

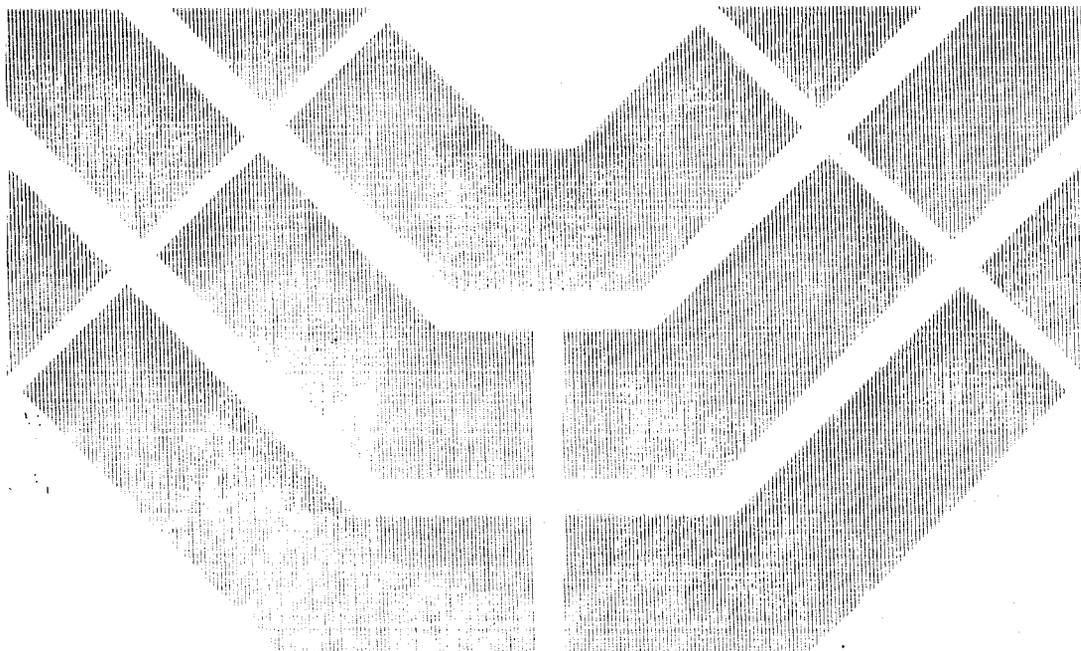
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SOURCES OF SUPPORT FOR THE LEGISLATURE
IN A DEVELOPING NATION: THE CASE OF KOREA

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SOURCES OF SUPPORT FOR THE LEGISLATURE IN A DEVELOPING NATION:
THE CASE OF KOREA

The concept of support, as developed by David Easton, has one of three objects: the community, the regime, or the authorities. Easton does not say anything about support for institutions in the regime (Easton, 1965). A number of scholars in recent years, however, have examined support for particular institutions within the regime, including the courts, parties and electoral systems, and the legislature. Scholars in the comparative legislative field have shown a particularly strong interest in studying support for the legislature, for reasons that are easy to understand. In many countries, particularly in the nonwestern world, legislatures are relatively fragile institutions that lack a firm foundation of tradition. They have frequently been abolished, suspended, or reduced in power, but they have also been resurrected on numerous occasions. There are a number of factors that may help to explain the ability or inability of a legislature to survive and function, but we believe that one of the important factors is the level of support for the legislature manifested by the general public, or by certain more influential publics, in the society. Moreover, in countries where there is less conflict between the legislature and other institutions, strong support for the legislature may bring about greater support for the political system as a whole because of the legislature's ability to lend legitimacy to the actions of government.

Despite a number of recent articles on support for individual institutions, there seems to have been little attention given to differences in character and consequences between such support and support for the

regime as a whole. There is not a clear and unambiguous distinction between the two types of support. Support for an institution probably tends to be stronger among persons who support the regime as a whole. Those who would abolish an institution that is an essential part of a regime are actually in favor of changing the regime in a fundamental way. Similarly, one could argue that fundamental changes in an institution or in the relationships between institutions constitute fundamental changes in a regime.

If there is actual or potential conflict or rivalry between the institutions in a regime, support for one institution does not necessarily imply support for the other institutions in a regime. Respondents who give positive answers to questions about an institution like the legislature are not necessarily aware of the potential conflicts between that institution and others in the regime. If their answers reflect a general sense of loyalty to the regime or a general acceptance of the status quo, their support for the legislature might fade away if a strong executive abolished or crippled the legislative institution. In a country where the legislature does not have a long history or tradition, the foundation of support for it may be insecure, and the "reservoir of good will" for it may be shallow. If these suggestions are correct, they dictate caution in interpreting the meaning of high or low support for legislative institutions.

With very few exceptions (Mohapatra, 1974; Mezey and Mezey, 1974), the geographical focus of legislative support studies has been the western world, and within the West it is safe to say that Iowa has been over-

represented. We must assume that the character of legislative support and its correlation with other variables will be different in Korea, and also in other nonwestern countries where we expect to analyze support subsequently -- Turkey and Kenya.

In most nonwestern countries we should expect to find a lower citizen awareness of political institutions and events, particularly in rural, isolated areas, because of lower levels of education and poorer systems of communication. This is less likely to be true in Korea than in some parts of Asia and Africa, however. The Korean National Assembly has had an unstable history since Korean independence in 1948. Both its formal power and its political strength have declined in the face of increasing power of the executive branch. Given its low level of visibility and power, it is questionable how many Korean citizens have a clear impression of the Assembly and are able to distinguish it from other parts of the government. Those who cannot make such a distinction are presumably unable to distinguish support for the legislative institution from support for the government as a whole.

At the same time, the question of support for the legislature as a distinct institution is an important one in Korea, as in many nonwestern countries, because the recent political history of that country has been characterized by controversies over the proper role for the legislature. The ability of the legislature to survive or to gain political strength in the future, in the face of possible efforts by the executive branch to weaken or eliminate it, may depend in part on the level of public support for the legislature. At least some of the Korean respondents who manifest support for the legislature may be aware that there have been conflicts between the legislature and other political institutions.

In this paper we do not use the terms "diffuse" and "specific" support, because we think the terms create ambiguity and confusion in thinking about the sources of support. These terms have been used to distinguish between support based on long-standing, deep-seated attitudes and perceptions (diffuse) and support that is based on short-term satisfaction with the performance or outputs of an institution (specific). We believe that the sources or causes of support are too varied and complicated to be dichotomized into diffuse and specific. We conceive of support as an attitude that is learned over a period of time. If a person has developed a strongly supportive attitude toward an institution as a result of early socialization, his attitude is less likely to be changed by his disapproval of recent actions taken by that institution. But the attitude of any individual is likely to be a result of beliefs and perceptions that range from his earliest political memory to a newspaper headline that he read yesterday.

In this paper we are trying to explore as many variables as possible that might plausibly be expected to have some effect on the level of individual support for the Korean legislature. Some factors that might be very influential are omitted because we have no data. In a theoretical sense, support that is durable and is not greatly affected by short-run outputs of the legislature would seem to be more important as a source of stability for the legislature. In a practical sense, however, it is impossible to measure the durability of support through a survey conducted at one point in time.

In a country such as Korea, where the legislature is barely a quarter-century old and where it has been relatively unstable, it does not seem

likely that many respondents will have developed long-term loyalties to the legislature as a traditional institution or to the principle of representative government. For some citizens, the legislature may be perceived as an essential component in a modern, independent state. For others, legislative support may be a component of traditional loyalty to the political system and acceptance of the status quo. Other voters may perceive conflict between the executive and legislative branches, and support the legislature because they oppose the government in power. We are not able to measure directly the extent to which such attitudes are associated with legislative support, and similarly we are unable to determine whether supportive attitudes are a product of early socialization. We can, however, correlate support with several socioeconomic and political characteristics of our respondents.

If legislative support in Korea rests less on foundations of traditional loyalties to the institution, it may rest more on perceptions of performance. We do not expect that many respondents will have specific information about the outputs of the National Assembly, given its low visibility and power. However, it is possible that many respondents will have some general impressions about how well the Assembly is performing or will have perceptions of the legislators--an impression about whether they possess the characteristics that are desirable. If the images of the legislature and its work are not clear, perhaps the citizens will have a clearer impression and some evaluation about the legislators in their own district. It is possible to measure the levels of satisfaction and the image of the legislature and of the individual legislator and to relate these to levels of support.

I. Some Hypotheses

Socioeconomic Characteristics

We expect to find that legislative support will be higher among persons with higher levels of occupation and education. This would be consistent with the findings of the Iowa study (Boynton, Patterson, Hedlund, 1968). We also expect to find that levels of support differ by age, sex, and size of place of residence (urban-rural), although the expected direction of these differences is not so clear. It is not obvious why persons in the upper socioeconomic strata should manifest greater support for the legislature. It might be because they know more about it, believe that they benefit more from its actions, or perhaps because of a generally higher feeling of political efficacy. One way of clarifying these relationships is to look more closely at differences in political knowledge and sophistication.

Political Stratification

There is evidence from previous research (Boynton, Patterson, Hedlund, 1968) to suggest that legislative support will be higher among persons who are knowledgeable about politics and participate in it. Following this line of reasoning, we hypothesize that legislative support will be higher among persons in the following categories: those who have knowledge about the legislature, those who engage in political activity (particularly during election campaigns), those who show more interest in politics, those who demonstrate a higher level of political efficacy. It is also possible that some broader measure of knowledge and sophistication, not limited to

political matters, might be related to legislative support. Because the legislature is a characteristic of a modern political system, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that support for the legislature is greater among persons characterized by a higher level of individual modernity.

Satisfaction with the Legislature

We expect to find that support for the legislature is higher among persons who express greater satisfaction with the performance of the legislature. Research from the Iowa project has shown that there is such a relationship, but that it is not very strong. (Patterson and Boynton, 1974). The assumption underlying the study of diffuse support is that support for legislative institutions is not dependent entirely on the outputs of the legislature, but that it has other roots, related to such things as tradition and political socialization. We expect that in a country like Korea, where the legislature is neither very powerful nor highly visible, many citizens will not have very clear impressions about the performance of the legislature. Consequently, their support for the legislature, whether it is high or low, should not be highly correlated with whatever perception they have of legislative performance. We expect to find that the level of support for the legislature will be generally higher among persons who are more knowledgeable about politics but that among this group it will be higher for those who are better satisfied with legislative performance. In each of the hypotheses that follow about satisfaction with performance and legislative support, we expect the relationship to be stronger for the subgroup of respondents having greater political knowledge.

Performance of the Legislature

There are various ways of trying to measure the citizen's satisfaction with the legislature. One can ask about specific outputs, but this is useful only if the respondents have some knowledge or perception of these outputs. Satisfaction may also be related to the image of the legislature, its style, its reputation for competence and honesty. It is very possible that respondents will have a stronger impression about these characteristics than about what the legislature has accomplished. We have not asked any questions about satisfaction with specific outputs, but we have asked a general question about satisfaction with the legislature's performance (has it performed reasonably well?), and we hypothesize that legislative support will be correlated with this measure of satisfaction with performance. We also hypothesize that legislative support will be correlated with a positive image of the legislature. In order to measure this image, we have asked respondents whether each of several characteristics (such as honesty or hard work) is important for legislators to possess, and we have asked whether they think most or only a few legislators have this characteristic. There is considerable consensus about the qualities that are most important (hard work, honesty, understanding of people, and good education), and we use respondents' perception of the proportion of legislators having these most important qualities to measure their image or perception of the legislature. We expect the image of the legislature to have a direct impact on legislative support as well as to affect satisfaction with the performance of the legislature.

Performance of the Individual Assemblyman

It is very possible that many respondents will have a clearer im-

pression of the performance of their own legislators (two from each district) than they will of the legislature as a whole, and if this is true, support should be correlated more highly with their perception of individual legislator's performance than with performance of the legislature. We have asked respondents to evaluate the importance of seven jobs that assemblymen might perform. There is substantial agreement that six of these are important. We have asked respondents how good a job their assemblymen are doing in each of these six areas. Our hypothesis is that those who give their legislators high rankings in job performance will be supportive of the legislature. We have also tried to measure the perception of individual assemblymen in other ways, by asking a question designed to test perception of responsiveness (would the assemblyman answer a letter?) and questions to determine whether respondents can distinguish the functions of assemblymen from those of civil servants, party leaders, and judges. We hypothesize that those who perceive the legislators as being more responsive and those who can specify functions that legislators perform are more likely to be supportive of the legislature.

Contact with Legislators

We have asked several questions designed to measure the extent of familiarity with the assemblymen in their district: Do they know the names of one or both? Are they personally acquainted with a legislator? Have they seen him in the district, or talked to them, in recent months? Has the legislator done anything for them individually, or can they specify anything that he has done for the district? Under the present election law the voters in each district choose two representatives to the Korean National Assembly. While some knowledgeable citizens may know the names of both representatives, others may know only one or neither of

these names. The general hypothesis is that the higher the level of first-hand contact with the legislator the greater the level of legislative support. We would also expect that greater contact would lead to higher satisfaction with the legislators' job performance, particularly jobs such as helping constituents and visiting the district. It is possible, of course, that many respondents develop an impression of the legislators' performance that is not based on first-hand contact.

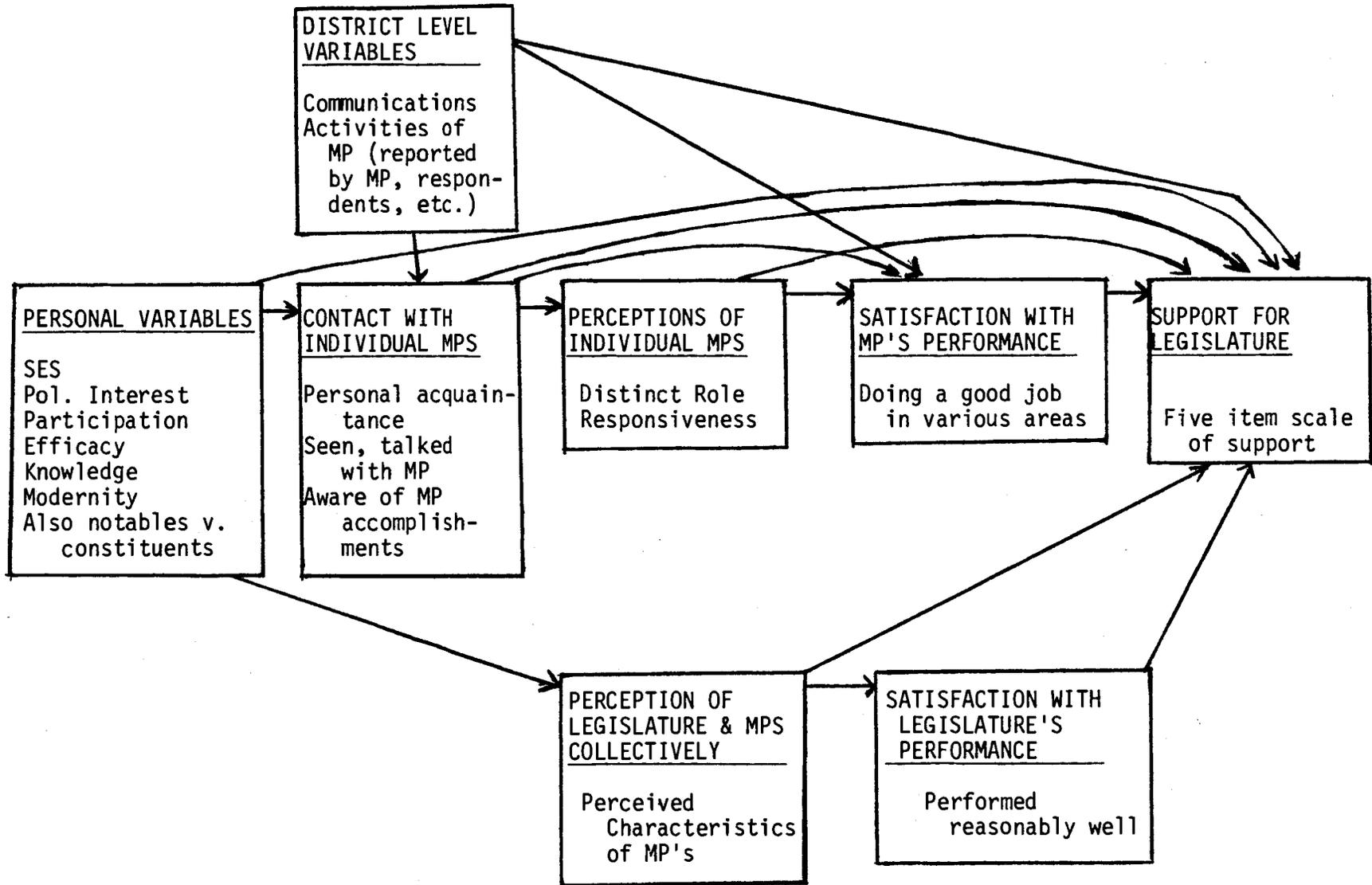
Variation by District

We hypothesize the legislative support levels will be higher in some districts than in others, not merely because of variations in the socio-economic composition or political stratification of a district but because of the activities of the assemblymen in that district. We expect to find inter-district differences in the level of satisfaction with job performance. We also expect to find substantial differences among districts in the proportion of respondents who have a high level of contact with their assemblymen. Later on, when we have been able to analyze data from interviews with legislators, we expect to find that these inter-district differences are related to differences in the activities of assemblymen, such as in the frequency with which they visit their district or the priority they attach to constituency service.

Interrelationships Among Variables

We have discussed a large number of variables that might be expected to have some relationship to legislative support. They are summarized, and their possible interrelationships diagrammed in Figure 1. We do not propose in this paper to try to test all of the possible relationships that are suggested, or to engage in causal analysis. Obviously there may

FIGURE 1. VARIABLES AFFECTING LEGISLATIVE SUPPORT



be other variables, missing from the figure, that affect levels of support. Figure 1 may serve the purpose of clarifying the possible relationships among those variables for which we have data. Very broadly, we are exploring two possible causes of support: socioeconomic and political characteristics of respondents, and their level of satisfaction with the performance of the legislature as a whole or of their own assemblymen. We expect that levels of support and of satisfaction with performance may both be affected by perceptions of, and first-hand contact with, legislators. And we suggest that the link between performance satisfaction and support should be closer for those respondents who have a higher degree of political knowledge.

II. DATA AND MEASUREMENT OF KEY VARIABLES

The data base of this study is derived from a larger cross-national survey project sponsored by the Comparative Legislative Research Center of the University of Iowa. The principal objective of the project is to study the role of the legislature in political development. To accomplish this objective the patterns of interaction between the legislative system and other parts of the political system have been chosen as the primary target of investigation.¹ In Turkey, Kenya, and Korea we have conducted interviews with samples of various political strata, including legislators, local elites, high ranking civil servants, and constituents. The Korean part of the survey was conducted in 1973. The present study draws upon two sets of interview data collected in Korea. The first set of data consists of 2,276 interviews that we have collected from adult citizens.

Out of the 73 existing electoral districts in Korea we selected 12 on the basis of several important considerations: the degree of urbanization, the degree of political competition, and finally, ethnic and cultural characteristics. Within each of these 12 districts we selected a random sample of 200 voters, using the most recently compiled voter registration list. The results of this survey provide our constituent data. The second set of data consists of 476 interviews that we completed with the local elites in each of the 12 districts where we conducted the constituency surveys. These local elites were in part nominated by the rank-and-file constituents and in part chosen because of the influential positions that they held in their respective districts.²

Legislative Support

Legislative support is our dependent variable. The operational measure of support for the legislature is based on five questions asked of the adult citizens. The questions and the responses to them are displayed in Table 1.

The questions were designed to determine whether the respondents believed that the legislature was a desirable and necessary institution that was good for society, or whether they thought the country would be better off if it were eliminated (or reduced in size). Several conclusions can be derived from the summary of responses. The general level of support for the legislature is high, perhaps surprisingly high for an institution that is neither very strong nor very well established. Over four-fifths of those polled believe it is a necessary institution and roughly two-thirds believe that the society is better off, that it makes a difference in the country. The second important conclusion is that a very small percentage

of the respondents give a negative response to these questions (except for those who favor reducing its size). The major distinction is between those who give a positive answer and those who do not know.

(Table 1 here)

For the purposes of measuring support, we have eliminated those respondents who answered "don't know" to all five of the questions on support (a total of 224). For the remaining respondents, all of whom have expressed views on some or all of the support questions, we have decided to lump together the negative and "don't know" responses. This overcomes the problem of a small number of negative responses. Moreover, it seems reasonable to analyze legislative support in positive terms, and to compare the number of positive responses given by various individuals and groups. Those who say that they do not know in response to some of the questions may not be ready to storm the legislative barricades, but they can certainly be distinguished from those who are willing to assert positively that the legislature is a necessary institution and one that benefits society.

On the fact of it, these questions appear to be tapping a single dimension of legislative support (with the question about cutting the size of the legislature least obviously a part of this dimension). In order to test this possibility and in an effort to get a single measure of our dependent variable, we used Guttman scaling techniques, and succeeded in producing a scale using these five items and producing six scale positions ($CR=.90$ and $CS=.64$). Respondents who did not scale perfectly were assigned to scale positions according to standard techniques. The result is a scale that distinguishes very well among several levels of support for the legislature. Those in scale positions 6 and 5 are strongly supportive (in most cases differing only in their views about reducing the

Table 1
Measure of Legislative Support

Question	Percent Supportive Answers	Percent Negative Answers	Percent Don't Know	N
Do we really need a legislature?	80.6	2.7	16.7	(2247)
What difference has it made to this country?	66.7	8.3	25.0	(2225)
Are we better off because we have one?	63.1	9.0	27.9	(2244)
Is the legislature one of the best things established since independence?	41.6	13.4	45.0	(2224)
Could we do just as well with half as many legislators? (<u>No</u> scored as a positive response.)	20.1	30.2	49.7	(2244)

Table 2
Guttman Scale of Legislative Support
(N=1954)

Scale Score	Percent in Each Position
Most supportive	6
	5
	4
	3
	2
Least supportive	1
	12.6
	31.2
	23.5
	12.3
	14.8
	5.7

size of the Assembly). At the other end of the scale, those in position 1 are unwilling to make any positive statement about the legislature, while most of those in position 2 believe that it is necessary but are not willing to agree that it has had some beneficial effect on society.

(Table 2 here)

Individual Modernity

The legislature is a political institution distinctive to a modern political system. Therefore, it seems likely that the legislature would draw a greater degree of support from modernized segments of the population rather than from the tradition-bound individuals. In order to measure individual modernity we have employed 12 questions in our survey. These questions were adapted from what Inkeles and his research team have called the OM-12 (the overall modernity scale), which represents a distillate from the 119 items that they have employed in their six country study (Smith and Inkeles, 1966). A summary scale of individual modernity was constructed from the 12 questions. The scale scores range between 1 and 13, with a high score indicating a higher level of individual modernity (for full texts of the modernity items, see Kim and Pai, 1974).

Evaluation of Individual Assemblymen's Performance

Where the general level of political knowledge is relatively low, the mass public are likely to have a clearer impression of the performance of their own legislators than they are of the legislature as a whole. Therefore, it is important to examine how the adult citizens evaluate the performance of their legislators and how such evaluations affect their levels of support for the legislature. The survey included six questions designed to gather information concerning the constituents' evaluations of the job that their

representatives perform. For example, we asked the respondents to evaluate how good a job their legislators are doing (a) in communicating to the government what the people in district want, (b) in debates and passing bills, (c) in interceding with the government on behalf of the people in district, and (d) in bringing projects and benefits to the district, (e) in explaining government policies to the constituents, (f) in visiting the voters in district, and (g) in solving conflicts in community. A summary index of such evaluations was formed on the basis of the number of favorable responses to the first six questions. The index score ranges between 0 and 6, with a higher score indicating a favorable evaluation of the job that a legislator performs in the pursuit of his duties.

III. FINDINGS

Socioeconomic Characteristics

There is a moderate relationship between several socioeconomic factors and legislative support (Table 3). The most obvious difference is the higher support among men. Half of the men and one-third of the women are in the top two positions of the support scale. Table 3 shows that support for legislatures increases with education up through the twelfth year, with a slight drop beyond that. The level of education is higher among men, but support is higher among men than among women at all educational levels, and the relationship between education and support holds true for both sexes. (Data not shown.) There is a higher than average level of support among persons in the higher occupational categories (such as administrative personnel and skilled and semi-

skilled workers) and a below-average level of support among the lower status occupations and among housewives. The differences among age groups are not large, but are interesting. There are slight and irregular variations among the age groups under 50, but support is lower than average for persons in their 50's and particularly for those 60 and over. There are no clear and consistent relationships between support and size of place of residence, although support tends to be lower in the villages than in other areas.

(Table 3 here)

To summarize, we find the highest levels of support among men who are well educated, belong to the higher status occupations, and are not over 50 years old. None of the relationships are strong enough to suggest that the search for the sources of support can stop at this point.

Political Characteristics

Two measures of political knowledge are positively related to legislative support: accurate knowledge about the size of the legislature and knowledge of the names of assemblymen (Table 4). (In this and other tables, some categories of the independent variables are collapsed for convenience of presentation with the statistic measuring association being based on a larger number of categories, as indicated in the table.)

Table 3

Relationship of Legislative Support Scale Positions to
Personal Socioeconomic Variables
(percentages)

Personal Characteristics	Support Score						N
	High 6	5	4	3	2	Low 1	
Male	17.8	34.2	20.5	10.5	12.4	4.6	1105
Female	5.5	27.3	26.9	14.6	18.2	7.4	813
Kendall's tau = .23							
Education:							
13 to 22 years	17.0	31.7	23.0	12.2	10.9	5.2	230
10 to 12 years	19.5	32.8	22.9	12.0	9.1	3.7	375
7 to 9 years	14.7	34.9	23.7	10.8	10.8	5.0	278
1 to 6 years	11.0	31.4	23.0	12.2	16.2	6.1	671
none	4.8	26.3	25.0	13.8	22.8	7.5	400
Kendall's tau = .14							
Occupation:							
Administrative and professional	20.8	34.0	20.0	10.7	10.3	4.3	506
Skilled & semi-skilled workers	14.4	33.3	23.5	10.1	15.7	2.9	306
Laborer and farmer	9.7	30.1	25.3	10.2	17.9	6.8	352
Lowest type work	9.3	20.9	30.2	14.0	18.6	7.0	43
Unemployed	6.6	40.4	17.2	12.6	15.2	7.9	151
Housewife	7.1	26.5	25.3	16.5	17.5	7.1	411
Kendall's tau = .14							

The former is perhaps a better measure because it should not be affected by the visibility of particular legislators. Sixty percent of those who can rather precisely describe legislative size are in the top two scale positions of support, compared to just over 25 percent of those with no idea about size.

There is a substantial difference in levels of support between those who know both assemblymen and those who know neither, with those who know only one fitting in between. We can conclude that knowledge about the legislature, as measured in these simple ways, is related to support for that institution. We have several measures of individual political activity, such as urging persons to vote for candidates or campaigning for them, but in some cases there is little relationship to support and in others (such as campaigning) there are very few activists. There is a small positive relationship, however, ($\tau=.12$) between legislative support and attending political rallies. We asked several questions designed to measure political efficacy; the two with the strongest relationship to support, shown in the Table, involve the proposition that politics is too complex to understand and that officials do not care what people like me think. We also find that the degree to interest in politics has a moderate relationship to support.

(Table 4 here)

The individual modernity scale is more strongly related to legislative support than are most of our other measures of individual characteristics ($\tau=.24$). The proportion of persons in the top two positions on the support scale ranges from 59 percent among the most "modern" to 18 percent among the least "modern" respondents. It is noteworthy that strong

Table 4

Relationship of Legislative Support Scale Positions to
Personal Political Variables
(percentages)

Personal Characteristics	Support Score						N
	High 6	5	4	3	2	Low 1	
Knowledge of legislative size:							
Accurate up to + or -10	20.9	39.2	19.1	10.6	6.5	3.7	540
Accurate up to + or -100	12.9	34.8	24.1	11.3	13.4	3.4	551
Totally inaccurate	10.4	28.4	20.4	15.9	17.9	7.0	201
No idea	5.6	21.6	28.0	13.8	22.8	8.9	629
Kendall's tau = .22 (based on 6 categories)							
Knowledge of MPs' names:							
Knows both	18.8	34.6	20.1	10.7	10.9	4.9	835
Knows one	9.4	31.3	25.2	14.5	14.8	4.8	607
Knows neither	6.0	25.6	26.4	12.6	21.2	8.2	500
Kendall's tau = .18							
Political efficacy:							
Disagree -- politics too complex	20.3	35.8	21.8	9.5	8.5	4.2	730
Agree -- politics too complex	8.2	29.3	24.6	13.6	18.1	6.1	1129
Kendall's tau = .17 (based on 4 categories)							
Political efficacy:							
Disagree -- officials don't care	17.2	35.7	22.7	9.5	10.7	4.1	876
Agree -- officials don't care	9.6	28.3	24.3	13.5	17.4	6.8	935
Kendall's tau = .15 (based on 4 categories)							
Interest in politics:							
Very much	22.5	34.3	19.6	9.3	9.3	4.9	204
Some	16.8	33.6	21.9	12.0	10.2	5.5	764
None at all	7.4	28.4	25.4	13.1	19.5	6.0	967
Kendall's tau = .16							
Modernity index:							
11-13	21.4	37.6	21.3	8.7	6.9	4.1	663
9-10	10.2	31.6	25.3	13.2	14.4	5.3	786
7- 8	5.3	24.6	26.1	15.2	22.5	6.8	395
1- 6	2.7	15.5	14.5	16.4	37.3	13.6	110
Kendall's tau = .24 (based on 7 categories)							

legislative support comes not only from those with political knowledge, interests, and a sense of efficacy, but more broadly from those whose attitudinal framework is relatively modern.

Performance of the Legislature

We did not ask any questions about satisfaction with specific outputs of the legislature, but a general question about its performance.

(Considering the political conditions under which our legislature has to operate, do you feel that the legislature has functioned reasonably well?)

Among all our respondents, 36.4 percent said it functioned well, 24.6 percent said it performed badly, and 38.9 percent did not know. Table 5 shows that those who evaluated legislative performance favorably were more likely to be supportive than those who gave it a poor evaluation. ($\tau=.30$) It is significant that almost two-thirds of those who think the legislature is doing well rank in the top two positions of the support scale and almost seven-eighths rank in the top three positions. Those who do not think the legislature is performing well are much less supportive; yet almost two-thirds of them are in the top three positions of the support scale. In other words, support depends in part, but not entirely, on approval of legislative performance.

(Table 5 here)

Table 5
 Relationship of Legislative Support Scale Positions to
 Evaluations of Legislature's Performance
 (percentages)

Legislative Performance	Support Score						N
	High 6	5	4	3	2	Low 1	
Performed well	20.3	45.4	21.5	7.6	3.7	1.5	(785)
Performed badly	13.8	25.7	24.5	13.9	15.1	7.1	(538)

Kendall's tau = .30

Table 6
 Perception of Characteristics that
 Legislators Should Possess and that Most Do Possess
 (N=2276)

Characteristic	Percent Saying Characteristic Is or Is Not Important		Percent Saying Most or a Few MPs Have Characteristic	
	Is Important	Is Not	Most	Few
Hard work	92.2	1.8	45.3	38.0
Honesty	90.8	3.6	35.3	47.0
Understanding of common people	89.7	3.9	39.3	44.3
Good education	73.5	20.7	56.6	30.9
Important man in community	47.1	45.4	48.6	35.2
Success in occupation	41.2	48.0	38.0	42.2
Long residence in district	38.5	54.1	39.6	43.3

Note: The other respondents were ones who did not know or did not respond to the question.

Perception of Legislators

We have hypothesized that legislative support will be correlated with a positive image or perception of the legislature. We asked the respondents how important it was that legislators have seven particular characteristics. Table 6 shows a high level of agreement that hard work, honesty, and understanding of people, and (to a lesser extent) a good education are important, but much less consensus on the importance of local influence, occupational success, and residence in the district. We also asked them to tell us whether they thought most legislators or only a few possessed these characteristics. The table shows that there is not much variation from one characteristic to another, but the legislators rank highest on education and lowest on honesty, in the eyes of the citizens. The greatest gaps, between what legislators should be and what they are perceived to be, are in honesty, understanding of people, and hard work; there is a much smaller gap in regard to education. (It is noteworthy that 80 to 85 percent of the respondents had an impression, positive or negative, about how many legislators possessed each of these qualifications.)

(Table 6 here)

For each of the four characteristics considered important by the respondents, we compared their perception of legislators with the support scale. In each case those with a favorable perception were more likely to be supportive, but the correlations were not strong. (The taus ranged from .11 to .17). There were similar correlations between satisfaction with legislative performance and favorable perceptions of these same legislative characteristics (taus ranging from .07 to .18).

Performance of Individual Assemblymen

We would expect the citizens of Korea to have a clearer impression of the accomplishments of the legislators (two of them) from their own district than of the work of the legislature as a whole. We asked respondents how important each of seven legislative jobs are and also asked them how good a job their assemblymen were doing in each of these areas. The results are summarized in Table 7. There seems to be substantial agreement that all of these jobs, except solving conflicts in the district, are important. On most items, a little more than half of the respondents had an opinion about how well their legislators were doing. Surprisingly this is less than the proportion who were able to give a general evaluation of legislative performance and much less than the proportion who had an opinion about whether most legislators were honest, hard-working, etc. Respondents were more likely to have an opinion about whether the assemblymen were doing a good job in getting projects for the district and visiting it than they were about their activity in debates and the passing of bills, but the differences were smaller than we would expect. If we compare the importance attributed to jobs and satisfaction with member performance, the greatest gaps between the two occur with respect to telling the government what the people want, getting projects for the district, visiting the district, and helping people in the district.

(Table 7 here)

Because many respondents do not have clear impressions about how well their assemblymen are performing, it is not surprising that the relationship between that impression and legislative support is not very strong. Table

Table 7

Judgements Expressed about Importance of Various Legislative Jobs and
Evaluation of Performance of these Jobs by Individual Legislators
(N=2276)

Description of Job	Percent Expressing Views on Importance of Job			Percent Evaluating Job Done by the Individual Legislators			
	Very Important	Important	Not Important	Very Good	Good	Poor	Don't Know
Telling the government what people in district want	52.2	30.2	4.2	7.3	18.9	20.3	46.0
Taking active part in debates and passing bills	44.2	33.7	5.1	10.9	21.0	10.5	50.1
Helping people in district having governmental problems	40.2	37.6	6.6	6.0	18.2	18.9	48.6
Getting projects and benefits for district	41.3	30.2	15.9	6.0	16.0	34.0	36.7
Visiting district often	35.9	39.0	9.7	4.2	14.9	31.7	41.9

8 shows the relationship between legislative support and the question about how well the assemblymen in the district are doing the job of telling the government what the people want. We have selected this question because it was the job ranked most important by respondents, but the distributions among support scale positions are approximately the same for each of the questions on performance of particular jobs. In each case those who think the assemblymen are doing a very good or good job are more supportive, and those who say a poor job are less supportive. Table 8 also shows a similar relationship between support and an index that summarizes the answers regarding satisfaction with all six jobs of an assemblyman. (A score of 6 means the respondent believes the assemblyman is doing a very good or good job on all six jobs.) If we compare these results with those in Table 5, it is obvious that the relationship is less strong than that between support and general evaluation of legislative performance (taus of .14 and .20 compared to .30).

(Table 8 here)

We asked several questions designed to measure the respondents' perception of his assemblymen. One was a measure of perceived responsiveness: If you write a letter to your assemblyman, what do you think would happen to it; would he answer it? As Table 8 shows, this has some relationship to support. We asked respondents if they could tell us whether their legislator did something different or handled problems differently from each of several other types of persons, including civil servants, party leaders, judges, and members of the Conference for National Unification. Those who were able to name some differences are more supportive than those who were not, though the relationship is not

Table 8

Relationship of Legislative Support Scale Positions to
Measures of Satisfaction, Perception and Contact
(percentages)

Legislative Measures	Support Score						N
	High 6	5	4	3	2	Low 1	
Satisfaction with MP's job in telling government of wants:							
Very good and good job	19.8	38.8	20.9	8.9	8.0	3.6	560
Poor job	12.4	32.5	20.7	14.3	14.5	5.5	434
Kendall's tau = .14 (based on 3 categories)							
Satisfaction with MP's job on six item index:							
Index of 6, 5, & 4	21.3	41.8	17.8	8.3	8.3	2.8	400
Index of 3, 2, & 1	15.1	32.3	23.5	12.2	11.9	5.0	697
Index of 0	6.5	25.3	26.1	14.2	20.2	7.6	857
Kendall's tau = .20 (based on 7 categories)							
Responsiveness to a letter:							
Would answer	19.7	37.4	19.8	10.0	9.3	3.7	751
Would not answer	8.3	31.0	25.5	12.8	15.6	6.9	494
Kendall's tau = .21							
Distinction from civil servant:							
Mentions some differences	16.7	35.7	23.0	10.4	9.7	4.6	906
Mentions no differences	9.0	27.3	24.0	13.9	19.2	6.6	1047
Kendall's tau = .21							
Distinction from party leader:							
Mentions some differences	18.8	38.9	22.4	8.4	7.9	3.6	393
Mentions no differences	11.0	29.2	23.8	13.3	16.5	6.2	1561
Kendall's tau = .14							

very strong. Table 8 shows the relationship for the comparisons with civil servants and party leaders.

Contact with Legislators

We expected to find that respondents who had closer contact with their legislators would be more supportive of the legislature and that such contact might have an indirect effect on support by increasing satisfaction with the job being done by them. It is difficult to measure this because very few of the respondents had a high level of contact. It is true that 40 percent were able to name both members in their district, and another 30 percent were able to name one. However, only 8 percent know one of the members before he first ran for the Assembly; only 14 percent have seen their member in the district within the last six months, and only 4 percent have ever talked to him about any problem; 14 percent can name something the legislator has done for the district, and only 1 percent can name something he has done for the respondent personally.

In cases where very small numbers of respondents have had such contacts, we can not use such contacts to explain support. However, we do find that the 14 percent who have seen one of the members in the district and the similar sized group who can specify what one of the assemblymen has done for the district are slightly more supportive than other respondents (taus of .08 and .07). We also expected to find that first-hand contact with the legislators would lead to higher satisfaction with their performance of at least some of their jobs (which might in turn lead to greater support), but these relationships are considerably weaker than we anticipated. For example, while 17 percent of those who have not seen the assemblyman in the district think he is doing

a very good or good job of visiting the district, 40 percent of those who have seen him there think he is doing a very good job or good job. Obviously some factors in addition to first-hand contact are producing evaluations of job performance in this area. Similarly, 49 percent of those who can specify something the assemblyman has done for the district, compared to 20 percent of those who cannot, rank the assemblyman as having done a very good or good job in getting projects for the district.

We can conclude that those respondents who have had first-hand contact with their assemblymen are much more likely to support the legislature and to have a favorable impression of the assemblymen's job performance than those who have not. But the number of respondents with such contacts is small, and they do not constitute more than about one-fourth of those who give the most supportive and favorable replies. The individual legislator does not seem to have enough visibility and contact to have a powerful effect on the attitudes of Korean citizens toward the legislator.

District Variations

Another way of evaluating the impact of individual assemblymen on support is to analyze support levels in each of the 12 districts included in the sample. Obviously any differences that are found might result from differences in socioeconomic levels or the party balance and popularity of the government in each district, but it also may result from differences in the activities of assemblymen. Table 9 shows the levels of support and several other variables we have been examining in each of the 12 districts. The first conclusion we can draw is that there are substantial differences from the most supportive to the least supportive districts, roughly comparable in

magnitude to the differences we have found between other categories of respondents that we have examined.

(Table 9 here)

In an attempt to determine why support is higher in some districts than others, we have broken down by district a number of the variables that we have found to have some relationship to support. The results can be summarized briefly. Most of the districts that rank high in support are ones where a higher proportion of respondents evaluate favorably the performance of the legislature, the characteristics of legislators, and the job being done by their own assemblymen. They also tend to be ones in which the individual assemblymen are better known and more visible. This reinforces the impression that the actions of assemblymen, as perceived by constituents, has an important effect on levels of legislative support.

The differences in support among districts do not seem to result from socioeconomic differences among the districts. By controlling for education we find that roughly the same districts rank high in support at various levels of education; moreover the highest districts are not consistently the ones with higher educational levels. Neither the most metropolitan nor the least economically developed districts cluster at any point on the rankings. Moreover, the districts higher in legislative support are not consistently the ones which are strongest in support for or opposition to the government in power. In short, there is no explanation for the rankings of the districts by legislative support that is better or stronger than one based on the perceived performance and characteristics of legislators.

Table 9

Relationship of Legislative Support Scale Positions
and other Measures to Legislative Districts
(percentages)

District Number	Support Scale Positions			MP Job Satis- faction Index: Ranks 6-5-4	MPs Are Hard Working: Most Are	What MP Has Done: Can Name	Seen MP in Distr.: Once or More	Legis- lative Perfor- mance: Func- tions Well
	6-5	4-3	2-1					
5	55.5	30.4	14.0	28.1	62.6	18.8	5.7	53.4
11	54.0	32.8	13.2	19.7	44.0	8.2	56.6	34.8
12	51.5	32.9	15.6	20.0	66.3	15.6	8.3	57.3
10	47.8	38.4	13.8	28.5	54.7	29.1	14.5	45.5
8	50.7	28.6	20.7	20.7	51.1	18.5	11.2	26.6
4	44.1	35.0	20.9	14.9	55.0	6.9	6.9	32.8
1	43.5	36.2	20.3	23.7	72.3	19.6	10.3	46.8
9	43.3	33.2	23.5	20.0	53.2	14.5	15.0	41.1
7	35.3	42.6	22.1	20.8	60.1	14.6	26.3	26.4
3	37.7	35.4	26.9	5.0	49.5	7.3	4.5	25.7
2	31.3	44.1	24.5	4.8	28.7	5.9	3.7	19.9
6	31.5	37.6	30.9	14.7	51.5	10.7	6.5	26.8

IV. CONTRASTS BETWEEN MODERN AND TRADITIONAL RESPONDENTS

So far our analysis has focussed upon the simple bivariate relationships between socioeconomic and attitudinal characteristics of the individuals and their levels of support for the legislature. What has emerged in this analysis is that the output satisfactions, as measured both by the perception of the performance of the legislature as a whole and by the evaluation of individual legislators' performance, are rather strongly correlated with legislative support. In addition, the analysis has disclosed that many other variables such as sex, education, individual modernity, political knowledge and activity, and political efficacy are all associated with the level of support for the legislature. In this section we will examine the relationships between the output satisfactions and legislative support controlling for the effects of certain key variables.

In a rapidly developing country like Korea, various segments of the population are located at different stages of modernization. Some citizens are already well beyond the threshold of modernity, having acquired fully a set of values and beliefs appropriate for a modern man while others have not yet broken out of the hold of traditional social relationships. Whether or not an individual's orientations are modern has implications for his support for the legislature. Modern citizens have a considerable amount of knowledge about politics, including the knowledge about the legislature and its activities. They define their self-roles in politics as active citizens, asserting their demands on the government and evaluating its performance on the basis of how well the government responds to them.

Therefore, the output satisfactions are likely to be critical variables influencing the level of legislative support among the modern citizens. By contrast, among the less modern citizens support for the legislature may not depend so heavily upon their output satisfactions. The traditional citizens are politically less aware and less involved in political process. Consequently, they do not have much knowledge about what the legislature does or what the individual legislators from their own district do. If the traditional citizen manifests a strong support for the legislature, he is likely to do so because of his submissive attitudes toward political authority, a characteristic distinctive of traditional culture, not because of his satisfactions with the outputs of the legislative institution. This line of reasoning led us to expect a stronger relationship between the output satisfactions and legislative support among the "modern" citizens than among the more traditional individuals. Similarly, we also expect that the support for the legislature among those individuals who feel politically efficacious depends more heavily on the output satisfactions than it does among those who have a low sense of efficacy. By the same token, the output satisfactions are likely to be far more important determinants of legislative support for the politically knowledgeable and active stratum than they are for the less knowledgeable and less active group of citizens. In fact, we are hypothesizing that the sources of legislative support vary significantly in different political strata: the output satisfactions are crucial variables determining the level of support in the modernized, politically aware and active stratum of the population while they are less weighty factors in the traditional segments of the population.

In Tables 10 - 13 the relationships between the perception of the

performance of the legislature as a whole and legislative support are shown by various political strata. Comparing the strength of the relationship within each stratum, modern and traditional individuals, we find that the greater the satisfaction with the performance of the legislature, the higher the level of support for the legislature (Table 10). Although the correlation for the group of modern individuals is somewhat higher ($\tau = .34$) than it is for the group of traditional individuals ($\tau = .30$), the basic finding is that the output satisfaction is quite strongly related to legislative support regardless of whether an individual is modern or traditional. Similar findings emerge when we compare the effects of the output satisfactions on support among those who feel most efficacious and those who feel least efficacious,³ among the most politically knowledgeable individuals and others who are least knowledgeable,⁴ and among those of the most politically active stratum and those of the most inactive stratum.⁵ Across all strata that we have examined, the relationships between the output satisfaction and legislative support were consistently strong (Kendall's τ s range between .37 and .22). Therefore, our first conclusion is that the perception of the performance of the legislature is one of the crucial variables influencing the individual citizen's support for the legislature. The relationship between such perception and support has remained substantial even after we have controlled for the effects of individual modernity, political efficacy, political knowledge, and political activism.

Another conclusion is that the output satisfaction such as the perception of the performance of the legislature is less important to the traditional citizens and also to the inefficacious, inactive, and ill-informed citizens than it is to the modern, well informed and active citizens. The

relationships between the output satisfaction and legislative support are consistently stronger among the groups characterized by modern orientations than they are among the less modern groups. Although the differences are not strikingly large, there is nevertheless evidence to conclude that the legislative support depends heavily upon the output satisfactions, more so for the modern individuals than for the traditionally-oriented individuals.

(Tables 10-13 here)

Another measure of the output satisfactions is the citizens' evaluation of individual legislators' performance. We have constructed an index of such evaluations on the basis of six survey items which asked the respondents to indicate how well they think their representatives are doing their jobs such as communicating the constituency opinions to the government, bringing public projects and benefits to the district and so forth. The index scores range from a low of 0 to a high of 6. We have divided our sample into three groups: (1) those who have evaluated the performance of legislators very favorably (the index scores 4-6), (2) those who have evaluated it somewhat favorably (the index scores 1-3), and finally (3) those who have evaluated their legislators' jobs unfavorably (the index score 0). The initial correlation between the index and legislative support was .20, indicating that the more favorably an individual evaluates the performance of the legislators, the higher the level of his support. In this relationship sustained when the effects of other variables are controlled for?

The data presented in Tables 14-17 show that the basic relationship holds true for almost all the groups considered. For instance, among both modern and traditional groups of individuals the correlations do not change markedly

Table 10
 Perception of Legislative Performance and Support Controlling
 for the Levels of Individual Modernity
 (percentages)

Support Score		Modern Individuals		Traditional Individuals		
		Perceived favorably	Perceived unfavorably	Perceived favorably	Perceived unfavorably	
High	6	25.7	17.4	13.2	6.3	
	5	50.7	27.3	38.6	22.3	
	4	16.1	23.4	28.4	26.9	
	3	4.8	13.1	11.3	15.4	
	2	1.6	12.7	6.4	20.0	
Low	1	1.1	6.1	2.1	9.1	
		Total (N)	100 % (440)	100 % (363)	100 % (345)	100 % (175)
		Kendall's tau = .34		Kendall's tau = .30		

Table 11
 Perception of Legislative Performance and Support Controlling
 for the Levels of Political Efficacy
 (percentages)

Support Score		Efficacious Individuals		Inefficacious Individuals		
		Perceived favorably	Perceived unfavorably	Perceived favorably	Perceived unfavorably	
High	6	30.9	16.9	11.1	7.6	
	5	47.4	27.7	43.2	24.4	
	4	13.7	25.4	26.1	27.7	
	3	5.7	12.3	10.6	16.8	
	2	1.7	13.8	5.5	15.1	
Low	1	0.6	3.8	3.5	8.4	
		Total (N)	100 % (175)	100 % (130)	100 % (199)	100 % (119)
		Kendall's tau = .36		Kendall's tau = .26		

Table 12

Perception of Legislative Performance and Support Controlling
for the Levels of Political Knowledge
(percentages)

Support Score		Knowledgeable Individuals		Unknowledgeable Individuals	
		Perceived favorably	Perceived unfavorably	Perceived favorably	Perceived unfavorably
High	6	27.8	15.1	9.8	5.6
	5	45.1	29.3	45.9	21.2
	4	18.4	20.3	21.3	33.3
	3	4.2	15.1	14.8	11.1
	2	3.1	13.8	3.3	16.7
Low	1	1.4	6.5	4.9	11.1
Total (N)		100 % (288)	100 % (232)	100 % (61)	100 % (19)
		Kendall's tau = .34		Kendall's tau = .22	

Table 13

Perception of Legislative Performance and Support Controlling
for the Levels of Political Activity
(percentages)

Support Score		Activists		Non-activists	
		Perceived favorably	Perceived unfavorably	Perceived favorably	Perceived unfavorably
High	6	31.7	16.7	13.9	10.1
	5	46.0	20.0	47.0	25.0
	4	12.7	26.7	26.7	28.1
	3	4.8	10.0	8.0	12.8
	2	3.2	20.0	2.8	16.0
Low	1	1.6	6.7	1.6	8.0
Total (N)		100 % (63)	100 % (30)	100 % (249)	100 % (188)
		Kendall's tau = .37		Kendall's tau = .33	

(.19. and .22 respectively). For the other remaining groups the correlations range from a low of .14 to a high of .25 (a single exception is the group of the unknowledgeable individuals showing a correlation of .07), which suggest that the citizens' evaluation of individual legislators' performance is definitely a factor affecting their support for the legislature.

(Tables 14-17 here)

One interesting aspect of the data is that the correlations between the evaluation of the legislator's performance and support are generally weaker among those individuals exhibiting modern characteristics than among the more traditional individuals. While the correlation for the group who feel politically efficacious was .14, the same figure for the group of the inefficacious individuals was .22. Similarly, the relationships between the output satisfactions and support for the politically active and inactive groups were .19 and .22 respectively. The same is true for the strata of modern citizens (.19) and traditional citizens (.22). This contrasts sharply with our earlier finding that the perception of the performance of the legislature as a whole has a greater impact upon the support of the individuals characterized by modern orientations than of the traditionally oriented individuals. In the instance of the evaluation of the performance of individual legislators, the difference runs in a reverse direction: it is the traditionally-oriented individuals whose support for the legislature depends more heavily on such evaluations.

Evidently, the two different aspects of the output satisfactions, i.e., the perception of performance of the legislative institution on the one hand and the evaluation of the performance of individual legislators on the other hand, have differential impacts on support levels for different

TABLE 14

Evaluation of Legislators' Performance and Support Controlling
for the Levels of Individual Modernity
(percentages)

Support Score		Modern Individuals			Traditional Individuals		
		Favorable evaluation	Somewhat favorable evaluation	Unfavorable evaluation	Favorable evaluation	Somewhat favorable evaluation	Unfavorable evaluation
High	6	25.6	18.4	11.8	14.0	10.3	2.3
	5	44.8	35.4	32.6	36.7	27.9	19.5
	4	16.0	22.1	25.9	20.7	25.5	26.4
	3	7.6	10.3	12.1	9.3	14.8	15.9
	2	4.4	9.8	11.8	14.7	14.8	26.8
Low	1	1.6	4.0	5.8	4.7	6.5	9.1
Total (N)		100 % (250)	100 % (407)	100 % (380)	100 % (150)	100 % (290)	100 % (477)
Kendall's tau = .19				Kendall's tau = .22			

TABLE 15

Evaluation of Legislators' Performance and Support Controlling
for the Levels of Political Efficacy
(percentages)

Support Score		Efficacious Individuals			Inefficacious Individuals		
		Favorable evaluation	Somewhat favorable evaluation	Unfavorable evaluation	Favorable evaluation	Somewhat favorable evaluation	Unfavorable evaluation
High	6	31.1	20.3	17.2	12.8	10.6	1.3
	5	41.1	33.8	37.2	34.0	34.2	20.1
	4	14.4	24.3	20.5	23.4	18.6	26.4
	3	6.7	12.2	8.2	12.8	13.0	17.1
	2	5.6	6.8	11.5	12.8	16.8	28.2
Low	1	1.1	2.7	4.9	4.4	6.8	6.9
Total (N)		100 % (90)	100 % (147)	100 % (121)	100 % (94)	100 % (161)	100 % (333)
Kendall's tau = .14				Kendall's tau = .22			

TABLE 16
 Evaluation of Legislators' Performance and Support Controlling
 for the Levels of Political Knowledge
 (percentages)

Support Score		Knowledgeable Individuals			Unknowledgeable Individuals		
		Favorable evaluation	Somewhat favorable evaluation	Unfavorable evaluation	Favorable evaluation	Somewhat favorable evaluation	Unfavorable evaluation
High	6	27.8	19.6	9.2	13.0	13.5	0.0
	5	44.9	33.8	28.9	21.8	21.6	25.7
	4	15.9	20.0	28.4	21.8	21.6	23.8
	3	6.3	12.6	10.6	4.3	18.9	16.2
	2	4.0	8.1	17.0	26.1	8.1	15.2
Low	1	1.1	5.9	5.9	13.0	16.3	10.5
Total		100 % (175)	100 % (270)	100 % (218)	100 % (23)	100 % (37)	100 % (105)
		Kendall's tau = .25			Kendall's tau = .07		

TABLE 17
 Evaluation of Legislators' Performance and Support Controlling
 for the Levels of Political Activity
 (percentages)

Support Score		Activists			Non-activists		
		Favorable evaluation	Somewhat favorable evaluation	Unfavorable evaluation	Favorable evaluation	Somewhat favorable evaluation	Unfavorable evaluation
High	6	27.9	28.6	15.1	17.8	9.7	4.0
	5	46.5	25.7	36.4	40.6	34.2	24.5
	4	16.3	17.1	18.2	17.0	27.8	28.7
	3	4.7	11.4	12.1	12.3	9.0	12.5
	2	4.7	11.4	15.2	8.5	13.7	21.3
Low	1	0.0	5.7	3.0	3.8	5.6	9.0
Total (N)		100 % (43)	100 % (35)	100 % (33)	100 % (106)	100 % (234)	100 % (376)
		Kendall's tau = .19			Kendall's tau = .22		

groups. We can understand these differences better if we compare the results in our two sets of tables (10-13 and 14-17) for the four pairs of groups. For all eight of the groups, support levels correlate better with their evaluation of institutional than of individual legislative performance. However, the differences between the two levels of correlation are substantially higher for the most modern, most efficacious, and most active respondents than for the most traditional, least efficacious, and least active ones. (The difference is greater for the least knowledgeable than for the most knowledgeable.) Apparently the activities of local assemblymen have not made a strong enough impression on most respondents to affect greatly their support for the legislature. The most modern respondents, relatively sophisticated and knowledgeable about politics, are presumably more capable of making a judgement about the performance of the National Assembly, and their support is based more heavily on this. The more traditional, less sophisticated citizens, with less specific impressions about either institutional or individual performance, base their support only a little more on their evaluation of the institution.

We have also examined the relationships between the output satisfactions and legislative support, taking into account the effects of some other variables. Although we do not display the results of the analysis here, we can report that the relationship has remained relatively strong (between .14 and .37) even when we controlled for sex, education, social class, urban-rural residence, and age.⁶ The basic pattern was the same whether we used the perception of the performance of the legislature or the evaluation of the performance of individual legislators as our measure of the output satisfactions. What clearly emerges in the analysis is therefore that the output satisfactions are key variables affecting the citizens' support for the legislature.

V. CONTRASTS BETWEEN PUBLIC AND ELITE RESPONDENTS

In addition to the more than 2200 randomly selected respondents who were interviewed in Korea, 476 local elites were selected in the same twelve legislative districts and were interviewed using a similar instrument. We have not yet had a chance to analyze these data, but some findings pertinent to this paper have been summarized in a recent paper prepared by Young Kihl (1974), who participated in the field research and is studying elites in Korea.

Table 18 summarizes his findings regarding elite support for the legislature, perception of legislator qualifications, and evaluation of the job being done by the district assemblymen. The level of support for the legislature is substantially higher among the elite group than among rank-and-file respondents, except for the larger proportion of elites who favor reducing the size of the legislature. This finding is in line with the Iowa study, which has shown that legislative support is higher in each of several elite groups than it is among ordinary Iowa citizens. Kihl's study shows that the local elites rank much higher in education and occupational status than the rank-and-file, and are predominantly males in their 40's and 50's. Based on our findings (Table 3), these characteristics alone would lead us to expect elite groups to be more supportive of the legislature than the rank-and-file constituents.

(Table 18 here)

The data on the perceptions and expectation of elites in Table 18 are equally interesting, particularly when compared to comparable data for rank-and-file respondents summarized in Tables 6 and 7. There is almost

TABLE 18

Attitudes of Korean Elites toward the Legislature
(N = 476)

Questions on Support	Percent Replying Yes	
Do we really need a legislature?	94.6	
What difference has it made? Has it made society better?	84.0	
Are we better off because we have one?	84.0	
Is the legislature one of the best things established since independence?	66.5	
Could we do just as well with half as many legislators?	42.6	
Characteristics of Legislators	Percent Saying Characteristic Is Important	Percent Saying Most MPs Have Characteristic
Hard Work	95.8	44.9
Honesty	96.0	30.2
Understanding of Common People	91.0	41.7
Good Education	75.2	56.2
Important Man in Community	47.1	38.2
Success in Occupation	45.2	40.9
Long Residence in District	31.1	50.5
Description of Job	Percent Saying Job Is Very Important or Important	Percent Saying MP Is Doing Very Good or Good Job
Telling government what people want	95.1	49.7
Debates and bill passing	93.7	56.4
Helping people with problems	87.4	44.7
Getting projects for district	67.7	34.8
Visiting district often	63.7	39.6
Explaining government policies	83.4	53.5
Helping solve community conflicts	84.6	46.5

perfect agreement between the two groups about the relative importance of legislator characteristics, and the importance of honesty, hard work, understanding of people and education. Almost identical proportions of elites and rank-and-file respondents (from one-third to over one-half, depending on the item) believe that most assemblymen possess these four most important characteristics. The elite respondents are more satisfied with the general performance of the legislature, however; 55 percent of them (compared to 36 percent of the ordinary respondents) believe that the legislature is performing reasonably well. There is also a substantial level of agreement between the two groups on the relative importance of various jobs performed by assemblymen, although elites give higher priority to solving conflicts and a lower priority to visiting the district and on most items a larger proportion of elite respondents agree on its importance. There are large differences in evaluation of how well the individual assemblymen perform, with the elites (who are presumably better informed) giving the assemblymen higher ratings in each case, though the two groups largely agree about which jobs are performed best.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

The major findings of this study can be briefly summarized. In general the variables that we hypothesized would have a positive relationship with legislative support actually do; although some of the relationships are relatively weak, none of them are negative. No single variable stands out as having such a strong relationship to support, however, that we can afford to ignore others. Several socioeconomic characteristics of

individuals are related to support. In particular, the level of support is higher for men, persons with higher education, and those in higher-status occupations. Higher legislative support is found among persons in the higher political strata, as measured by knowledge, activity, and efficacy. An even stronger relationship exists between those ranking high in individual modernity and those who are supportive of the legislature.

For each of several measures of satisfaction with the legislature or favorable perceptions of it, we find positive correlations with support (even after controlling for socioeconomic characteristics). The strongest relationship is between support and a measure of general satisfaction with performance of the legislature. Although most voters have impressions about the characteristics of legislators and there is considerable consensus about which are most important, there is only a weak relationship between a positive impression of the legislators (in terms of important characteristics) and support. Although there is considerable agreement on which jobs of an assemblyman are most important, many respondents do not have a clear impression about how well their assemblymen are doing these important jobs, and for those who do there is only a weak link between their impressions and their legislative support. Nevertheless, levels of support and satisfaction with the performance of the legislature and of individual members differ substantially from district to district, suggesting that the activities of the assemblymen do have some direct and/or indirect impact on support levels.

In a rapidly developing country like Korea we would expect to find great differences in the levels of modernity between the relatively well educated residents of the large urban centers and the poorly educated and

ill informed persons in the countryside who remain strongly attached to traditional attitudes. We suspect that there are important differences in the reasons why the more modern and the more traditional voters support the legislature, differences that can not be measured by the data that are available from our surveys. Traditionally oriented individuals, despite their lack of knowledge and involvement, may support the legislature strongly because of their submissive attitudes toward any political authority. On the other hand, the more modern and politically sophisticated citizens may perceive the legislature as an indispensable part of a modern political system, which they support.

Our expectation that the more modern and politically sophisticated voters would be much more likely, or perhaps the only group, to link legislative support to performance satisfaction did not prove to be correct. We found instead that satisfaction with legislative institutional performance is more strongly linked to support among the more modern respondents than it is among the more traditional, while satisfaction with the job done by individual assemblymen is related more strongly to support among the more traditional than among the more modern voters.

We assume that the reasons for these differences are related to the different levels of political knowledge and interest that characterize the two groups. The modern voters are more likely to know something about the performance of the legislative institution and to have some basis for making a judgment about it. The traditionally oriented citizens have very limited political knowledge, and their political interest, if any, rarely extends beyond the immediate problems of their own community. Consequently, if they know anything about the legislature, we would expect it to be confined to what their legislators do in the district. Similarly, we would expect

their support of the legislature to be based more heavily on their perception of individual legislator rather than institutional performance. The results of our analysis support our argument, but not perfectly. Among modern voters support is much more closely linked to satisfaction with institutional performance, while among traditional voters it is linked about equally to institutional and individual performance of legislators.

We believe that there are strong theoretical reasons for anticipating different bases of support among modern and traditional voters. One reason why these differences are less clear than we might expect in Korea is that a majority of the Korean citizens have already achieved a relatively high level of modernity. It has been discovered that most of the Korean voters are located at the upper end of the modernity scale (Kim and Pai, 1974). Therefore, our distinction between the more modern and traditionally oriented citizens was based on a relatively small range of variations. Had we tested the argument in a country where the gap between the modern and traditionally oriented citizens is greater, it would have been possible to show more clearly the different bases of legislative support for the modern and traditional strata of the population.⁷

Finally, the public's support for the legislature is important from the standpoint of democratic development. The legislature has been historically associated with the growth of democratic politics. Through various functions that it performs in the political system a well-functioning legislature can serve as a vitally important institution of democracy. Without strong public support, legislatures in developing countries, where they tend to have neither firm historical roots nor political power, are not likely to survive the vagaries of the authoritarian regimes. Therefore, the growth in public support for the legislature is a critical condition

for its survival and development and has profound implications for democratic development.

NOTES

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1. Most of the previous research has focused on the internal workings of the legislature. Coalition formation, legislative decision-making and roll-call analysis, committee structure and process, recruitment, and legislative staffing, all of which are parts of the process internal to the legislative institution, have been so far major topics for research. Even some studies which have employed the role concept have been conducted primarily from the point of view of legislators, thus ignoring the roles of other important actors who interact within the legislative system. Although the Iowa project does not ignore the importance of the internal process of the legislature, it attempts to go beyond this and examine the legislature from the points of view of other actors involved. This is the reason why the patterns of interaction between the legislative system and other parts of the political system have been selected for the study. Moreover, this theoretical concern requires us to conduct interviews with the samples drawn from various political strata such as legislators, higher civil servants, local elites, and the constituents. A fuller explanation of the project and its research design is given elsewhere (Kim, 1973).

2. The problem of identifying the local elites in each electoral district is a difficult one. First, we tried to compile a list of local elites on the basis of nomination by the rank-and-file constituents. This reputational technique produced about 60 percent of our local elite sample. Second, the remaining elites were selected by the field survey directors while they were out in the districts. The basis of such selection was the formal leadership position that one occupies. Some examples of this include: school principals, doctors, lawyers, village or town chiefs, and security officers. We have therefore used a combination of both reputational and positional techniques to identify local elites.

3. The efficacious group includes all those individuals who gave efficacious responses to all three efficacy questions. The inefficacious group consists of those individuals who replied to all three efficacy questions in an inefficacious manner. The efficacy questions are as follows:
(1) People like me don't have any say about what the government does.
(2) Government officials do not care much what people like me think.

(3) Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me cannot really understand what's going on.

4. The knowledgeable individuals are those who meet all of the following three criteria: (1) can name correctly either or both of their two representatives, (2) can indicate and discuss major problems facing their districts, and (3) can indicate and discuss major problems facing the nation. The category of the unknowledgeable individuals refers to those who meet none of the three criteria cited above.

5. We have employed three criteria to define the activist stratum: (1) has talked to other people in order to influence their voting decisions, (2) has attended political rallies and meetings, and (3) has participated in campaign works. Those who did all of these three were considered as the activists, while others who did none of these were classified as the inactivists.

6. The relationships between the output satisfactions and legislative support controlling for sex, education, social class, urban-rural residence, and age are summarized below:

Relationships Between Output Satisfactions and
Legislative Support Controlling for Various Variables
(Kendall's taus)

Control Variables:	Support and the Perception of the performance of the legislature	Support and the Evaluation of the performance of individual legislators
Sex: Male	.27 (839)	.19 (1105)
Female	.37 (462)	.24 (813)
Age: 20-30 years old	.33 (395)	.14 (534)
Over 31 years old	.27 (916)	.26 (1400)
Type of residence:		
Urban areas	.38 (503)	.26 (726)
Rural areas	.22 (774)	.24 (1159)
Education:		
No schooling	.19 (216)	.21 (400)
Some schooling	.33 (1107)	.22 (1554)
Social class:		
Upper & middle class	.33 (735)	.20 (999)
Working & lower class	.25 (532)	.26 (877)

NOTE: Ns do not always add up to 2276 cases because the categories of "don't knows" and "no responses" are excluded in the computations.

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7. We have collected similar sets of data from Turkey and Kenya. The spread of individual modernity among the population in these two countries are expected to be greater than it is in Korea. We plan to extend our analysis to these two countries in the future.

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