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《Article》

Child's Political World at School :  
Preliminary Study on Political Socialization in Japan

Toshikazu Aiuchi\*

*Introduction\*\**

How much is the formal school curriculum important to understand the origin of gender role socialization among Japanese children? Actually, we can find little gender bias in the formal curriculum. "Little" doesn't mean nothing, and these unconscious bias of values and way of thinking, such as the illustrations of male doctors and female nurses, cooking mother and office working father in the textbooks, may be the deepest root of the gender attitudes transmitted from generation to generation. For example, the homemaking course is now ready to open to all the students but is still widely accepted as exclusively for the girls not only by the children but also by the teachers and parents. Boys who are interested in cooking and sewing may be teased mainly by their peers and may have psychological pressure to conform to the majority. It seems that importance of the peers for the children to learn gender roles is comparable between the cultures.<sup>1</sup>

When we try to find some clues of gender differences of

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\*\* The first version of this paper was presented at the Tenth Annual Scientific Meeting of International Society of Political Psychology, 1987 in San Francisco.

1. Best calls this socialization process the second curriculum. Best, Raphaela, (1983) *We've All Got Scars*.

political socialization at school, we have to pay attention to the real activities of children as well as the planned formal curriculum. The activity of class government and student council is somewhat of the marginal between the formal curriculum and the extra-curricular activity. Though the coaching of the class teachers may be reflected on the behavior of the students, participation to the quasi-political activities such as electoral process of the committee members may provide some new experience and learning opportunities about the political world. The president, vice-president, secretaries and committee members are all elected by the children. In the Japanese schools, children enjoy their campaign activities twice a year. Through visiting the classrooms to give a short speech, elaborating the catch-phrases, slogans and placard, wearing a "sash" as a candidate, asking friends to run for the "office", asking friends to support him/her run for the "office", preparing the rallies before and after the schoolwide meeting for campaign speeches, each child has a chance to experience some "political" activities spontaneously. This campaign style is an imitation of that of the real electoral campaign.

One of the purposes of this paper is to examine relations between such kind of quasi-political activities and the socio-political attitudes among the children.

We also would examine whether there are gender differences of attitudes in the leadership among the school children in the fourth to sixth-grade. We can compare their leadership experiences, leadership orientations and degrees of self confidence. Actually, in the Japanese politics, the representation of women is still quite poor. Among the national representatives, women's share is slightly more than five percent, and even in the local politics, women had

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2. Political representation of women in Japan in 1987 was: National Diet House of Representatives 1.37%, House of Councilors 8.70%, Local Assemblies 2.16%. Masako Aiuchi, (1987) "Female Representation in Japan", unpublished.

As the result of 1989 House of Councilors election (half of the seats are elected every third year after their six year term), total female representation surged to 13.1% in the House of Councillors. *Fujin Tenbou*, August, 1989, pp. 4-7.

only two percent representation in 1989.<sup>2</sup> Politics and politicians do not seem to be popular but they are accepted dubious and infamous in the Japanese cultural context. An opinion poll shows that only 1.5% of the Japanese think that the politician is a desirable occupation. When we compare the genders, females like this job much less (0.4%) than males (2.9%).<sup>3</sup> This attitude may also be socialized among the Japanese children. In the late 60s, Richard Merelman found gender differences among sixth to twelfth-grade American children. The percentage of those who wished to run for political office is almost the same among the sixth-grade children, but the desire of the twelfth-grade girls is only a quarter of the percentage of the boys of the same grade.<sup>4</sup>

Thirdly, we would like to investigate the relationship between leadership experiences and leadership attitudes in each gender.

This paper is based on the data collected in September, 1983 at the two public schools in the small city in Hokkaido, the northern island in Japan. The populations of the city was around with some farmers. The schools are in the urbanized residential area. The classes were randomly sampled in each school by the researchers. We do not think that this research represents the Japanese children. This is the preliminary research analysis of political socialization process of Japanese children.<sup>5</sup> We understand the necessity to collect randomly sampled nation-wide data of political attitudes of the Japanese children which are comparable to their parents' attitudes and their social conditions.

In Japan, however, it seems almost impossible to collect data from the parents and their children. People are very nervous to be involved in the political partisanship which has been strongly

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3. NHK 1978 research. (1979) *Nihonjin no Shokugyo Ishiki*.

4. Merelman, Richard, (1971) *Political Socialization and Educational Climates: A Study of Two School Districts*.

5. The author has been conducting a research asking 4,000 children since 1989. The surveys are planned to be three waves. Most of the questionnaires are comparable to our 1968 survey. They are partially made comparable to the U.S. version by Jack Dennis and Aiuchi.

ideological. Many people do not want to express their partisanship. A school children survey is also very difficult because of the confrontations and suspicions between the school administration and the teachers' union.<sup>6</sup> This is one of the critical reasons why Japanese political scientists have been discouraged to go into this field. Even though Tadao Okamura started political socialization study in late 60s in Japan,<sup>7</sup> we have few data sets to access in our own country since then.

### *Differences by Grade Level*

#### [Leadership Experience]

First of all, we would like to examine their leadership experiences in the school. Twenty-nine percent of the fourth-grade, thirty-six percent of the fifth-grade, seventy-one percent of the sixth-grade children have experienced some kind of leadership at school. This shows that the older the children, the more the chances of leadership increase, and the leadership opportunities are not occupied by the small number of children but are shared by the wide range of members. It is also obvious that the experienced children increase sharply among the sixth graders. This tendency

**Table 1** Have you ever been a committee member of the student government of your class?

Grade level	yes	no	total (n)
4th	28.9	71.1	100.0 (166)
5th	36.1	63.9	100.0 (166)
6th	71.4	28.6	100.0 (168)

6. To have the overall view of political situation within the Japanese high schools in Japan, see Rohlen, Thomas P., (1983) *Japan's High Schools*.

7. Okamura and his group, including Aiuchi, collected 7000 cases data in 1968. Major work on this research is: Okamura, (1971), "Gendai Nihon ni okeru Seijiteki Shakaika" (Children in the Japanese Politics) *Nempo Seijigaku 1970. (The Annuals of the Japanese Political Science Association 1970)* This data set is available at ICPSR. (ICPSR 7390: Political Socialization in Japan, 1968)

matches the reality of school life where leadership opportunity is expanded to a schoolwide arena, especially for the sixth-graders.

The leadership experiences outside school are much less than inside school. The difference between the grades is much bigger. Among the fourth and the fifth-graders, the out of school experienced leader are only three percent and nine percent, but among the sixth-graders they are thirty percent. Even though they are under the supervision of parents or other adults, Japanese children start their leadership around the age of sixth-grade (11 years old) outside of their school life.

**Table 2** Have you ever been a leader of out-of-school activities?

Grade level	yes	no	total (n)
4th	3.0	97.0	100.0 (166)
5th	9.0	91.0	100.0 (166)
6th	30.4	69.6	100.0 (168)

#### [Leadership Imagery]

What are the most important qualities of a leader for the children? At the top were such things as a “strong sense of responsibility” (59.4%), “can harmonize the group” (22.0%), and “can lead the followers” (13.8%). The second most important qualities were “can harmonize” (42.2%), “can lead” (25.8%), and “responsibility” (20.2%). According to this result, a good leader for the Japanese children is one who is sincerely responsible and can keep harmony among the members of his group. A “good student” and “those who have similar ideas to the teacher or adult” were barely selected. For the Japanese children, their leader dose not literally mean the person to “lead” the group, but the person to unify the group. This image shows a similarity to the Japanese adults’ idea of what is required to make a leader “virtuous”.<sup>8</sup>

When we look at the children’s responses by grade, we cannot see a difference among what they consider to be “the most important quality”; “responsibility” is always dominant. As for the responses to the “second most important quality”, the fifth and the sixth-graders show a higher preference for “can lead” than do the

8. Kyogoku, Jun’ichi, (1987) *Political Dynamism of Japanese Society*.

fourth-graders. It seems that "competence to lead the group" becomes more preferable among the higher grade children, although the percentage of this response is lower than "can harmonize".

**Table 3** What do you think the important qualities that leaders generally must have?

Quality	[most important]			[second most important]		
	Grade level			Grade level		
	4th	5th	6th	4th	5th	6th
to be responsible	57.8	63.9	56.5	21.2	20.5	19.0
good student	4.2	1.8	0.6	3.0	2.4	4.8
to harmonize the group	23.5	20.5	22.2	49.4	39.8	37.5
to lead the member	10.8	12.7	17.9	17.5	31.3	28.6
have ideas like adults	1.8	1.2	—	6.6	4.8	1.2
nothing particular	1.2	—	1.2	1.8	1.2	6.5
N.A., D.K.	0.6	—	1.8	0.6	—	2.4
Total	100.0 (166)	100.0 (166)	100.0 (168)	100.0 (166)	100.0 (166)	100.0 (168)

**Table 4** Please answer how much you agree with the following opinions about your student leaders.

(4-1) They are haughty.

Grade level	absolutely agree	agree	in-between	don't agree	N.A.	Total
4th	6.6	24.7	18.7	41.0	9.0	100.0 (166)
5th	9.6	22.3	21.1	39.2	7.8	100.0 (166)
6th	22.6	16.7	25.6	28.0	7.1	100.0 (168)

(4-2) They are always thinking about the benefit for all.

Grade level	also-lutely agree	agree	in-between	don't agree	N.A.	Total
4th	27.1	35.5	15.7	9.6	12.0	100.0 (166)
5th	19.9	33.7	20.5	16.9	9.0	100.0 (166)
6th	14.3	36.9	20.2	23.8	4.8	100.0 (168)

How do the children feel toward or evaluate their leaders? The majority of them react favorably to their leaders, but we can also find a difference of attitudes between the older and the younger. Among the sixth-graders, the percentage of those responded "they are haughty" is three times more than that of the fourth-graders. Because those who don't feel that "they are haughty" are less among the sixth-graders, it is possible to say that the sixth-graders have a tendency to be more critical of their leaders. The evaluation that "the leaders are always thinking about

the benefit for all” is less among the sixth-graders than among the fourth-graders. In fact, almost a quarter of the sixth-graders expressed a negative opinion in this respect. We can say that the sixth-graders are still favorable to their leaders, but no longer simple and naive admirers like the fourth-graders.

[Participation Orientation]

Are the Japanese children assertive? We asked them the following situational question: “When your opinion is the only dissenting opinion in the class meeting, and you also believe that your opinion is right, what do you do? Do you hold out until the end of the meeting, do you follow the majority’s opinion, or do you ask the teacher’s opinion?” We don’t know their daily behavior, but a quarter of the fourth-grade children and almost forty percent of the sixth-grade children answered that they keep their opinion until the end of the meeting, even if they are isolated. On the other hand, thirty percent of the sixth-graders and forty-four percent of the fourth-graders said that they would accept the majority’s opinion. There is no standard to measure these result and show if the Japanese children became more assertive. Rather, this must be examined in a comparative cultural context.

**Table 5**

(A) When your opinion is the only dissenting opinion and you look isolated at the class meeting but you think your opinion is right, what do you do?

	4th	5th	6th
Insist your opinion	26.5	42.2	39.3
Follow the majority	44.0	31.3	30.4
Ask teacher	12.0	10.8	7.7
D.K.	17.7	15.7	22.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

(B) Are you good at building up group consensus?

	4th	5th	6th
Yes, very much	1.8	3.0	4.2
Yes, somewhat.	10.8	10.8	14.3
in-between	65.7	54.2	47.6
Rather poor	12.0	23.5	25.0
Very poor	9.6	7.8	8.9
N.A.	—	0.6	—
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

The children were also asked to self-evaluate their ability to reach a group consensus. The responses to this challenge seem interesting when they are connected to their assertiveness. The percentages of those who consider themselves to be strong in doing this are not different among the grades, but almost two-thirds of the fourth-graders and less than the half of the sixth-graders consider themselves neither strong nor weak in this respect. Among the sixth-graders, almost a quarter of them responded that they were rather weak in reaching a group consensus; this is twice the percentage of the fourth-graders who responded similarly. This may explain a process of discovery that shows their in/ability to make a consensus and maintain harmony among the group members who increase diversity and assertiveness in the higher grade level.

[Political Cognition]

The Japanese children learn social studies according to the strict guidance of the Ministry of Education. The official guidebook regulates what, when and how the children are taught in the compulsory educational institutions. This means that the classroom teaching is highly standardized, and this is supported by an analysis of the textbooks.<sup>9</sup> Children learn about towns and cities in the fourth-grade, prefectures in the fifth-grade, and national politics in the sixth-grade. This means that the fourth-grade students do not learn about the prefectural level political system or national politics (including the political parties) in classroom lectures.

The fourth-grade children, however, have some amount of political cognition in their perspectives. We found that a quarter of the fourth-grade children can write the Prime Minister's full name. Sixty-four percent of them can write his surname. Although the percentage of the children who can write the full name of the Prime Minister does not increase, eighty-two percent of the sixth-graders can write his last name.

Twenty-eight percent of the fourth-graders and fifty-five

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9. Okamura, Tadao, and T. Aiuchi, et al. (1969) "Seijiteki Shakaika ni okeru <Minshu-shugi> to <Heiwa>" [*<Democracy> and <Peace> in the Political Socialization*], *Shakai Kagaku Journal (Social Science Journal)*, Vol. 8.

percent of the sixth-graders could correctly identify the Prime Minister's party. Such questions are open questions, so the children are left to write down the answers by themselves instead of circling a given number. If the questions were multiple choice, the correct answers could be higher than this result suggests.

**Table 6** Please write down the Prime Minister's name and his party.

Name of the PM	full name correct	last name correct	wrong	N.A.	Total
4th	25.3	38.6	3.0	33.1	100.0
5th	24.1	53.6	2.4	18.7	100.0
6th	23.2	58.9	6.6	11.3	100.0

  

Party name of the PM	correct	wrong	N.A.	Total
4th	28.3	1.8	69.9	100.0
5th	40.4	10.2	49.4	100.0
6th	55.4	11.3	33.3	100.0

#### [Partisanship]

"If you could vote, which party would you vote for?" Thirty-five percent of the fourth-graders, thirty-two percent of the fifth-graders and twenty-seven percent of the sixth-graders answered D.K. and N.A. It doesn't seem there is a difference between the grades. This means that from fourth-grade, two-thirds of the Japanese children have some kind of partisanship.

Given the big geographical mobility from the rural areas to the urban areas after 1960s, occupational changes during the high economic growth period and its aftermath, and rather frequent splinters and mergers of the political parties, it is understandable that Japanese partisanship continuity among generations is less cohesive than that of the Americans. Among the respondents, those who did not know their father's voting party were fifty-eight percent of the fourth-graders, forty-seven percent of the fifth-graders, and thirty-six percent of the sixth-graders. The higher the grade, the more they knew about their parents' party. We found, however, that the percentage of D.K. of their own partisanship is smaller than that of their parents' partisanship. This means that the partisanship of the children, at least some of it, is formed by

socialization outside of their families.

We need further investigation into the partisanship of the children even without considering the grade differences.<sup>10</sup> When children know their parents' voting party, the rate of their coinciding in partisanship to their parents is around 70% (among each partisanship of the parents). This doesn't seem very low, but on the other hand, thirty-five percent of the children who don't know their parents' party support have their own partisanship. When we calculate the coincidence rate to each parent among all, the percentage of coincidence to the father is thirty-two percent, and thirty-three percent to the mother.

**Table 7** Which party do you think your father usually votes for?

Grade level	mentioned the party name	independent	doesn't vote	D.K.	Total
4th	38.6	0.6	2.4	58.4	100.0
5th	47.0	5.4	0.6	47.0	100.0
6th	56.0	7.1	0.6	36.3	100.0

What does the "political party" mean for the children? They know the Prime Minister's name is "Nakasone", and his party's name is "Jiyu Minshu-to"(Liberal Democratic Party, hereafter referred to as LDP). If the partisan responses of the children have political orientation, or political preference at least, we can expect different responses to the Prime Minister among the pro-LDP group and pro-Japanese Socialist Party (JSP) group. When we compare the responses to the two questions, "Do you like the Prime Minister?" and "Is the Prime Minister doing a good job?", we cannot

**Table 8** Do you like the Prime Minister?  
(by respondent's favorite party)

favorite party	Like him very much+like him	in-between	Don't like him very much+Don't like him at all	D.K.	Total
LDP	6.9	34.7	54.4	4.0	100.0
D.K.	7.0	37.6	46.5	8.9	100.0
JSP	4.0	29.7	61.3	5.0	100.0

10. The reason why we don't take grade difference into consideration is just because of the limitation of number of cases.

**Table 9** Do you think the Prime Minister is doing a good job?  
(by respondent's favorite party)

He is doing:					
favorite party	very well + well	average	poorly + very poorly	D.K.	Total
LDP	38.7	12.9	39.6	8.9	100.0
D.K.	37.0	19.7	26.8	16.6	100.0
JSP	35.7	18.8	40.6	5.9	100.0

find any significant difference between these two groups.<sup>11</sup>

It is not difficult to understand the low preference for the Prime Minister. Firstly, the prime ministers in Japan have not been very popular among the people and have often been criticized by the media. Many public opinion polls support this observation.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the timing of the survey was two months before the scheduled sentencing day of the former Prime Minister Tanaka who had been arrested and prosecuted for corrupt practices. When the media started repeating the term "ex-Prime Minister" and "corruption", it devalued the prime ministership.

More interestingly, the prime minister's performance is evaluated favorably by both of these party's supporters. The pro-JSP group seems to have nothing to do with the political stands of the party that is always criticizing the poor performance of the prime minister.<sup>13</sup> It seems very odd to understand that their sense of partisanship has some links to the political orientation on the national level.

The Governor of Hokkaido was elected five months before this survey. It was an open seat race, and the vote was very close. He used to be a Representative, a Diet member, of JSP from the next district. His father, who had passed away long ago, was also a famous Representative of JSP and also a defeated candidate of the gubernatorial race. Children's response to the governor and their partisanship show some political orientation. He ran for the

11. For the reference we compared the three groups, LDP supporters, JSP supporters and D.K. group.

12. Tanaka cabinet at its start and Nakasone cabinet from 1984 to 1986 were only exceptions. Ishikawa, Masumi, (1984), *Deeta Sengo Seijishi*.

13. Relatively high evaluation to the performance of the prime minister is another feature found in the 1968 data. See Okamura (1971).

office as an Independent and called his partisanship the "Hokkaidoans' Party". He avoided an overt ideological confrontation by keeping himself away from political parties. The pro-JSP trade unions supported him and participated in the campaign enthusiastically, and the citizens' movement organizations endorsed him. His party affiliation was vague but his political stands seemed clear as non-LDP or anti-LDP. Children could identify the difference of opinions between the Prime Minister and the Governor.

**Table 10** Do you think the Prime Minister's opinion and the Governor's opinion differ much or not? (by respondent's favorite party)

Their opinions

favorite party	differ very much	differ	differ some	not much	same	D.K.	Total
LDP	22.8	36.6	11.9	13.9	2.0	12.9	100.0 (101)
D.K.	18.5	26.8	14.0	7.6	2.5	30.6	100.0 (157)
JSP	30.7	33.7	14.9	7.9	—	12.9	100.0 (101)

We can also see the partisan orientation in the responses to the questions about the governor. Pro-JSP children prefer and evaluate the governor more than the pro-LDP children.

**Table 11** Do you like governor?  
(by respondent's favorite party)

favorite party	Like him very much	like him	in-between	Don't like him very much + Don't like him at all	D.K.	Total
LDP	15.8	23.8	43.6	15.8	1.0	100.0
D.K.	16.6	15.9	49.0	12.1	6.4	100.0
JSP	28.7	33.7	25.7	7.0	5.0	100.0

**Table 12** Do you think the Governor is doing a good job?  
(by respondent's favorite party)

favorite party	very well	well	average	poorly + very poorly	D.K.	Total
LDP	24.8	41.6	13.9	11.9	7.9	100.0
D.K.	31.3	32.5	14.6	6.3	14.6	100.0
JSP	41.6	44.6	5.9	6.0	2.0	100.0

A low popularity of prime minister and relatively better evaluation of the local political authorities have been pointed out as one of the features of Japanese politics.<sup>14</sup> Especially through a

political excitement like upset local election, children may learn about some differences of partisanship. In this case, children are cognate of party names but their sense of partisanship seems only connected to the local political authority.

### [TV and Children]

Children's favorite genre of TV varies a little by grade. When we ask them to pick their two most favorite genres, comics (animations) is overwhelmingly popular. Eighty-eight percent of the fourth-grade and eighty percent of the sixth-grade children mention this genre as their favorite. News is not a popular genre. Only ten percent of the fourth-grade children include news in their favorite two, but among the fifth and sixth graders we can find around twenty percent of them mention this genre. This does not mean that children don't watch TV news because we narrowed the possible answers down to two. We can only define those who mentioned news as frequent news watchers, or intentional news watchers at most. We took these twenty percent of fifth and sixth-grade children and compared their political cognition with the rest of their peers, but we could not find a significant difference between them. This group may be more curious concerning social events than their peers, but this does not mean they are politicized.

## *Gender and Attitudinal Difference*

### [Leadership Experience]

In school, the frequencies of experience of leadership do not seem different between genders. Leadership positions in out-of-school activities are also equally shared.

During the period of the fourth to the sixth-grade of elementary school, girls are often physically larger and stronger than boys. Japanese boys of these ages find it difficult to show off their "machismo" in the classroom.<sup>15</sup> We inquire about the "power balance" in the classroom. Surprisingly, only a third of the fourth

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14. Richardson, Bradley, and S. Flanagan, (1984) *Politics in Japan*. pp. 240-245.

15. Best, Raphaela, op cit.

and the fifth-graders answered that "boys are stronger than girls", and almost a fifth of the sixth-graders did the same. On the other hand, the response that "girls are stronger than the boys" was a majority (54%) among the sixth grade children. When we look at it by gender, sixty percent of the sixth-grade girls said they are stronger than boys, and almost half of the boys agree with it. Of course, boys tend to assert that they are stronger than girls almost two times as much as the girls admit boys are, but these narcissists are only thirty percent of the sixth-grade boys. The perception that girls are stronger than boys seems to be a common opinion among the sixth-grade children.

**Table 13** Which are stronger in your class, boys or girls?

Grade level		girls	same	boys	Total
4th	girls	33.8	40.3	26.0	100.0 (77)
	boys	47.2	11.2	41.6	100.0 (89)
5th	girls	18.6	58.6	22.9	100.0 (70)
	boys	47.2	11.2	41.6	100.0 (96)
6th	girls	61.1	26.4	12.5	100.0 (72)
	boys	47.9	24.0	28.1	100.0 (96)

However, the girls are not stronger than boys in their attitudes. It may be important to point out that we cannot find a difference between genders concerning their assertiveness and self-estimation of consensus making skill in the fourth-grade through the sixth-grade children.

[Social Concerns, Family Concerns]

In spite of this apparent assertiveness, the sixth grade girls seem to have less social concerns than boys. For example, girls of this grade mentioned "Japanese" and "Homemaking" as their favorite subjects (when allowed only two answers) much more often than the boys, the boys in turn, answered "Social Science" and "Art" more often than the girls.

Almost twenty-five percent of the sixth-grade boys mentioned "News" when they were asked their two most favorite TV genres, but only a half of this percentage of the same age girls mentioned this genre.

**Table 14** The Sixth-graders' favorite subjects at school (selected 2 answers).

	Japanese	Social Science	Homemaking	Art	(%)
girls	31.9	11.1	77.8	23.6	
boys	7.3	27.1	6.2	36.5	

**Table 15** The Sixth-graders' favorite TV programs (selected 2 items)

	comics	pop-music	movies	news	sports	others	N.A.	Total
girls	72.2	66.6	36.2	11.1	8.3	4.2	1.4	200.0
boys	86.5	20.9	18.8	25.0	41.7	5.2	2.1	200.0

When we asked the children "Who is the greatest person in Japan?", their answers varied. Japan does not have clear, singularly great person in her history, as is indicated by the idea of "missing leader and the missing hero".<sup>16</sup> We found that girls tended to answer their parent/s as the greatest person.

The aforementioned gender differences are not overwhelmingly big, but they do sufficiently indicate girls seem to have less social concerns. To be fair, we must show that the family-oriented value system is also shared by the sixth-grade boys. Among the fourth and the fifth-grade children, boys implied that they would

**Table 16** Who is the greatest person in Japan?

	Emperor	P.M.	Citizens	Parents	others	N.A.	Total
4th girls	19.5	16.9	15.6	13.0	3.9	31.2	100.0
4th boys	27.0	22.5	16.9	6.7	6.7	20.2	100.0
5th girls	18.6	38.6	—	28.6	10.0	4.3	100.0
5th boys	21.9	39.6	—	6.2	25.0	7.3	100.0
6th girls	18.1	11.1	8.3	25.0	20.8	16.7	100.0
6th boys	19.8	27.1	5.2	15.6	14.6	16.7	100.0

like to "work for the society", or "make much money". However, the girls tended to answer overwhelmingly that they would like to "build a happy family". One should note, though, that the sixth-grade boys' "happy family" orientation is almost as high as the

16. Massey, Joseph, (1976) *Youth and Politics in Japan*.

girls', and the sixth-grade girls' "social contribution" is no lower than the boys'. As the differences in the favorite subjects indicate, the quality and meaning of this family orientation among each gender might be different, but we have no further data to pursue this.

**Table 17** What is your ideal life goal?

	4th		5th		6th	
	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys
Work for the society	5.2	16.9	5.7	19.8	11.1	12.5
Build a happy family	36.4	15.7	48.6	24.0	38.9	31.3
Make much money	5.2	18.0	8.6	18.8	11.1	14.6
Persuit in one's job	14.3	18.0	8.6	10.4	8.3	9.4
Live as one likes	5.2	6.7	5.7	6.3	6.9	6.3
Become famous	6.5	4.5	1.4	7.3	8.3	6.3
others	5.2	4.5	8.6	1.0	2.8	3.1
D.K.	22.1	15.7	12.9	12.5	12.5	16.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(77)	(89)	(70)	(96)	(72)	(96)

[Politicization]

Girls also seem less politicized than boys. Forty-four percent of the fourth-grade, and thirty-eight percent of the sixth-grade girls didn't indicate party support, and fifty-five percent of the sixth-grade girls could express their party support. Contrastingly, boys' percentage of D.K. was twenty-seven percent among the fourth-graders and twenty percent among the sixth-graders. Almost seventy percent of the sixth-grade boys claimed some partisanship.

**Table 18** If you can vote now, which party do you like to vote for?

		mentioned party name	indifferent from party	D.K.	Total
4th	girls	51.9	3.9	44.2	100.0
	boys	61.8	11.2	27.0	100.0
5th	girls	44.3	10.0	45.7	100.0
	boys	66.6	11.5	21.9	100.0
6th	girls	54.2	8.3	37.5	100.0
	boys	68.7	11.5	19.8	100.0

From the comparative point of view, how many children would like to run for political office may be an interesting question. We could not find any differences between genders. However, this

doesn't mean that the girls are as highly politicized as boys as it is possible to say that boys are not as attracted to political office. The boys who would like to run for office and who don't mind to do so are less than sixteen percent of sixth-grade boys. Only ten percent of the sixth-grade girls answered in this manner. On the other hand, forty percent of boys and fifty percent of girls respond they would never like to run for office.

**Table 19** How much do you like to run for political office in future? (Sixth-graders only)

	much	not so much	not at all	D.K.	Total
girls	9.8	31.9	48.6	9.7	100.0
boys	15.7	33.3	39.6	11.5	100.0

[Leadership Orientation]

We have seen that the degree of participation in leadership roles is not different by gender. Here, we would like to investigate the quality of their leadership orientation. The question "When you try to make plans for summer vacation with your friends, what part do you take? Will you take the lead to the discussion, or help a leader, or wait until somebody else decides?" shows some interesting gender differences. First of all, we can find that the major attitude among both boys and girls is to assist the leader. During the fourth and the fifth-grades, incentives to take a leadership role is almost the same among boys and girls, and the sixth-grade boys stay at the same level of it. But the sixth-grade girls seem to retreat and take the secondary leadership role. Boys' leadership orientation seems split, that is, a leader-follower relation-

**Table 20** When you make plans for summer vacation with your friends, what part do you take in decision making?

	take a lead	help a leader	wait and follow	Total
4th girls	23.9	57.1	19.5	100.0
4th boys	16.9	44.9	38.2	100.0
5th girls	21.7	65.7	10.0	100.0
5th boys	19.8	59.4	18.8	100.0
6th girls	9.7	73.6	15.3	100.0
6th boys	19.8	51.0	27.1	100.0

ship. The girls' orientation seems more concentrated, they are neither the leader nor the follower, but the sub-leader or the assistant.

Another indication of leadership orientation is the aspiration to hold a formal leadership position. When we examine the aspiration to be the class president and the class vice-president among the fourth and the fifth-grade children, we cannot find any difference between boys and girls. But, the boys of these grades tend to be free from the positions of the class government, and the girls tend to show their aspiration to the lower positions of the class government, such as ordinary committee members and secretaries. Among the sixth-graders, the percentage of the girls who wish to be president is almost a quarter of the percentage of the boys aspiring to be president. Percentage of "sideliners" is less among the sixth-grade boys than among the fourth-graders. It seems that the boys are joining the competition and the girls are retreating to the secondary positions in the class government when they are in the sixth-grade.

**Table 21** If it comes to be realistic, what kind of position do you like to take in the student government in your class?

		president	vice-president	secretary	none	Total
4th	girls	16.9	5.2	32.5	45.5	100.0
	boys	19.1	2.2	12.4	66.3	100.0
5th	girls	10.0	22.9	30.0	37.1	100.0
	boys	18.8	13.5	5.4	58.3	100.0
6th	girls	5.6	15.3	30.6	48.6	100.0
	boys	20.8	19.8	13.5	45.8	100.0

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