduated from at least from senior high school. Nearly 40% of the respondents had no

religion, 31% were Christians (21%=Protestants and 10%= Catholics), and 26% were Buddhist. As for employment, around a quarter worked for a private employer, or they were self-employed or a housewife. In terms of type of occupation, nearly 20% were in sales, and around 10% were white-collar workers or managers.

In terms of birthplace, around a third of the respondents were born in Yongnam district (Southeast Korea), followed by 25% in Seoul or Gyonggi province, 23% in Honam district (Southwest Korea), and 14% in Chungchung province. Around half of the respondents were born in rural areas and a quarter born in large cities. For family income, 9% of the respondents feel that they earn more than the average, 66% report middle income, 22% report low income, and 4% report inadequate income. In terms of party preference, 39% support the Grand National Party, 27% support the Millennium Democratic Party, 7% support United Liberal Democratic Party and 17% report no preference.

Cross-tabulation

Cross-tabulation between Party Preference with Sex, Education, Employment Status, Type of Occupation, Income, and Religion did not provide a clear pattern of meaningful results. The only cross-tabulation that provided a clear pattern is the cross-tabulation between Party Preference with Birthplace. Table 5 presents the results. There is clear and strong evidence supporting the influence of regionalism in party politics. Majority of respondents from the Youngnam district supported

Table 4. Background information

Age:　　　Mean=39.6　　　SD =13.0
Sex:　　　Men=497　　　Women=503
Marital status: Married=745 Single=227 Widowed=23 Divorced, separated, living with partner=5

Education		Religious affiliation	
No formal education	34	Protestant	208
Primary school	105	Catholic	106
Junior high School	29	Buddhism	257
Senior High school	253	Others	36
Vocational education/training	263	No religion	393
University	304		

Employment status		Type of occupation	
Work for a private employer	252	Unskilled worker	30
Work for the government	37	Skilled worker	59
Self-employed	277	White collar worker	111
Work for the family business	68	Manager	101
Student	62	Academic/professional	64
Retired	10	Helping in the family business	73
Unemployed	65	Sales	197
Housewife	227	Other	1
Other	2		

Birthplace		Size of birthplace	
Seoul/Kyunggi	254	Large city	267
Choongchung	144	Small city	279
Honam	227	Rural area	454
Youngnam	309		
Kangwon	52		
Cheju	2		
Other	12		

Family income		Party preference	
Inadequate income	41	Grand National Party	386
Low income	215	Millennium Democratic Party	271
Middle income	659	United Liberal Democrats	46
Above middle	80	Democratic People's Party	66
High income	5	Independent candidate	23
		Korea Youth Progress Party	2
		Democratic Labor Party	5
		Progressive Labor Party	1
		Other	18
		No preference	174
		Not applicable	8

Table 5. Cross-tabulation of birthplace with party preference

Birth place \ Party	Grand National Party	Millennium Democratic Party	United Liberal Democrats	Democratic People's Party	Other	No preference
Seoul/Gyunggi	83 (21.5)	63 (23.2)	9 (19.6)	28 (42.4)	18 (36.7)	51 (29.3)
Choongchung	40 (10.4)	33 (12.2)	**25 (54.3)**	6 (9.1)	9 (18.4)	30 (17.2)
Honam	15 (3.9)	**145 (53.5)**	3 (6.5)	17 (25.8)	4 (8.2)	42 (24.1)
Youngnam	**223 (57.8)**	16 (5.9)	6 (13.0)	12 (18.2)	17 (34.7)	34 (19.5)
Kangwon	22 (5.7)	11 (4.1)	2 (4.3)	3 (4.5)	1 (2.0)	12 (6.9)
Other	3 (.8)	3 (1.1)	1 (2.2)			5 (2.9)
Total	386 (100)	271 (100)	46 (100)	66 (100)	49 (100)	174 (100)

the Grand National Party. Majority of the respondents from Hoam district supported the Millennium Democratic Party. Finally, majority of the respondents from the Choongchung province supported the United Liberal Democratic Party. These results lend additional support that in Korea regionalism dominates party politics and social class, education, occupational status, and religion seem to play a very minor role.

Sample mean

As for background information, majority of the respondents felt that they were in the middle class and in the middle of the Political Wing, with a slightly more people leaning to the Right. (See Table 3). In terms of Political Functioning, most people feel that it is not functioning well. In terms of Life-Satisfaction, majority of the respondents are fairly satisfied with their life. As for Satisfaction of Rights, it is rather low. Finally, respondents were likely to read newspaper everyday but less likely to watch new on the

television.

For the other scales, since 4-point response format was used for most of the scales, the midpoint of the scale would be 2.5. For government policies, respondents strongly support Fight Pollution, Active Government, and Protect Environment. They moderately support the ideas of Welfare State. They are against supporting Aid to Developing Nations. The support for Free-market is divided; with a slightly more number of people who are against the policy.

In terms of Political Participation, respondents are likely to political issues with their Colleagues and Ingroup. In a disagreement, respondents are more likely keep silent or pretend to agree rather than try to win them over. The overall mean for Political Efficacy is low. In attempting to influence the government, both Influence Formal and Influence Informal are low. These results suggest that respondents do not feel that they have much influence in the political sphere.

In terms of political candidates, respondents report that Candidate Integrity is very important,

while Candidate Party is only somewhat important. In terms of leadership, respondents favor a Moral and Strong leader. They were also willing to accepted Disinterested leader, but they were not willing to accept Manipulative leader.

In terms of trust, although respondents trusted their Ingroup Members, they were less likely to trust their Colleagues, and they are not likely to trust Strangers. They had very low trust for Institutions and a very low level for Political institutions. For Values, respondents strongly support the values of Responsible, followed by Determination. They are not likely to support the values of Submissiveness.

Finally, in terms of beliefs respondents strongly support the Importance of Rights. Most respondents endorse that the idea that ideal society is like a family (Family Ideal). They also believe that parents have to Earn Respect from their children. Respondents have a balanced view about people; that people are basically Cooperative and at the same time people are basically Selfish. Similarly, they do not believe that people are basically Trustworthy nor they are Exploitive. Finally, they do not believe in Universality.

Correlational analysis

Table 6 presents the correlational analysis between Political Efficacy and Trust with background information, political participation and attitudes. (See Table 6). Those respondents with higher Political Efficacy are more likely to be younger, men, with higher education, income, social status and they are less likely to Read Newspaper daily.

They are more likely to support the government policy of Welfare State, Aid to Developing Nations, and Protect Environment and less likely to support Economic Growth, Fight Pollution, and Active Government. In terms of political participation, they are more likely discuss political issues with Ingroup Members and Colleagues and more likely to try to win over others in a disagreement. They feel that they can influence the government, both Formally and Informally. They are less likely to feel candidate's Integrity and Party to be important and less likely to support any type of leadership. They are more likely to trust both Strangers and Colleagues. They are less likely to endorse the values of Responsible and Determination. They are less likely to believe in the Family Ideal and people are basically Cooperative. The results indicate that respondents with higher Political Efficacy are well-educated, with relatively high socio-economic status and actively engaged in politics. They are independent minded people who are less influenced by others or by leaders.

Those people who trust Institutions and Political System are older, with lower education. They feel that political system is functioning fairly well, are satisfied with their Rights and have higher Life-Satisfaction. They are more likely have voted in the last presidential election. They are more likely to support Aid to Developing Nations and Active Government. They are more likely to discuss political issues with Colleagues and would try to keep silent in a disagreement. They feel that they can influence the government, both Formally and Informally. They are less likely to

Table 6. Correlation analysis with political efficacy and trust

Variables	Political efficacy	Trust: Political system	Trust: Institutions
Government Policy			
Welfare state	.17**	-	-
Economic growth	-.10**	-	-
Fight pollution	-.10**	-	-
Aid to developing nation	.23**	.14**	.10**
Protect environment	.23**	-	-
Active government	-.11**	.13**	.09**
Political Participation			
Discuss Ingroup	.08*	-	-
Discuss Colleagues	.21**	-	-
Disagreement Ingroup	-.12**	-	-
Disagreement Colleagues	-.16**	-	-
Influence Informal	.17**	.07*	.08*
Influence Formal	.12**	.20**	.13**
Leadership			
Candidate Integrity	-.13**	-	-
Candidate Party	-.12**	.23**	.08**
Moral leader	-.13**	-	.07*
Disinterested leader	-.23**	-.21**	-.12**
Manipulative leader	-.10**	.12**	.23**
Strong leadership	-.21**	-	.10
Trust: Stranger	.12**	.13**	.21**
Colleagues	.13**	.17**	.20**
Ingroup Members	-	.14**	.16**
Value: Responsible	-.08*	-	-
Submissiveness	-	.07*	-
Determination	-.10**	-.08	-
Beliefs			
Importance of right	-	-.12**	-
Exploitive	-	-.07*	-
Earn respect	-	-	-
Cooperative	-.09**	.10**	.15**
Family ideal	-.13**	-	.10**
Background Information			
Age	-.14**	.13**	.12**
Education	.24**	-.12**	-.12**
Income	.07*	-	-
Marital status	-	-	-
Job status	.12**	-	-
Social status	.11**	-	-
Political functioning	-	.36**	.38**
Satisfaction with right	-	.20**	.26**
Life satisfaction	-	.07*	.12**
Read newspaper	-.15**	-	-
Watch TV	-	-	-
Voted in election	-	-.17**	-.11**

support Disinterested leader and more likely to support Moral, Strong and even Manipulative leader. They are more likely to trust Strangers, Colleagues, and Ingroup Members. They support the Family Ideal and believe people are basically Cooperative. The results indicate that that people with high trust of Political System and Institutions are older respondents with less education. They have compliant, conforming and optimistic attitudes. They want strong leaders and government who could provide for them and take care of them. They are fairly satisfied with their life and with the existing political system.

The correlation analyses provide an interesting contrast between Political Efficacy and Trust. People with high Political Efficacy are relatively independent minded individuals who want to change the existing system. The respondents with high trust of Political System and Institutions have more compliant attitudes and are willing to accept the system as is.

Cluster analysis

The results of cluster analysis are presented in Table 7. (See Table 7). Although four distinct

Table 7. Cluster analysis

Political efficacy	Cluster				Total	F
	Alienated (N=278)	Subordinate (N=228)	Dissident (N=273)	Discontent (N=221)		
Bureaucrats don't care (-)	1.71 (.67)	1.95 (.71)	2.58 (.77)	2.04 (.79)	208 (.80)	68.441***
I don't have any influence (-)	1.65 (.64)	1.77 (.66)	2.99 (.68)	2.35 (.86)	2.80 (.90)	200.226***
I don't understand politics (-)	1.68 (.66)	1.73 (.67)	3.30 (.71)	2.54 (.87)	2.75 (.93)	210.784***
Total	1.68 (.45)	1.82 (.49)	2.87 (.46)	2.31 (.60)	2.17 (.93)	315.1***
Trust: Parliament	1.30 (.47)	1.89 (.72)	1.83 (.66)	1.14 (.34)	1.54 (.65)	106.522***
Political parties	1.46 (.59)	2.16 (.74)	1.87 (.66)	1.18 (.40)	1.67 (.71)	116.028***
Trade unions	1.95 (.57)	2.46 (.75)	2.21 (.65)	1.61 (.69)	2.06 (.73)	69.834***
Media	2.04 (.55)	2.69 (.65)	2.28 (.66)	1.52 (.58)	2.14 (.73)	142.734***
Legal system	1.84 (.57)	2.63 (.67)	2.18 (.61)	1.23 (.43)	1.98 (.76)	233.544***
Public offices	1.90 (.54)	2.78 (.58)	2.23 (.58)	1.33 (.50)	2.06 (.75)	274.391***
Police	1.91 (.51)	2.82 (.64)	2.18 (.64)	1.38 (.52)	2.07 (.76)	239.216***
Armed forces	2.28 (.72)	3.02 (.70)	2.55 (.74)	1.47 (.66)	2.34 (.89)	189.769***
Major companies	1.77 (.57)	2.42 (.72)	2.00 (.68)	1.29 (.49)	1.88 (.73)	128.355***
Educational system	2.25 (.63)	3.02 (.60)	2.52 (.71)	1.68 (.60)	2.37 (.79)	174.829***
Total	1.87 (.21)	2.59 (.28)	2.19 (.30)	1.38 (.24)	2.01 (.49)	879.2***

clusters were found, only three clusters fit into Paige's (1971) conceptualization: *Dissident* (high efficacy and low trust), *Subordinate* (low efficacy and high trust), and *Alienated* (low efficacy and low trust). It is noteworthy to point out that *Allegiant* group (high efficacy and high trust) was not found in Korea. The fourth group has low Political Efficacy and Trust, but has a relatively higher means than the *Alienated* group and thus this group has been labeled as *Discontent*. A total of 278 respondents belong to the Alienated group, 228 to the Subordinate group, 273 to the Dissident group, and 221 to the Discontent group.

Duncan post-hoc analyses tested the significant mean differences among these four categories and the results are presented in Table 8. (See Table 8). Compared to the other groups, the Dissident group has the highest education, social status and are likely to be professionals. They are more likely to be younger and men. They feel that the political system is not working well and have a moderate level of Life-Satisfaction and Satisfaction with Rights. They support the government policy of Welfare State, Aid to Developing Nations, and Protect Environment and less likely support Economic Growth, Fight Pollution, and Active Government. They are more likely to discuss political issues with Colleagues and in a disagreement with Ingroup Members, they will try to win them over. They feel that they can influence the government to some degree, Formally and Informally and likely to have voted in the last presidential election. They are less likely to emphasize Candidates Integrity and less likely to support leaders who are Moral, Disinterested,

Manipulative or Strong. They are likely to Trust Strangers and Colleagues and less likely to support the Family Ideal.

The Alienated group is more likely to be younger, men, and with moderate degree of education, income and social status. They are less likely to support the government policy of Welfare State, Active Government, Aid to Developing Nations and Protect Environment, and more likely support Economic Growth. They are most likely to represent the center of the political wing and feel that the political system is not functioning well, and they are not satisfied with their Rights and with their Life. They feel that they cannot influence the government and are less likely to have voted in the last presidential election. They view Candidates Integrity to be important and Candidates Party as being less important. They are more likely to support Disinterested leader and less likely to support Strong leader. They are more likely to view people as being basically Selfish.

The Subordinate group, in contrast, is the oldest, with the lowest level of education, income and social status. They are most likely to feel that the political system is functioning well and they are satisfied with their Life and with their Rights. They support the government policy of Welfare State, Economic Growth, Fight Pollution, and Active Government. They are most likely to trust other people. They are more likely to read Newspaper, but less likely to discuss political issues with their Colleagues. They feel that they can influence the government Formally and more likely to have voted in the last presidential

election. They emphasize Candidates Integrity, Candidates Party, and support leaders who are Moral and Strong, even tolerate leaders who are Disinterested or Manipulative. They are more likely to Trust all people, including Strangers, Colleagues, and Ingroup Members. They believe that people are basically Cooperative and strongly support the Family Ideal.

Although the Discontent group have moderate income, social status, and education, they show greatest discontent in terms of feeling that political system is not working well, have the lowest Life-satisfaction, are least satisfied with their Rights, and least likely to Trust other people. They are more likely to support the government policy of Welfare State, but less likely to support Economic Growth, Fight Pollution, Active Government, and Aid to Developing Nations. They are more likely to discuss political issues with their Colleagues, and less likely to feel that they can influence the government both Formally and Informally. They emphasize Candidates Integrity, but not Candidates Party. They support Moral and Disinterested leaders, but do not support Strong or Manipulative leaders. They are least likely to trust all people, including Strangers, Colleagues, and Ingroup Members. They are least likely to believe that people are basically Cooperative and support the Family Ideal.

Discussion

Although the Korean respondents value the basic ideas of democracy (i.e., political participation, representation, liberties, and decision-making), the type of democracy they strive for is different from the Western model. Korean respondents want strong, moral and paternalistic leadership. In terms of discussing political issues and resolving disputes, the Korean respondents are more likely to discuss it with colleagues. In a disagreement, they are more likely keep silent or pretend to agree.

As with previous studies described above, there is a lack of trust of political parties and the National Assembly. The trust of other institutions was also low. This result parallels the belief that Korean respondents feel that the political system is not functioning well and they are not satisfied with their rights. It is interesting to note that in Korea the Allegiant group was not found, suggesting a high level of dissatisfaction with the government and political institutions

The results of this study parallels results found in the international index of corruption in which Korea has one of the highest score among the economically developed nations (ranked 48 in 2000, www.transparency.org). Since the Korean government has not implemented transparency, integrity, and accountability in terms of its policy and programs, there has been growing distrust of the government and feeling of alienation by people (*Donga Ilbo*, 2001; Kim, 2001). The results from Korea stand in contrast with results found in other Western countries. The difference does not represent a rejection of democratic ideals, but in how democracy is implemented. In Korea respondents want a strong and moral leader, but they feel the current the leadership is neither

moral nor strong. They feel that they cannot influence the government and feel alienated from the system.

The greatest strength of democracy is that it allows greatest number of people to participate in the decision-making process. It is the role of political leaders to allow diverse opinions to emerge and integrate this information into concrete policies and programs. Democracy is a collective process in which citizens participate in the creative process. It provides us with a sense of ownership and accomplishment. Political discussion and participants are essential ingredients. The process of developing, maintaining, and creating a peaceful, democratic state in which human rights, dignity, and ideas are respected on the one hand, and collective welfare and social harmony are maintained on the other, must be an ongoing process. The challenge that rests before Korea is how to implement the ideals of democracy with transparency, integrity and accountability.

The basic ideals of democracy and human rights are not like natural laws and they are not self-evidently true. Every time a child is born into a community, it is our responsibility to articulate, communicate, and teach the basic ideas and skills of democracy. We must recognize that a society we hold dear and that we have built for our children can be perceived as prisons by our children; created by adults and imposed upon them. We must also allow our children to participate in the building and renewal process. However, modern democracies do not allow our children to participate in the key democratic process of voting until the age of 18 or 19. In

Korea, democratic ideals are often not practiced in family, school, and companies (Kim, 2001). In East Asia, paternalistic, relational and emotional bonds often supersede the development of rational and democratic decision-making (Kim, 2001). Although strong emotional and relational bond are necessary in family and close ingroup relationships, a separate, rational and democratic decision-making and skills need to be used in public situations.

In East Asia, role-based paternalism has been extended to the public settings and it had led to dysfunctional outcomes such as corruption, nepotism and factionalism (Kim, 2001). Koreans need to adopt a dual-based system to deal with the complexity of modern life: a role-based system for families and tight ingroups and a principle-based merit system for public settings. As seen in the Korean results, although Koreans trust ingroup members, they do not trust strangers and institutions. In other words, in order for a fully functioning civil society to develop in Korea, Koreans need to learn to build and support viable institutions that would allow provide people with equal access and to be treated equally based on accepted principles and standards. This idea is inherent in East Asian philosophy of separating the private from the public and having two separates rules for inside and outside (Kim, 2001). The results indicate that this is not the case in Korea since respondents had very low level of trust of institutions.

Although Fukuyama heralds the triumphs of modern liberal democracy, democracy itself is facing significant challenges. It is not because the

enemies of liberal democracy, the authoritarian Right and communist Left, have fallen by the wayside. The current challenge is from within, with *bureaucracy* replacing democracy. The development of the European Union, International Monetary Fund, and World Trade Organization, for example, removes the decision-making process and power from its citizens into the hand of few bureaucrats who are out of touch with the people and culture. Korean society is often forced to accept policies from the World Trade Organization and International Monetary Fund that run counter to the wishes of the people. Centralized planning and bureaucratic decision-making are replacing the core elements of democracy (i.e., citizens participation and decision-making). In other words, modern democratic states are becoming more like a communist state, with its central planning and decision-making, which ultimately led to its collapse. Many people feel alienated by the current political system since it lacks transparency, integrity and accountability. The challenge is to allow people to participate and shape their reality in the local and global community.

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한국의 민주주의, 리더십과 정치문화: 정치효능감과 신뢰를 중심으로

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이 연구에서는 한국과 서양의 민주주의 발전과 관련된 내용들을 분석하는 데 주된 목적이 있다. 이를 위해 우선, 한국과 서양의 민주주의 발전을 이해하기 위한 문화적 틀을 제시하였다. 나아가서 한국에서 실시된 경험적 연구 결과를 소개하였다. 경험적 연구에서는 정치적 참여, 정치효능감, 신뢰, 리더십, 그리고 사회적 관계에 대한 개념을 측정하는 도구를 개발하여, 전국에서 표본한 1,000명을 표집 대상으로 실시하였다. 연구 결과, 한국 사람들은 투표권, 참정권, 언론의 자유, 그리고 정부 비판에 대한 권리와 같은 자유 민주주의의 기본 이념에 동의하였다. 또한 화목한 가정생활, 원만한 사회적 관계, 그리고 정부의 복지 프로그램과 같은 집단주의 가치를 옹호하였다. 한국 사람들은 자신의 동료나 외집단 구성원보다는 가족이나 친구와 같은 친밀한 내집단 구성원을 신뢰하였고, 정치 집단이나 정부 기관을 거의 신뢰하지 않았다. 또한 한국 사람들은 정치 참여나 정치효능감의 수준이 낮았고, 정치적 소외의 정도가 높았다. 리더십에 대한 분석결과, 한국 사람들은 도덕적이고 강한 지도자를 선호하는 것으로 확인되었다. 이러한 결과는 한국인들이 민주주의의 기본 이념을 존중하지만, 이를 실현하는 방식에 있어서는 서양과 차이가 있음을 시사한다. 이와 관련된 구체적인 연구결과와 후속연구를 위한 시사점이 논의되었다.

key words : 민주주의, 리더쉽, 정치문화, 정치효능감, 신뢰