Political Socialization and the Cultivation of Democratic Citizens in Taiwan: A Comparative Study of the Political Attitudes and Values of Junior and Senior High, Junior College, and College Students*

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Whether democracy can be consolidated in a newly democratized country depends on whether its citizens respect democracy. Through a study of political socialization in Taiwan, this paper will examine whether the political attitudes and values of Taiwan students can cope with the needs of a democratic system and thus whether Taiwan's democratization can be further enhanced.

Based on survey data gathered from two research projects commissioned in 1993 and 1997 by the National Science Council on the political socialization of Taiwan students, this paper analyzes their attitudes and values on fourteen predictive variables on democracy to see whether they possess the qualifications for democratic citizenship.

Our study indicates that political socialization in Taiwan, especially

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via the educational process, should help enhance those attributes required of a good "subject," including a strong national consciousness, the feeling of nationhood, and fulfillment of civic duties. More importantly, socialization is also helping them to possess such attributes required of a good "citizen" as civic knowledge, political efficacy, participation ability, and political identity achievement. Therefore, the cultivation of qualified democratic citizens is still important for the consolidation of Taiwan's democratization.

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A democratic political system needs to be supported by a civic culture. While the political attitudes and values of the citizenry are the key to the political stability in the advanced democratic countries,[1] they also determine the prospects for the consolidation of democracy in the newly democratized countries.[2] Thus, countries that have already achieved democracy or are becoming democratized have all underlined the importance of cultivating democratic attitudes in the population.[3] While formal education is a major path for the cultivation of democratic citizens, the experience of actual life in a democracy will also help to consolidate democratic attitudes.[4] In other words, interactions with teachers, classmates, and peers, as well as family life and even the social environment all influence the cultivation of democratic citizens. When we study the political sociali-

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[1]Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, eds., *The Civic Culture Revisited* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980).

[2]Gabriel A. Almond, "Foreword: The Return to Political Culture," in *Political Culture and Democracy in Developing Countries*, ed. Larry Diamond (Boulder, Colo. and London: Lynne Rienner, 1993), ix-xii.

[3]Chen Wen-chun, "Political Socialization and Taiwan's Political Democratization: A Study of College (Including Junior College) Students' Political Attitudes and Values," in *Guoli zhongshan daxue zhengzhi yanjiusuo congshu* (Book series published by the Graduate Institute of Political Science of National Sun Yat-sen University), no. 3, second edition (Kaohsiung, August 1987).

[4]Sidney Verba, "Germany: The Remaking of Political Culture," in *Political Culture and Political Development*, ed. Lucian W. Pye and Sidney Verba (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), 168.

zation in a country, we should first examine the efforts the country has taken for the cultivation of a democratic citizenry.

This paper is based on the results of two research projects conducted under the rubric of a large-scale research project commissioned by the National Science Council on Taiwan's political democratization.[5] The two subprojects are titled "Political Socialization and Taiwan's Political Democratization: A Study of Political Attitudes and Values of College Students (I)"[6] and "Political Democratization in the Taiwan Area: A Behavioral Approach—Political Socialization and Political Democratization in the Taiwan Area (II)."[7] These two subprojects examine the political attitudes and values of Taiwan students (including those of junior and senior high school, junior college, and college students) to see whether political socialization in Taiwan has helped students to meet the needs of a democratic polity in the course of Taiwan's democratization.

Political Socialization and the
Cultivation of a Democratic Citizenry

Democracy means rule by the people. In a democratic society, the people are both "subjects" (*guomin*) and "citizens" (*gongmin*). Subjects are the ruled while citizens are the subjects who possess the capacity to rule. Before assuming the capacity and responsibility to rule, people should have the experience of being ruled. The purpose of citizen cultivation is to help people learn how to be ruled and then to rule others.

Citizen cultivation occurs not merely through formal education but also through all activities that can affect people's political attitudes, values,

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[5]The large-scale research project was undertaken by Dr. Chen Yi-yan under the title "Political Democratization in the Taiwan Area: A Behavioral Approach." Finished in October 1991, the research report is NSC81-0301-H-004-02.

[6]This subproject, report number NSC82-0301-H-110-005-B2, was finished in September 1993. Project work was undertaken by Chen Wen-chun and co-sponsored by Kuo Chen, Liao Ta-chi, and Ho Chin-ming.

[7]This subproject, which was finished in December 1997, was undertaken jointly by Kuo Chen and Chen Wen-chun, and co-sponsored by Tsai Mei-ying. The subproject number is NSC86-2412-H-004-018-B2.

and behaviors. Political scientists use the term "political socialization" to describe matters concerning citizen cultivation. Generally speaking, "political socialization" is a process of transplanting the desired political attitudes, values, and patterns of behavior to a new generation. Since this process is not undertaken in a planned manner, it is also an "unconscious social reproduction."[8] As far as political socialization is concerned, all the experiences obtained through school, family, friends, the work place, the mass media, the army, and the political party constitute the process of political socialization.[9]

In 1975, Judith Torney, A. N. Oppenheim, and R. F. Faren conducted a large-scale survey on citizen cultivation in ten countries. They proceeded from three approaches: cognitive, affective, and behavioral contents. Their research findings indicate that the contents of citizen cultivation vary with different countries due to divergences in history, culture, and social and political systems.[10]

For example, citizens in the United States have, under the influence of liberalism, been encouraged to absorb broad knowledge, seek rationality, be active, be responsible, believe in the value of democracy, and effectively take part in political life.[11] In other words, this is an education in political competence or civic competence.[12]

Before the collapse of the Soviet Union, all the Soviet leaders from V. I. Lenin to Mikhail Gorbachev intended to produce "new Soviet man" through political socialization. They desired to make people believe in the value of Marxism-Leninism and anarchism, to have them enthusiastically

[8]Amy Gutmann, "The Primacy of Political Education," in *Higher Education and the Practice of Democratic Politics: A Political Education Reader*, ed. Bernard Murchland (Dayton, Ohio: Kettering Foundation, 1991), 75.

[9]Edgar B. Gumbert, ed., *In the Nation's Image: Civic Education in Japan, the Soviet Union, the United States, France, and Britain* (Atlanta, Georgia: Center for Cross-Cultural Education, Georgia State University, 1987), 6.

[10]Judith Torney, A. N. Oppenheim, and R. F. Faren, *Civic Education in Ten Countries: An Empirical Study* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, A Halsted Book, 1975).

[11]Diana L. Reische, *Citizenship: Goal of Education* (American Association of School Administration, 1987), 11-18.

[12]Robert Weissberg, "The Politics of Political Competence Education," in *Political Education in Flux*, ed. Derek Heater and Judith A. Gillespie (London and Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1981), 127-48.

take part in labor, and to make them patriotic and willing to join in a collective life.[13]

In Japan today, moreover, people are expected to follow the spirit of "samurai without swords," that is, to continuously uphold the spirit of samurai but not to settle conflicts with violence.[14] Major emphases of Japanese education include patriotism, diligence, and self-sacrifice.[15] Beginning in the 1980s, attention has been placed on equality in education, freedom of the individual, and morality.[16]

During the Cultural Revolution period, the schools in mainland China played a much more important role than the family in terms of political socialization. Students were expected to turn into "children of Mao"; they should have extremist authoritarian characteristics and should be willing to sacrifice themselves for Mao.[17]

When Taiwan was still under authoritarian rule, primary school students were preached the importance of both "face" (*mianzi, lian*) and the development of a group sense. At that time, "conformity" was the first lesson they should learn.[18]

From the above review, we can clearly see the differences between the East and the West and between democracies and nondemocracies. In regard to citizen cultivation, only with democratic citizens can a democratic political system be consolidated.

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[13]Delbert Long and Roberta Long, "Political Socialization in the Soviet Union," in Gumbert, *In the Nation's Image*, 41-58; George Avis, ed., *The Making of the Soviet Citizen: Character Formation and Civic Training in Soviet Education* (London: Croom Helm, 1987); Albert Hughes, *Political Socialization of Soviet Youth* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1992).

[14]William K. Cummings, "Samurai Without Swords: The Making of the Modern Japanese," in Gumbert, *In the Nation's Image*, 15-38.

[15]Edward R. Beauchamp, ed., *Learning to Be Japanese* (Hamden, Conn.: Linnet Books, 1978).

[16]James J. Shields, Jr., ed., *Japanese Schooling: Patterns of Socialization, Equality, and Political Control* (University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993).

[17]Anita Chan, *Children of Mao: Personality Development and Political Activism in the Red Guard Generation* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985).

[18]Richard W. Wilson, *Learning to Be Chinese: The Political Socialization of Children in Taiwan* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1970), 22-24.

Ethnic Consciousness and National Identity

The major purpose of political socialization should be the cultivation of a democratic citizenry. The process of political socialization can explain one's view about the qualifications for citizenship. Generally speaking, a child views the question of citizen qualification purely from his feeling for his country or nation. David Easton and Jack Dennis discovered that in the United States, second grade primary school students already have a strong feeling for their nation and a sense of national pride.[19] With the passage of time, their understanding about the government and citizen qualifications begins to take on political connotations. At about the age of twelve or thirteen, they began to view the government from a political perspective. For example, at this age teenagers began to pay attention to the nature and value of the government.[20] In their studies, M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi pointed out that senior high school students in the United States have already used political terms to define a good citizen; they realize that while enjoying certain rights, citizens also have to take up required duties. [21] Nevertheless, one's sense of belonging to a nation will influence one's later political cognition, evaluation, and behavioral tendencies.

Taiwanese/Mainlander Identity

When based on place of origin (*shengji*), residents in Taiwan can be classified into two groups: "natives" and "non-natives," or "Taiwanese" and "mainlanders." In order to examine whether Taiwanese/mainlander identity is an important factor affecting student activities in schools, this paper has used the "social distance" measurement method to examine relations between students of different places of origin.

This measurement takes five areas in school life as the examination

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[19]David Easton and Jack Dennis, *Children in the Political System* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), 95-108.

[20]David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Image of Government," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 361 (1965): 40-57.

[21]M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, *The Political Character of Adolescence* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1974), 274.

Table 1
Social Distance of Students and Their Parents (%)

Items	Junior High (N = 1,298)	Senior High (N = 1,228)	Junior College (N = 635)	College (N = 904)
Friends	10.6[1]	5.9	1.9	2.2
	(11.9)[2]	(6.4)	(3.8)	(3.6)
School student organizations	15.3	8.5	1.7	3.1
	(12.3)	(7.2)	(1.1)	(1.7)
Roommates	19.7	12.2	2.4	2.0
	(23.9)	(12.6)	(0.9)	(5.5)
Boy/girl friends	20.3	15.0	4.4	7.6
	(24.6)	(19.1)	(5.8)	(10.5)
Spouse	25.4	18.5	5.1	7.5
	(25.2)	(22.3)	(6.5)	(11.8)

Notes:
[1]This refers to the percentage of those who answered "yes" (including both "absolutely yes" and "yes").
[2]This refers to the percentage of students' parents who may answer "yes" (including both "absolutely yes" and "yes").

variables: ordinary friends, school student organizations, roommates, boy/girl friends, and spouse. These five are arranged in the order of intimacy with students. In this measurement, students were also asked to give their parents' attitudes in these five areas.

From table 1, we find that junior high school students have attached the most importance to the five areas of school life, followed by senior high school, college, and junior college students. One-fifth of the junior high school students emphasized the importance of place of origin when choosing boy/girl friends; one-fourth attached the importance to that factor when selecting a marriage partner; and 10 to 20 percent considered ethnic identity when selecting ordinary friends, joining school student organizations, and selecting roommates. The ratio of junior high school students attaching importance to that factor in the five areas of life ranged from 10.6 to 25.4 percent, while those of junior college students ranged from 1.9 to 5.1 percent. Parents, moreover, held attitudes similar to their children.

Ethnic Identity

Three approaches have been used to measure ethnic identity: objective, subjective, and synthetic.[22] Advocates of the objective approach maintain that ethnic groups (*zuqun*) should be classified by their special cultural traits. Those advocating the subjective approach maintain that ethnicity is to be decided by one's subjective view; as long as he considers himself a member of the in-group of a certain ethnic group, he belongs to that group.[23] As these two approaches are mutually supplementary, a third approach that mixes these two has also been advanced.[24]

Residents in Taiwan can be divided into at least four ethnic groups: Fulao, Hakka, mainlanders, and original settlers. Based on their subjective observations, some people in Taiwan consider themselves as Chinese, some as Taiwanese, and others as both. Still left to uncover is whether the four ethnic groups in Taiwan identify themselves as of the same community, and if they do so, what is the "significant otherness." In this paper, the measurement method used by Chang Mao-kuei and Hsiao Hsin-huang in their "Chinese/Taiwanese Self-Identification" survey[25] is used to examine the subjective ethnic identity of Taiwan students.

Table 2 indicates that junior college students were more inclined to identify themselves as Chinese (followed by college, junior high, and then senior high school students), while senior high school students were more inclined to identify themselves as Taiwanese (followed by junior high school, college, and then junior college students). Noteworthy is that a considerable proportion of students at all levels have considered themselves both Taiwanese and Chinese. Comparatively speaking, however,

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[22]Urmila Phadnis, *Ethnicity and Nation-Building in South Asia* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1989), 13-16; Leo A. Despres, "Toward a Theory of Ethnic Phenomena," in *Ethnicity and Resource Competition in Plural Societies*, ed. Leo A. Despres (The Hague and Paris: Mouton Publications, 1975), 187-204.

[23]Fredrik Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969), 13-16.

[24]Pierre L. Van Den Berghe, "Ethnicity and Class in Highland Peru," in Despres, *Ethnicity and Resource Competition in Plural Societies*, 72.

[25]The question given for "self-identification" under one's ethnicity was: "Which is closest to your feeling? (1) I am a Chinese; (2) I am both a Chinese and a Taiwanese; (3) It doesn't matter/no opinion; (4) I am both a Taiwanese and a Chinese; (5) I am a Taiwanese."

Table 2
Students' Ethnic Identity (%)

Position	Junior High (N = 1,298)	Senior High (N = 1,228)	Junior College (N = 635)	College (N = 904)
Chinese	7.6	6.6	36.5	25.9
Chinese/Taiwanese	21.0	21.1	27.1	32.2
Don't care/No opinion	13.7	16.9	9.6	10.1
Taiwanese/Chinese	28.0	25.4	22.7	23.7
Taiwanese	29.8	30.0	4.1	8.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

more high school students tend to identify themselves as Taiwanese and more junior college and college students recognize themselves as Chinese. Table 5 indicates that the differences among different levels of students with regard to their ethnic identity were statistically extremely significant ($p < .001$). Between the following groups of students, the difference reached a significant level ($p < .05$): junior college and junior high school; junior college and senior high school; junior college and college; college and junior high school; and college and senior high school. The difference between junior and senior high school students was not statistically significant.

National Pride

"Political identification" (*zhengzhi rentong*) means a person's sense of belonging to a group.[26] A group may refer to any social unit, including family, school, neighborhood, and mass organization. "National identity" (*guojia rentong*) means a person's sense of belonging to a political community and sentimental affiliation to that community. Members of the same political community feel themselves as among the "in-group" or "we-group." Having such commonly acceptable factors as territory, blood ties,

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[26]William Buchanan, "Political Identification," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. David E. Sills (New York: Macmillan; Free Press, 1968), 57.

Table 3
Students' National Pride (%)

Items	Junior High (N = 1,228)	Senior High (N = 1,220)	Junior College (N = 633)	College (N = 896)
Strongly not pround of	2.5	2.7	0.8	0.6
Not pround of	6.8	8.0	4.9	4.0
No opinion	33.0	42.3	26.7	39.1
Pround of	38.4	33.0	45.3	43.5
Very pround of	19.4	14.0	22.3	12.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

and citizenship, they support their own political community. This sense of political community has allowed the political system to exist.[27]

"National pride" (*guojia zihao*) means that people feel the country they belong to is unique and is worthy of pride.[28] Table 3 indicates that the number of students who are proud of their country (including those "very proud of" and "proud of") far exceeds that of students who are not proud of their country (including "strongly not proud of" and "not proud of").[29] Comparatively, junior college students are more proud of their country (67.6 percent), followed by junior high school students (57.8 percent), college students (56.3 percent), and senior high school students (47 percent). The percentage of senior high school students who are not proud of their country is the highest (10.7 percent), followed by that of junior high school students (9.3 percent), junior college students (5.7 percent), and college students (4.6 percent). The variance analysis in table 5 shows that the differences among the four levels of students were statistically extremely significant ($p < .001$). The table also shows that between the following groups

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[27]David Easton, "An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems," *World Politics* 9 (April 1957): 391-92.

[28]Lucian W. Pye, "Identity Crisis and the Political Culture," in *Crises and Sequences in Political Development*, ed. Leonard Binder and Joseph Lapalombara (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1974), 117-18.

[29]The question given was: "Are you proud of being a member of the Republic of China? (5) very proud of; (4) proud of; (3) no opinion; (2) not proud of; and (1) strongly not proud of."

Table 4
Students' Independence/Unification Stance (%)

Position	Junior High (N = 1,298)	Senior High (N = 1,228)	Junior College (N = 635)	College (N = 904)
Taiwan independence*	25.7	27.1	5.4	12.9
Maintaining the status quo	29.4	33.3	46.3	47.6
China's unification	14.7	17.3	37.3	31.0
No opinion	30.2	22.3	11.0	8.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*The opinion of "one China, one Taiwan" is included in "Taiwan independence."

of students, the difference reached a significant level (p < .05): senior high and junior high; junior college and junior high; junior college and senior high; junior college and college; and college and senior high. The difference between junior high school and college students was not statistically significant.

Independence/Unification Position

When deciding one's national identity, although many feelings for the country, including national pride, are a very important factor, the environment that one is in and the goals one is looking for can also affect the final decision.[30] This holds true for student attitudes toward questions concerning relations between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait.

Table 4 indicates that the highest percentage of students advocating Taiwan independence was found among senior high school students, followed by junior high school, college, and then junior college students.[31] On

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[30]Wu Nai-te, ""Ethnic Awareness, Political Support, and National Identity: A Preliminary Theoretical Probe into Taiwan's Ethnic Politics," in *Zuqun guanxi yu guojia rentong* (Ethnic relationship and national identity), ed. Chang Mao-kuei et al. (Taipei: Yeqiang chubanshe, 1993), 45.

[31]The question given to middle school students was: "With regard to the cross-Strait relations, some people advocate 'Taiwan independence,' some advocate 'China's unification,' and others prefer to 'maintain the status quo.' Which one of the following proposals do you prefer: (1) immediate unification; (2) status quo first, and then unification; (3) status quo until the environment changes; (4) status quo; (5) status quo first, and then gradual Taiwan

the other hand, students advocating China's unification were the most numerous at the junior college level, followed by college, senior high, and then junior high levels. The percentage of high school students preferring to maintain the status quo is lower than that of college students. Table 5 indicates that the differences among the four groups of students were statistically extremely significant ($p < .001$). Comparatively, high school students tend to advocate Taiwan independence while college and junior college students advocate unification. Between the following groups of students, the difference was significant ($p < .05$): junior college and junior high; junior college and senior high; junior college and college; college and junior high; and college and senior high. The difference between junior and senior high school students was not significant.

Democratic Attitudes and Values among Students

Qualifications for citizenship consist of the following attitudinal dimensions: (1) affective, i.e., patriotism, ethnic identity, and a feeling of nationhood; (2) cognitive, i.e., political knowledge and understanding about civic rights and duties; (3) evaluative, i.e., evaluation of political figures and institutions; and (4) behavioral tendencies.[32] Generally speaking, with age comes a better understanding of the contents and meaning of qualifications for citizenship. Usually, a child's attitude toward politics, including the government, law, and the qualifications for citizenship, is largely influenced by his affection. This will change over time, developing into a cognitive and then evaluative attitude.[33]

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independence; (6) immediate Taiwan independence; and (7) no comment." The question posed to college students was: "In the 1992 legislative election, some advocated 'Taiwan independence,' some preferred 'China's unification,' others took the position of 'one China, one Taiwan,' and still others chose to 'maintain the status quo.' Which one of the following choices do you prefer: (1) China's unification; (2) status quo; (3) no comment; (4) one China, one Taiwan; and (5) Taiwan independence."

[32]Orit Ichilov and Nisan Nave, "The 'Good Citizen' as Viewed by Israeli Adolescents," *Comparative Politics* 13 (1981): 361-62.

[33]See note 20 above.

Table 5

A Variance Analysis of Students' Ethnic Identity, National Pride, and Independence/Unification Position[1]

Items	Junior High	Senior High	Junior College	College	F Value	Significance Level	Fisher Test between Groups[2]
Ethnic identity (1-4 scores)	2.07 (1,121)[3]	2.05 (1,020)	3.06 (574)	2.84 (813)	240.58	***	(C,A) (C,B) (C,D) (D,A) (D,B)
National pride (1-5 scores)	3.65 (1,288)	3.47 (1,220)	3.83 (633)	3.64 (896)	23.68	***	(A,B) (C,A) (C,B) (C,D) (D,B)
Independence/ unification position (1-3 scores)	1.84 (906)	1.87 (954)	2.35 (565)	2.19 (827)	94.88	***	(C,A) (C,B) (C,D) (D,A) (D,B)

Notes:

[1]The four answers regarding the ethnic identity question were given scores from 1 to 4 according to the order of "Taiwanese," "Taiwanese/Chinese," "Chinese/Taiwanese," and "Chinese." The lower the average score, the more students were inclined to identify themselves as "Taiwanese," and the higher the score, the more they were inclined to identify themselves as "Chinese." For the variable of national pride, scores from 1 to 5 were given, with the stronger the national pride, the higher the score. On the independence/unification position, those advocating Taiwan independence were given a score of 1; those preferring the status quo, a score of 2; and those advocating China's unification, a score of 3.

[2]Significance level between groups p < .05.

[3]Figures in parentheses indicate the sample size.

Keys:

[***] Significance level p < .001; [A] junior high; [B] senior high; [C] junior college; and [D] college.

For example, David Easton and Jack Dennis discovered that children tend to take the president and the police as symbols of the political system, without regarding the importance of the political system and government functions. In their eyes, the president and the police are people like a good father who can offer them protection. Having no idea regarding political rights and duties, a child may simply view a good citizen as a person who is patriotic and is willing to support the government unconditionally. When he is at the high school level, his political attitudes and values, or his concept of citizenship qualification, become a combination of affection, cognition, evaluation, and behavior, with the element of affection decreasing

while the element of evaluation increases. When he becomes a citizen and has gained the experience of political participation either through voting or other political activities, he will have a better understanding about government structure and functions.

Where are Taiwan students along the continuum of political affection, cognition, evaluation, and behavioral tendencies? What kind of democratic attitudes do they maintain through the process of political socialization and what kind of democratic values do they uphold during this process?

Table 6 is a factor analysis of democratic attitudes and values among students. For this analysis, this author first gathered student opinions on forty-three questions related to political affairs, three of which were discarded due to a rather low value of factor loading. The remaining forty questions were grouped under the following twelve headings: (1) convictions for democracy, (2) people's sovereignty, (3) opposition to authoritarian rule, (4) the value of pluralism, (5) the right to freedom, (6) political toleration, (7) multiparty competition, (8) opposition parties, (9) political trust, (10) political efficacy, (11) civic duty, and (12) political identity achievement. In addition, this author used ten questions to measure civic knowledge and two questions concerning legislative and presidential elections to measure election involvement.

Each response to the forty questions included in the twelve items in table 6 was measured on a 5-point scale: "1" for "strongly disagree," "2" for "disagree," "3" for "no opinion," "4" for "agree," and "5" for "strongly agree." For each question, the average value, scale, the ratio of agreement (including that of "agree" and "strongly agree"), and the sample size were measured. The average value represents the extent to which the respondents agreed with that question. The higher the average value, the stronger the agreement to that question. The average value of the following eight items was at or above 3: (1) convictions for democracy, (2) people's sovereignty, (3) opposition to authoritarian rule, (4) the right to freedom, (5) multiparty competition, (6) opposition parties, (7) political efficacy, and (8) civic duty. Of the eight, the average values of the following three were the highest: (1) people's sovereignty, (2) civic duty, and (3) the right to freedom. Among the twelve items, the average values that were below 3 include: (1) the value of pluralism, (2) political toleration, (3) political trust,

Table 6
A Factor Analysis of Democratic Attitudes and Values among Students

Items	Factor Loading	Cronbach α	Average Value	Minimum Value	Maximum Value	Percentage of Agreement	Sample Size
1. Convictions for Democracy		.04	3.42	1	5		3,745
(1) The government has made some progress in promoting democracy over the recent two or three years	.88		3.17	1	5	52.6	3.752
(2) Taiwan is not well prepared for the implementation of democracy if judged from its domestic political situation over the past two to three years	−.46		2.35	1	5	61.9	4,059
2. People's Sovereignty		.57	4.02	1	5		4,020
(3) Politics concern only a small number of people but have no relations with the majority of people	.75		1.99	1	5	19.6	4,051
(4) The government itself can solve problems for the people, and the people do not have to express too much of their own opinions	.71		1.77	1	5	11.2	4,052
(5) One who has a better family background should have more political rights	.65		1.81	1	5	9.5	4,058
(6) The small number of people persisting in opposition opinions are selfish and should be condemned	.38		2.30	1	5	10.0	4,053

Table 6 (Continued)

Items	Factor Loading	Cronbach α	Average Value	Minimum Value	Maximum Value	Percentage of Agreement	Sample Size
3. Opposition to Authoritarian Rule		.67	3.76	1	5		3,997
(7) In their trial of cases involving social security, judges should listen to the opinions of administrative leaders	.73		2.28	1	5	13.2	4,047
(8) If the number of candidates and the number of positions open for election are the same, severe competition can be avoided	.66		2.39	1	5	13.4	4,042
(9) Government leaders are our patriarch and we should listen to them on state affairs	.58		2.18	1	5	9.4	4,060
(10) A strong and powerful political leader is more important than good laws and a good political system	.52		2.65	1	5	25.8	4,057
(11) Whether an opinion is allowed to be circulated in society should be decided by the government	.4		2.08	1	5	26.5	4,049
(12) If a small number of people insist on their own opinion, the opinion shared by the majority of people should be abandoned	.45		3.86	1	5	27.5	4,063
4. The Value of Pluralism		.58	4.98	1	5		4,034
(13) There will be chaos in society if people hold different views	.72		5.99	1	5	42.2	4,055

Table 6 (Continued)

Items	Factor Loading	Cronbach α	Average Value	Minimum Value	Maximum Value	Percentage of Agreement	Sample Size
(14) The government will not be able to demonstrate its efficacy if it is frequently checked by popular representatives	.70		6.01	1	5	43.0	4,052
(15) The existence of too many political parties will result in political instability	.65		7.01	1	5	40.7	4,054
5. The Right to Freedom		.44	3.98	1	5		4,039
(16) Whatever one's political stand, he should have the right to express his opinion	.84		4.10	1	5	86.2	4,058
(17) People should be allowed to express anti-government views	.79		5.81	1	5	70.3	4,048
6. Political Toleration		.49	2.84	1	5		4,046
(18) Speeches preaching communism should be allowed on TV	.82		2.65	1	5	22.5	4,054
(19) Communist members should be allowed to visit Taiwan openly	.78		3.02	1	5	35.3	4,057
7. Multiparty Competition		.59	3.51	1	5		4,013
(20) It is doubtful whether those joining the opposition party are patriotic	−.66		2.34	1	5	8.8	4,058

Table 6 (Continued)

Items	Factor Loading	Cronbach α	Average Value	Minimum Value	Maximum Value	Percentage of Agreement	Sample Size
(21) If the KMT government is not doing well, the government should be put under the administration of other political parties	.69		3.66	1	5	62.4	4,054
(22) Normal political party competition is advantageous to the development of democratic politics	.67		3.54	1	5	59.4	4,045
(23) Political progress can be assured only with a strong and powerful opposition party	.67		3.16	1	5	42.2	4,048
8. Opposition Parties		.35	3.24	1	5		4,013
(24) Even if the DPP can win a majority vote, its administrative ability is still doubtful	.77		3.04	1	5	30.7	4,058
(25) The extreme polarization of opinions among political parties is disadvantageous to our country	.71		3.52	1	5	58.0	4,037
9. Political Trust		.79	2.47	1	5		4,018
(26) The majority of government officials use public properties sparingly	.83		2.31	1	5	13.9	4,045
(27) Our government cares very much about people's opinion	.81		2.68	1	5	23.2	4,052
(28) Our government officials are very much law-abiding	.77		3.02	1	5	7.2	4,053

Table 6 (Continued)

Items	Factor Loading	Cronbach α	Average Value	Minimum Value	Maximum Value	Percentage of Agreement	Sample Size
(29) Our government works for the benefit of the people	.75		4.88	1	5	31.5	4,054
10. Political Efficacy		.22	3.05				4,017
(30) People like me cannot change what the government has done	.82		2.95	1	5	38.3	4,049
(31) The government does not care about the opinion of people like me	−.63		3.33	1	5	46.9	4,056
(32) People like me cannot understand politics or things related to the government because they are much too complicated	.59		3.10	1	5	33.7	4,044
(33) Voting is the only way for us to exert our influence on the government	.34		2.80	1	5	32.4	4,052
11. Civic Duty		.79	3.99				4,038
(34) It does not matter whether I vote or not in each election because many other people will	.87		4.02	1	5	81.5	4,049
(35) I do not have to vote in some local elections because they are not really important	.83		3.95	1	5	82.6	4,054
(36) If the candidate I support has no chance to be elected, it doesn't matter whether I vote or not	.83		3.99	1	5	80.4	4,057

Table 6 (Continued)

Items	Factor Loading	Cronbach α	Average Value	Minimum Value	Maximum Value	Percentage of Agreement	Sample Size
12. Political Identity Achievement		.71	2.91	1	5		4,032
(37) I have always pondered over political questions and know pretty well which political party and policy I have to support	.78		3.08	1	5	30.3	4,059
(38) I have had an in-depth understanding of the various political and policy proposals and have a firm belief in the political view-point I am now holding	.77		3.04	1	5	25.9	4,055
(39) I am not interested in politics	.66		2.78	1	5	26.4	4,057
(40) I have never had an in-depth understanding of political questions and have not yet had a firm stand on political matters	.65		2.73	1	5	20.6	4,046
13. Election Involvement Scale			4.13	1	10		3,932
14. Civic Knowledge Scale			5.37	0	10		3,022

Note: The measurement of each question was made on a 5-score basis. The lower the average value, the more disagreement it is in with that question, and vice versa. The measurement of the election involvement scale was made on a 1-10 score basis while the civic knowledge scale was on a 0-10 score basis.

(4) political identity achievement, and (5) election involvement. Of these five, the lowest is political trust (with an average value of only 2.47). The highest value of the measurement scale for election involvement was 10 and the lowest was 1, and the average value was 4.13. The highest value of the measurement scale for civic knowledge was 10 and the lowest was 0, and the average value was 5.37. These figures indicate that civic knowledge at the high school and college levels was about average.

This paper also examines the differences among junior and senior high school, junior college, and college students with regard to their democratic attitudes and values. Table 7 shows that the differences among different levels of students with regard to the fourteen items were extremely significant ($p < .001$), and the differences in some items (such as opposition to authoritarian rule, multiparty competition, and civic knowledge) have even reached a significant level ($p < .05$). The differences in regard to the following items were comparatively insignificant: political toleration, opposition parties, political trust, political efficacy, and political identity achievement. Regarding election involvement, difference was found only between senior high school and junior college students. If judged by the average value of these items, students at all levels in Taiwan have a comparatively better understanding of people's sovereignty, the right to freedom, and civic duty but not political identity achievement, political efficacy, the value of pluralism, political toleration, or political trust. Student election involvement did not quite reach the midway point while civic knowledge demonstrated an average value at 5 points. While the average value of the civic knowledge of senior high school students was still not up to the standard, the average value of college student civic knowledge was over two times that of junior high school students. Apparently, with the increase in age and learning, civic knowledge also increases.

The Political Socialization Environment and Students' Political Attitudes and Values

How do students form their political attitudes and values? How does the political socialization environment in Taiwan affect the political at-

Table 7
A Variance Analysis of Democratic Attitudes and Values among Students

Items (1-5 scores)	Junior High	Senior High	Junior College	College	F Value	Variance Level	Fisher Test between Groups@
1. Convictions for Democracy							
(1) The government has made some progress in promoting democracy over the recent two or three years	2.99 (156)	3.01 (1,135)	3.29 (592)	3.56 (865)	54.84	***	(C,A) (C,B) (D,A) (D,B) (D,C)
(2) Taiwan is not well prepared for the implementation of democracy if judged from its domestic political situation over the past two to three years	2.54 (1,290)	2.41 (1,228)	2.23 (633)	2.07 (903)	51.16	***	(B,A) (C,A) (C,B) (D,A) (D,B) (D,C)
2. People's Sovereignty							
(3) Politics concern only a small number of people but have no relations with the majority of people	2.06 (1,290)	2.02 (1,226)	1.91 (633)	1.91 (898)	9.00	***	(C,A) (C,B) (D,A) (D,B)
(4) The government itself can solve problems for the people, and the people do not have to express too much of their own opinions	1.92 (1,286)	1.77 (1,225)	1.63 (634)	1.66 (903)	33.99	***	(B,A) (D,A) (D,B) (C,A) (C,B)
(5) One who has a better family background should have more political rights	1.86 (1,291)	1.76 (1,227)	1.86 (634)	1.78 (902)	2.69	*	
(6) The small number of people persisting in opposition opinions are selfish and should be condemned	2.48 (1,288)	1.91 (1,228)	2.19 (633)	2.08 (901)	44.63	***	(B,A) (C,A) (C,B) (D,A) (D,B)

Table 7 (Continued)

Items (1-5 scores)	Junior High	Senior High	Junior College	College	F Value	Variance Level	Fisher Test between Groups@
3. Opposition to Authoritarian Rule							
(7) In their trial of cases involving social security, judges should listen to the opinions of administrative leaders	2.65 (1,268)	2.04 (1,223)	1.98 (634)	1.79 (902)	179.37	***	(B,A) (C,A) (C,B) (D,A)
(8) If the number of candidates and the number of positions open for election are the same, severe competition can be avoided	2.84 (1,286)	2.61 (1,219)	1.99 (631)	1.75 (902)	314.08	***	(B,A) (C,A) (C,B) (D,A) (D,B) (D,C)
(9) Government leaders are our patriarch and we should listen to them on state affairs	2.35 (1,292)	2.16 (1,228)	2.19 (633)	1.92 (903)	43.94	***	(B,A) (C,A) (D,A) (D,B) (D,C)
(10) A strong and powerful political leader is more important than good laws and a good political system	2.83 (1,291)	2.81 (1,227)	2.61 (634)	2.18 (901)	78.30	***	(C,A) (C,B) (D,A) (D,B) (D,C)
(11) Whether an opinion is allowed to be circulated in society should be decided by the government	2.29 (1,286)	2.13 (1,222)	2.05 (633)	1.75 (903)	80.76	***	(B,A) (C,A) (D,A) (D,B) (D,C)
(12) If a small number of people insist on their own opinion, the opinion shared by the majority of people should be abandoned	2.03 (1,294)	1.91 (1,228)	1.73 (634)	1.54 (902)	64.86	***	(B,A) (C,A) (C,B) (D,A) (D,B)
4. The Value of Pluralism							
(13) There will be chaos in society if people hold different views	3.16 (1,290)	3.15 (1,227)	3.03 (633)	2.51 (900)	73.14	***	(D,A) (D,B) (D,C)

Table 7 (Continued)

Items (1-5 scores)	Junior High	Senior High	Junior College	College	F Value	Variance Level	Fisher Test between Groups@
(14) The existence of too many political parties will result in political instability	3.36 (1,290)	3.20 (1,224)	2.76 (634)	2.45 (901)	155.04	***	(B,A) (C,A) (C,B) (D,A) (D,B) (D,C)
(15) The government will not be able to demonstrate its efficacy if it is frequently checked by popular representatives	3.11 (1,287)	3.11 (1,223)	2.95 (634)	2.78 (903)	26.05	***	(C,A) (C,B) (D,A) (D,B) (D,C)
5. The Right to Freedom							
(16) Whatever one's political stand, he should have the right to express his opinion	3.95 (1,290)	4.12 (1,227)	4.24 (633)	4.37 (903)	62.35	***	(B,A) (C,A) (C,B) (D,A) (D,B) (D,C)
(17) People should be allowed to express anti-government views	3.64 (1,286)	3.88 (1,224)	3.77 (632)	3.97 (901)	29.11	***	(B,A) (C,A) (D,A) (D,B) (D,C)
6. Political Toleration							
(18) Speeches preaching communism should be allowed on TV	2.65 (1,292)	2.59 (1,223)	2.45 (633)	2.88 (901)	23.37	***	(C,A) (D,A) (D,B) (D,C)
(19) Communist members should be allowed to visit Taiwan openly	2.79 (1,290)	2.86 (1,225)	3.17 (634)	3.48 (903)	104.01	***	(B,A) (C,A) (D,A) (D,B) (D,C)
7. Multiparty Competition							
(20) Normal political party competition is advantageous to the development of democratic politics	3.10 (1,280)	3.67 (1,223)	4.01 (634)	4.10 (903)	283.44	***	(B,A) (C,A) (C,B) (D,A) (D,B)

Table 7 (Continued)

Items (1-5 scores)	Junior High	Senior High	Junior College	College	F Value	Variance Level	Fisher Test between Groups@
(21) Political progress can be assured only with a strong and powerful opposition party	2.72 (1,282)	2.93 (1,224)	3.59 (634)	3.78 (903)	282.86	***	(B,A) (C,A) (C,B) (D,A) (D,B) (D,C)
(22) If the KMT government is not doing well, the government should be put under the administration of other political parties	3.42 (1,287)	3.64 (1,225)	3.79 (634)	3.97 (903)	70.44	***	(B,A) (C,A) (C,B) (D,A) (D,B)
(23) It is doubtful whether those joining the opposition party are patriotic	2.66 (1,290)	2.47 (1,227)	2.06 (633)	1.92 (903)	185.31	***	(B,A) (C,A) (C,B) (D,A) (D,B) (D,C)
8. Opposition Parties							
(24) Even if the DPP can win a majority vote, its administrative ability is still doubtful	2.96 (1,292)	2.92 (1,227)	3.16 (633)	3.22 (901)	21.31	***	(B,A) (C,A) (C,B) (D,A) (D,B)
(25) The extreme polarization of opinions among political parties is disadvantageous to our country	3.28 (1,280)	3.50 (1,217)	3.78 (633)	3.71 (902)	58.42	***	(B,A) (C,A) (C,B) (D,A) (D,B)
9. Political Trust							
(26) Our government officials are very much law-abiding	2.32 (1,288)	1.92 (1,224)	1.89 (633)	1.80 (903)	78.18	***	(B,A) (C,A) (D,A) (D,B)
(27) Our government works for the benefit of the people	3.00 (1,289)	2.76 (1,226)	2.93 (632)	2.84 (902)	12.54	***	(C,A) (C,B) (D,A)
(28) The majority of government officials use public properties sparingly	2.58 (1,284)	2.19 (1,222)	2.19 (632)	2.18 (902)	48.19	***	(B,A) (C,A) (D,A)

Table 7 (Continued)

Items (1-5 scores)	Junior High	Senior High	Junior College	College	F Value	Variance Level	Fisher Test between Groups@
(29) Our government cares very much about people's opinion	2.90 (1,288)	2.58 (1,224)	2.65 (633)	2.53 (902)	33.29	***	(B,A) (C,A) (D,A)
10. Political Efficacy							
(30) The government does not care about the opinion of people like me	3.14 (1,290)	3.42 (1,225)	3.38 (633)	3.45 (903)	24.62	***	(B,A) (C,A) (D,A)
(31) Voting is the only way for us to exert our influence on the government	3.20 (1,288)	3.23 (1,223)	3.32 (633)	3.04 (903)	9.75	***	(D,A) (D,B) (D,C)
(32) People like me cannot change what the government has done	2.91 (1,288)	3.10 (1,221)	3.18 (633)	3.03 (902)	10.60	***	(B,A) (C,A)
(33) People like me cannot understand politics or things related to the government because they are much too complicated	2.94 (1,284)	2.91 (1,221)	2.97 (631)	2.72 (903)	10.82	***	(D,A) (D,B) (D,C)
11. Civic Duty							
(34) I do not have to vote in some local elections because they are not really important	2.16 (1,291)	2.06 (1,222)	1.89 (633)	1.96 (903)	20.74	***	(B,A) (C,A) (C,B) (D,B) (D,C)
(35) It does not matter whether I vote or not in each election because many other people will	2.08 (1,285)	2.00 (1,223)	1.86 (633)	1.83 (903)	23.44	***	(C,A) (C,B) (D,A) (D,B)
(36) If the candidate I support has no chance to be elected, it doesn't matter whether I vote or not	2.08 (1,290)	2.04 (1,226)	1.91 (633)	1.89 (903)	13.36	***	(C,A) (C,B) (D,A) (D,B)
12. Political Identity Achievement							
(37) I have always pondered over political questions and know pretty well which political party and policy I have to support	3.07 (1,295)	3.06 (1,225)	3.15 (631)	3.08 (903)	1.66	n.s.	

Table 7 (Continued)

Items (1-5 scores)	Junior High	Senior High	Junior College	College	F Value	Variance Level	Fisher Test between Groups@
(38) I have had an in-depth understanding of the various political and policy proposals and have a firm belief in the political viewpoint I am now holding	3.04 (1,291)	3.02 (1,226)	3.07 (632)	3.06 (901)	0.70	n.s.	
(39) I am not interested in politics	3.26 (1,290)	3.30 (1,226)	3.13 (633)	3.07 (903)	11.17	***	(D,A) (D,B) (C,B)
(40) I have never had an in-depth understanding of political questions and have not yet had a firm stand on political matters	3.32 (1,286)	3.33 (1,220)	3.22 (633)	3.11 (902)	11.59	***	(D,A) (D,B)
13. Election Involvement Scale	4.11 (1,224)	4.25 (1,168)	4.01 (632)	4.11 (903)	5.80	***	(C,B)
14. Civic Knowledge Scale	3.60 (724)	4.57 (757)	6.19 (635)	7.22 (904)	287.32	***	(B,A) (C,A) (C,B) (D,A) (D,B) (D,C)

Notes:

1. The measurement of each question was made on a 5-score basis. The lower the average value, the more disagreement it is in with that question, and vice versa. The measurement of the election involvement scale was made on a 1-10 score basis while the civic knowledge scale was on a 0-10 score basis.

2. Figures in parentheses indicate the sample size.

Keys:

[@] Significance level between groups $p < .05$; [*] significance level $p < .05$; [***] significance level $p < .001$; [A] junior high; [B] senior high; [C] junior college; and [D] college.

titudes and values of students? In their discussion of political socialization, political scientists usually refer to the targets for study in society as either the socializers or the agencies or agents of socialization.

To study the impact of the agencies or agents of socialization on students' political attitudes and values, this author has used twenty-five questions to measure the impact that family, school, peers, and the mass media have had on the political attitudes and values of college and middle school students. The twenty-five questions are further grouped into the following eight items: (1) relations between parents and children, (2) concept-oriented family communication (patterns), (3) relations between teachers and students, (4) extracurricular activities, (5) school participation, (6) peers' political stand, (7) use of the mass media, and (8) acceptance of the mass media.

The Political Socialization Environment
and Students' Ethnic and National Identity

The chi-square test in table 8 dealing with the impact of the political socialization environment on the ethnic and national identity of students provides a clear picture of the situation of Taiwan students' political socialization.[34] This table indicates that the eight items given in the test have only limited influence on junior high school students' attitudes toward national identity, national pride, and independence/unification position. The same table also shows that only the following four items have influence on their attitudes toward national pride: (1) relations between parents and children; (2) relations between teachers and students; (3) peers' political stand, and (4) the degree of acceptance of the mass media. Other items (concept-oriented family communication, extracurricular activities, and utilization of the mass media) have little impact on their attitudes toward national identity, national pride, and independence/unification position.

Table 8 also indicates that peers' political stand has notable impact

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[34]The three choices for the ethnic identity were "Taiwanese," "double identification," and "Chinese"; the three for national pride were "low degree of pride," "middle degree of pride," and "high degree of pride"; and the three for the independence/unification stance were "Taiwan independence," "maintaining the status quo," and "China's unification."

Table 8

Chi-Square Test of the Political Socialization Environment and Students' Ethnic and National Identity

	Ethnic Identity				National Pride				Independence/Unification Position			
	JH	SH	JC	C	JH	SH	JC	C	JH	SH	JC	C
Relations between parents and children	8.69	7.11	8.54	8.27	34.44***	15.63*	5.87	12.22	4.77	9.57	10.45	3.42
Concept-oriented family communication	4.52	4.31	13.12*	9.49	5.10	8.20	5.36	5.65	3.66	1.74	1.40	13.76**
Relations between teachers and students	6.20	5.23	8.15	3.70	17.09*	45.45***	10.59	9.43	5.79	5.96	5.60	5.15
Extracurricular activities	1.44	11.34	4.31	6.34	11.39	8.86	3.00	6.68	7.79	11.30*	9.26	4.72
School participation	6.58	6.58	5.79	2.79	11.86	14.32	10.22	13.16	6.50	8.90	4.60	4.60
Peers' political stand	8.64	12.78*	12.95*	4.44	17.05*	8.59	5.98	6.81	5.15	12.21*	8.35	1.17
Use of mass media	5.79	11.76	6.71	24.06***	11.91	8.78	9.24	7.94	1.93	4.95	1.81	2.59
Acceptance of mass media	7.51	4.84	7.13	27.64***	24.85**	24.09**	16.86*	27.12***	3.42	14.67	2.25	15.03**

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.

Keys: [JH] junior high school students; [SH] senior high school students; [JC] junior college students; [C] college students.

on senior high school students' attitudes toward ethnic identity. Relations between parents and children and the degree of acceptance of the mass media have impacts on the extent of their national pride. Moreover, the extracurricular activities and peers' political stand have affected their independence/unification position.

For junior college students, concept-oriented family communication and peers' political stand have an impact on their attitudes toward ethnic identity. The same table also shows that the degree of acceptance of the mass media impacts their extent of national pride, while the relations between parents and children impact their independence/unification position.

For college students, the degree of utilization and acceptance of the mass media impacts their attitudes toward ethnic identity; the degree of acceptance of the mass media has an impact on their national pride; and the concept-oriented family communication and the acceptance of the mass media have impacts on their independence/unification position.

The Political Socialization Environment
and Students' Democratic Attitudes and Values

Tables 9 to 12 describe the relations between the political socialization environment and students' democratic attitudes and values,[35] using the single-tailed measurement method. Table 9 indicates that the correlation coefficient of 64 out of the 112 interrelated areas for the measurement of junior high school student attitudes has reached a statistically significant level ($p < .05$).

For example, relations between parents and children impact the following eleven areas: (1) convictions for democracy, (2) people's sovereignty, (3) opposition to authoritarian rule, (4) right to freedom, (5) multiparty competition, (6) political trust, (7) political efficacy, (8) civic duty, (9) political identity achievement, (10) election involvement, and (11) civic knowledge.

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[35]The measurement for the twelve items on democratic attitudes and values is based on the exploratory factor analysis in table 6. The reliability coefficient of ten out of the twelve items was above .35, except for convictions for democracy and political efficacy. The measurement for the eight items on political socialization environment was constructed the same way. In these measurements, the average value was used.

Table 9

Relations between the Political Socialization Environment and Students' Democratic Attitudes and Values: Junior High

	Relations between parents & children	Concept-oriented family communication	Relations between teachers & students	Extra-curricular activities	School participation	Peers' political stand	Use of mass media	Acceptance of mass media
Convictions for democracy	.05*	-.04	.02	-.06	.4	.1	.13***	.16***
People's sovereignty	.08**	-.07**	-.10***	-.04	.16***	-.00	.11***	.05*
Opposition to authoritarian rule	-.04*	.08**	.08***	.01	.01	-.02	-.00	.00
Value of pluralism	-.02	-.04*	-.15***	-.04	.10***	-.02	.11***	-.04*
Right to freedom	.11***	-.01	-.11***	.00	.08**	-.05*	.12***	.02
Political toleration	.04	.05*	.06**	-.03	-.06**	-.04*	-.02	.04*
Multiparty competition	.08**	-.01	-.04	.05	.09***	-.08**	.12***	.01
Opposition parties	.03	-.04	-.04	-.03	.06*	-.02	-.06*	.04*
Political trust	.05*	-.01	.18***	.07*	-.09***	.03	.09***	.13***
Political efficacy	.05*	.01	.01	-.03	-.01	.00	.06*	-.05*
Civic duty	.11***	-.00	-.09***	.01	.10***	-.03	.10***	.06*
Political identity achievement	.17***	.05*	.11***	.12***	.02	.06**	.13***	.03
Election involvement scale	.15***	.07**	-.04	.05	.02	.01	.13***	.08***
Civic knowledge scale	.13***	.06*	-.10**	.08*	.18***	-.01	.25***	.05

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.

Concept-oriented family communication impacts the following seven items: (1) people's sovereignty, (2) opposition to authoritarian rule, (3) the value of pluralism, (4) political toleration, (5) political identity achieve-ment, (6) election involvement, and (7) civic knowledge.

Relations between teachers and students have influenced students in the following nine areas: (1) people's sovereignty, (2) opposition to authori-tarian rule, (3) the value of pluralism, (4) the right to freedom, (5) political toleration, (6) political trust, (7) political efficacy, (8) political identity achievement, and (9) civic knowledge.

Extracurricular activities impact three items: (1) political trust, (2) political identity achievement, and (3) civic knowledge.

School participation impacts nine items: (1) people's sovereignty, (2) the value of pluralism, (3) the right to freedom, (4) political toleration, (5) multiparty competition, (6) opposition parties, (7) political trust, (8) civic duty, and (9) civic knowledge.

Peers' political stand impacts the following four items: (1) the right to freedom, (2) political toleration, (3) civic duty, and (4) political identity achievement.

The utilization of the mass media affects the following twelve areas: (1) convictions for democracy, (2) people's sovereignty, (3) the value of pluralism, (4) the right to freedom, (5) multiparty competition, (6) oppo-sition parties, (7) political trust, (8) political efficacy, (9) civic duty, (10) political identity achievement, (11) election involvement, and (12) civic knowledge.

The acceptance of the mass media affects the following nine areas: (1) convictions for democracy, (2) people's sovereignty, (3) the value of plural-ism, (4) political toleration, (5) opposition parties, (6) political trust, (7) political efficacy, (8) civic duty, and (9) election involvement.

As is shown in table 10, the correlation coefficient of 62 out of 112 interrelated areas for the measurement of senior high school students is statistically significant (p < .05). Relations between parents and children have affected senior high school students in the following ten areas: (1) convictions for democracy, (2) people's sovereignty, (3) the right to free-dom, (4) multiparty competition, (5) opposition parties, (6) political efficacy, (7) civic duty, (8) political identity achievement, (9) election involvement,

and (10) civic knowledge.

Concept-oriented family communication affects six areas: (1) convictions for democracy, (2) people's sovereignty, (3) the value of pluralism, (4) the right to freedom, (5) political toleration, and (6) political trust.

Relations between teachers and students impact students in nine areas: (1) convictions for democracy, (2) opposition to authoritarian rule, (3) the value of pluralism, (4) the right to freedom, (5) political toleration, (6) political trust, (7) political efficacy, (8) political identity achievement, and (9) election involvement.

Extracurricular activities influence five areas: (1) the value of pluralism, (2) political efficacy, (3) political identity achievement, (4) election involvement, and (5) civic knowledge.

School participation affects ten areas: (1) convictions for democracy, (2) people's sovereignty, (3) the value of pluralism, (4) the right to freedom, (5) political efficacy, (6) opposition parties, (7) political trust, (8) civic duty, (9) election involvement, and (10) civic knowledge.

Peers' political stand impacts seven areas: (1) opposition to authoritarian rule, (2) the value of pluralism, (3) political toleration, (4) political trust, (5) political efficacy, (6) political identity achievement, and (7) election involvement.

The utilization of the mass media affects ten areas: (1) convictions for democracy, (2) people's sovereignty, (3) the value of pluralism, (4) the right to freedom, (5) multiparty competition, (6) political efficacy, (7) civic duty, (8) political identity achievement, (9) election involvement, and (10) civic knowledge.

The acceptance of the mass media affects six areas: (1) convictions for democracy, (2) the value of pluralism, (3) political trust, (4) civic duty, (5) election involvement, and (6) civic knowledge.

Table 11 is devoted to junior college students. The correlation coefficient of 45 out of 112 interrelated items in this part is statistically significant ($p < .05$). Relations between parents and children impact seven items: (1) people's sovereignty, (2) opposition to authoritarian rule, (3) the right to freedom, (4) multiparty competition, (5) civic duty, (6) political identity achievement, and (7) election involvement.

Concept-oriented family communication affects four areas: (1) con-

Table 10

Relations between the Political Socialization Environment and Students' Democratic Attitudes and Values: Senior High

	Relations between parents & children	Concept-oriented family communication	Relations between teachers & students	Extra-curricular activities	School participation	Peers' political stand	Use of mass media	Acceptance of mass media
Convictions for democracy	.09***	.05*	.07**	-.03	.05*	-.00	.06*	.13***
People's sovereignty	.07**	-.07**	.01	.00	.14***	-.01	.11***	.01
Opposition to authoritarian rule	-.01	.00	.06*	.01	.03	.05*	.01	-.00
Value of pluralism	.02	-.07**	-.10***	.05*	.19***	.09****	.12***	-.11***
Right to freedom	.07**	-.07**	-.07**	-.02	.13***	.00	.08***	-.03
Political toleration	.02	.08****	.08**	.02	-.04	-.10***	-.04	-.01
Multiparty competition	.04*	-.04	.01	.07*	.25***	.00	.14***	.02
Opposition parties	.08**	.02	-.03	-.03	.06*	-.02	.02	.02
Political trust	-.00	.05*	.20****	-.00	-.14***	-.06**	-.09	.14***
Political efficacy	.06**	.00	.04*	-.05	.01	.08**	.08**	-.01
Civic duty	.04*	-.02	.00	.02	.06*	-.01	.12***	.06*
Political identity achievement	.10***	-.01	.07**	.07*	.01	.08**	.17***	-.04
Election involvement scale	.12***	.03	.07**	-.06*	.05*	.07**	.13***	.11***
Civic knowledge scale	.11***	-.04	.01	.11**	.23***	.05	.25***	.07*

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.

Table 11
Relations between the Political Socialization Environment and Students' Democratic Attitudes and Values: Junior College

	Relations between parents & children	Concept-oriented family communication	Relations between teachers & students	Extra-curricular activities	School participation	Peers' political stand	Use of mass media	Acceptance of mass media
Convictions for democracy	.05	–.06*	.10**	.00	–.00	–.01	.07*	.01
People's sovereignty	.09**	–.03	.02	.05	.10**	.03	.05	.03
Opposition to authoritarian rule	.08*	–.01	–.00	.09*	–.03	.02	.02	–.05
Value of pluralism	.05	–.10***	–.06	–.04	.07*	.09**	.14***	.01
Right to freedom	.08*	–.06	–.07*	.05	–.02	.03	.10**	.01
Political toleration	–.06	–.07*	–.10**	.09*	–.04	–.01	–.01	–.05
Multiparty competition	.14***	–.12***	–.01	–.01	.01	.07*	.14***	–.03
Opposition parties	.03	–.04	.02	–.12**	.01	.01	.01	.01
Political trust	–.04	.01	.11**	–.08*	.01	–.08*	–.04	.10**
Political efficacy	.01	.06	.12***	.14***	.04	.13***	.01	–.13***
Civic duty	.12***	.02	.06*	.09*	–.03	.06*	.09**	.04
Political identity achievement	.14***	.05	.11**	.04	.01	.19***	.24***	.02
Election involvement scale	.21***	.01	.05	.02	–.05	.15***	.29***	.05
Civic knowledge scale	.04	–.02	.04	–.05	.09**	.09**	.21***	.02

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.

victions for democracy, (2) the value of pluralism, (3) political toleration, and (4) multiparty competition.

Relations between teachers and students have influence on seven areas: (1) convictions for democracy, (2) the right to freedom, (3) political toleration, (4) political trust, (5) political efficacy, (6) civic duty, and (7) political identity achievement.

Extracurricular activities affect six areas: (1) opposition to authoritarian rule, (2) political toleration, (3) opposition parties, (4) political trust, (5) political efficacy, and (6) civic duty.

School participation impacts three areas: (1) people's sovereignty, (2) the value of pluralism, and (3) civic knowledge.

Peers' political stand affects eight areas: (1) the value of pluralism, (2) multiparty competition, (3) political trust, (4) political efficacy, (5) civic duty, (6) political identity achievement, (7) election involvement, and (8) civic knowledge.

The utilization of the mass media impacts eight items: (1) convictions for democracy, (2) the value of pluralism, (3) the right to freedom, (4) multiparty competition, (5) civic duty, (6) political identity achievement, (7) election involvement, and (8) civic knowledge.

The acceptance of the mass media affects two areas: political trust and political efficacy.

Table 12 discusses college students. Here, the correlation coefficient of 48 out of 112 interrelated items has reached a statistically significant level (p < .05). Among them, relations between parents and children impact seven items: (1) people's sovereignty, (2) the value of pluralism, (3) multiparty competition, (4) political efficacy, (5) civic duty, (6) political identity achievement, and (7) election involvement.

Concept-oriented family communication affects four areas: (1) convictions for democracy, (2) political efficacy, (3) political identity achievement, and (4) election involvement.

Relations between teachers and students affect five areas: (1) political trust, (2) political efficacy, (3) civic duty, (4) political identity achievement, and (5) election involvement.

Extracurricular activities have impacts on two items: the right to freedom and election involvement.

Table 12

Relations between the Political Socialization Environment and Students' Democratic Attitudes and Values: College

	Relations between parents & children	Concept-oriented family communication	Relations between teachers & students	Extra-curricular activities	School participation	Peers' political stand	Use of mass media	Acceptance of mass media
Convictions for democracy	.02	.07*	.05	.00	.10**	.01	.11***	-.00
People's sovereignty	.06*	.00	.01	.01	.01	.06*	-.01	-.01
Opposition to authoritarian rule	.04	.02	.02	.02	-.01	.05	.02	-.15***
Value of pluralism	.06*	-.03	.00	.03	.01	.15***	.09**	-.13***
Right to freedom	.07	-.05	-.02	.07*	-.01	.07*	.03	-.04
Political toleration	.00	-.00	-.00	.03	-.02	.08**	.07*	-.09**
Multiparty competition	.08**	-.00	.04	.05	.03	.09**	.04	-.12***
Opposition parties	.05	-.02	-.02	.05	-.02	.01	-.01	-.04
Political trust	-.04	-.02	.09**	-.01	.06*	.09**	-.04	.21***
Political efficacy	.05*	.07*	.08**	.05	-.05*	.09**	.11***	-.08**
Civic duty	.12***	.01	.01	.03	.01	.01	.01	-.02
Political identity achievement	.26***	.11***	.09**	.02	-.08**	.28***	.33***	-.13***
Election involvement scale	.23***	.07**	.12***	-.06*	-.00	.25***	.32***	-.03
Civic knowledge scale	.04	.00	.03	-.02	-.02	.22***	.31***	-.07**

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001.

School participation affects four items: (1) convictions for democracy, (2) political trust, (3) political efficacy, and (4) political identity achievement.

Peers' political stand has impacts on ten items: (1) people's sovereignty, (2) the value of pluralism, (3) the right to freedom, (4) political toleration, (5) multiparty competition, (6) political trust, (7) political efficacy, (8) political identity achievement, (9) election involvement, and (10) civic knowledge.

The utilization of the mass media impacts seven items: (1) convictions for democracy, (2) the value of pluralism, (3) political toleration, (4) political efficacy, (5) political identity achievement, (6) election involvement, and (7) civic knowledge.

The acceptance of the mass media impacts eight items: (1) opposition to authoritarian rule, (2) the value of pluralism, (3) political toleration, (4) multiparty competition, (5) political trust, (6) political efficacy, (7) political identity achievement, and (8) civic knowledge.

Summary and Discussion

Since a democratic political structure can exist only alongside a civic culture, both the advanced and developing democracies have placed great emphasis on the cultivation of democratic citizenship. As Taiwan is a newly democratized country, we must ask whether or not the political attitudes and values of Taiwan's students are supportive of democratization. We must also ask whether or not the direction of political socialization in Taiwan is congruent with its political development. Our preliminary observations on these questions are outlined below:

First, Taiwan students at all levels are proud of being citizens of the Republic of China. The average value of their national pride is above the midpoint, with that of the junior college students being the highest, followed by junior high school, college, and senior high school students. Junior and senior high school students tend to identify themselves as "Taiwanese" while junior college and college students are more inclined to identify themselves as "Chinese." Also, junior and senior high school students lean

more toward "Taiwan independence" while junior college and college students lean more toward "China's unification." In the five areas related to school life, junior high school students have placed the strongest emphasis on ethnic identity, followed by senior high school, college, and junior college students. Students' parents have held an attitude largely the same as their children in these areas.

The most important task of citizen cultivation is to strengthen both the people's national consciousness and feeling of nationhood in order to enable them to distinguish the political "we-group" from the political "they-group." The sense of political community involves not only the inclusion or the exclusion of a political system but also the boundaries between political communities. Although students in Taiwan have a high degree of national pride, their attitudes toward ethnic identity are split (some identify themselves as "Chinese" while others as "Taiwanese") and ambiguous (a high percentage of double identification). What is more serious is that their definition of political boundaries is inconsistent with their idea of national boundaries, and although they have a high degree of national pride, they hold divergent independence/unification positions. Nevertheless, college and junior college students care less, when compared to middle school students, about place of origin when making friends and participating in school student organizations. This is an indication that the process of political socialization has contributed to a more harmonious relationship among different ethnic groups in Taiwan.

Second, among the fourteen variables measuring student attitudes toward democracy, those that represent a higher average value include: people's sovereignty, civic duty, the right to freedom, opposition to authoritarian rule, and multiparty competition. Those that have a middle level average value include convictions for democracy, the opposition political parties, political efficacy, the value of pluralism, and civic knowledge. Those that have a lower than average value include political identity achievement, political toleration, political trust, and election involvement. The process of political socialization in Taiwan has helped to enhance student consciousness for people's sovereignty, civic duty, the right to freedom, opposition to authoritarian rule, and multiparty competition. However, this process has had only limited, or even negative, effects on such

aspects as political identity achievement, political toleration, political trust, and election involvement.

The theories of democracy emphasize the importance of individuals because they constitute the main body of a democratic society. A democratic citizen is considered to be one who is rational, has broad knowledge about politics, is enthusiastic about public affairs, actively takes part in politics, and is willing to tolerate people who hold different views. In the opinion of Robert Weissberg, a democratic citizen should have orientations toward electoral competition democracy, representative democracy, and participatory democracy.[36] Electoral competition democracy means that citizens should have a sense of people's sovereignty, the right to freedom, political trust, multiparty competition, and opposition political parties, and are willing to take up civic duty. Being sensitive to representative democracy means that citizens should have an understanding of multiparty competition, the role of opposition political parties, political efficacy, opposition to authoritarian rule, political trust, and civic knowledge. Being oriented toward participatory democracy means that citizens should have the knowledge about political identity achievement, political efficacy, the value of pluralism, political toleration, election involvement, and civic knowledge. Comparatively speaking, students in Taiwan possess high qualifications for electoral competition democracy, some for representative democracy, but little for participatory democracy.

Third, the difference in the average value of the following items among the fourteen variables measuring students' political attitudes and values is apparent: convictions for democracy, multiparty competition, opposition political parties, opposition to authoritarian rule, civic duty, the right to freedom, and people's sovereignty. The average values of the following items are largely the same among students of different education levels: political identity achievement, political efficacy, political trust, political toleration, and the value of pluralism. A more careful examination indicates that with regard to the average value of the following items, col-

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[36]Robert Weissberg, *Political Learning, Political Choice, and Democratic Citizenship* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1974), 174-90.

lege students have higher values than high school students: convictions for democracy, people's sovereignty, opposition to authoritarian rule, the value of pluralism, the right to freedom, political toleration, multiparty competition, civic duty, and civic knowledge. However, the average value of the political trust of college students is lower than that of high school students. Also noteworthy is that college students and high school students are at a similar level in terms of election involvement; junior high school students' civic knowledge is only half that of college students. That the average value of all levels of students is low with regard to political identity achievement is an indication that students in Taiwan are not well prepared to build their political self.

Political socialization is a process of political learning that occurs throughout one's life. Different results of political learning should be attributed to the differences in such social backgrounds as age, sex, ethnicity, and social and economic position. Since the targets of our study in this paper are students, we put emphasis on their age differences instead of social backgrounds. As far as political learning is concerned, the age factor involves questions of maturity and generation. The first refers to the process of learning and life experience while the second refers to the environment that each birth cohort has grown up in. Our examination indicates that the average value of ten out of fourteen measurement variables on college students' attitudes toward democracy is higher than that of high school students (with only two being lower). It remains to be seen whether such a phenomenon is affected by maturity or generation factors.

In 1975, Dr. Chen Yi-yan conducted research on the political socialization of Taiwan college students.[37] Fifteen years later, he undertook further research on the development of college students' political socialization since 1975, with emphasis placed on their political values and attitudes. His study indicated that while college students began to develop much stronger national pride and a higher degree of consciousness for their own rights, some parts of their political attitudes and values remained unchanged. These in-

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[37]Chen Yi-yan, *Taiwan diqu daxuesheng zhengzhi shehuihua zhi yanjiu* (A study on the political socialization of Taiwan college students) (Taipei: Jiaxin shuini gongsi wenhua jijin-hui, 1978).

clude: participation in voting as one of the prerequisites for a good citizen, a middle level of interest in politics, a feeling that they do not have enough political efficacy, a high sense of responsibility to vote in elections, and a low degree of political trust.[38] In other words, the political attitudes and values of college students had changed little in fifteen years. In 1983, this author finished research on Taiwan middle school students' political socialization.[39] In 1997, this author participated in a joint research project on Taiwan's political socialization and political democratization.[40] It is clear that after a fifteen-year time span, junior and senior high school students in Taiwan continue to have a strong conviction for democracy, a high degree of national pride, a middle level of political trust, a feeling that their political efficacy is average, a strong sense of civic duty, and a low inclination toward political participation.

Fourth, political socialization means that one's political attitudes and values are a result of the process of socialization. For the study of the impact of the social environment on students' political attitudes and values, this paper has focused attention on the influence of the four social institutions, i.e., family, school, peers, and the mass media. The research findings indicate that junior high school students have been affected more by the use of the mass media, relations between parents and children, relations between students and teachers, and acceptance of the mass media. What have affected senior high school students are relations between parents and chil-

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[38]Chen Yi-yan, *Woguo daxuesheng zhengzhi shehuihua zhi yanjiu: Shiwunian lai zhengzhi jiazhi yu taidu zhi bianqian* (A research on the political socialization of college students in our country: Changes in political values and attitudes in the past fifteen years), a project commissioned by the National Science Council (Taipei: Election Study Center of National Chengchi University, 1991), 125-28.

[39]Chen Wen-chun, *Taiwan diqu zhongxuesheng de zhengzhi taidu ji qi xingcheng yinsu: Qingshaonian de zhengzhi shehuihua* (The political attitudes of Taiwan middle school students and factors for their formation: The political socialization of youngsters) (Taipei: Caituan faren zijiao zhongxin, 1983).

[40]Kuo Chen, Chen Wen-chun, and Tsai Mei-ying, *Taiwan diqu de zhengzhi minzhuhua: Xingwei cengmian de tantao—Zhengzhi shehuihua yu Taiwan diqu de zhengzhi minzhuhua* (II) (Political democratization in the Taiwan area: A behavioral approach—Political socialization and political democratization in the Taiwan area) (II) (1997), 139. This project was commissioned by the National Science Council and conducted by the Advertisement Department of National Chengchi University and the Graduate Institute of Political Science of National Sun Yat-sen University.

dren, the use of the mass media, relations between teachers and students, and school participation. Those that have a greater impact on junior college students are peers' political stand, the use of the mass media, and relations between parents and children. What have affected college students are the acceptance of the mass media, peers' political stand, and the use of the mass media. The research shows that on the part of junior high school students, relationship between teachers and students has had an adverse effect on students' democratic attitudes and values, while the use of the mass media has helped them to develop a positive attitude. As for senior high school students, relationship between teachers and students has had a comparatively positive effect on their democratic attitudes. The acceptance of the mass media has had an adverse effect on college students' democratic attitudes and values. From the above, we can say that in Taiwan the social environment has influenced students' political attitudes and that discontinuity exists in students' political socialization.

Fifth, the civic culture is a mixed culture. Moreover, a mixed political attitude can best fit the operation of a democratic system.[41] In a democratic society, all people—both subjects and citizens—should have the following basic attributes: national identity, the feeling of nationhood, and the willingness to fulfill civic duties. However, for citizens alone, the following additional attributes are required: civic knowledge, political efficacy, and political participation. These citizen attributes should be the major aspects of political socialization for students in Taiwan. To achieve these ends, school education should play a greater role.

Sixth, although political socialization is an unconscious and unplanned process of citizen cultivation, this socialization can be controlled or manipulated, especially by schools and the mass media. For example, schools at various levels should readjust their educational goals, curricula, and teaching materials so as to enable students to acquire a firm conviction for and better understanding of democracy, as well as to better adapt themselves to the democratic system. With regard to educational goals, students

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[41]Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, eds., *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963), 493.

should be taught both competence in handling public affairs and strong feelings of nationhood. School curricula should include more focus on things native, including Taiwan's history, geography, and society, and also on social issues such as those concerning ethnic identity, national identity, original settlers, minority groups, and relations between men and women. Teachers should also be given greater freedom in selecting teaching materials and in using teaching approaches so that they can help students to better make moral and value judgments, debate and criticize major issues, and be more competent in problem solving. In addition to all of the above, democratization of school administration is also important. Free discussion should be allowed in the classroom. Teachers and school administrative personnel should pay attention to students' mental development and protect students' basic human rights. Teachers should protect and promote students' rights to further their studies, to make appeals, and to participate in school activities. To build up students' ability to self-govern and handle public affairs, efforts should be made to conduct group activities, such as holding class meetings, classroom activities, mock elections, and visits to government organizations.

Conclusion

After decades of authoritarian rule, Taiwan is now following a democratic path. The major task ahead now is the consolidation of such a system. As a democratic political system can continue only with the support of a democratic political culture, all people in Taiwan need to have a firm conviction for, and correct understanding of, the essence of democracy. The people on Taiwan must have a democratic attitude and value. Our research findings on the political socialization in Taiwan reveal that the cultivation of a democratic citizenry is the key to the consolidation of Taiwan's democratization.