

The Role of the Family in Political Learning of Elementary School Students in Taiwan*

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The family is an important agent of political socialization. Parents are undoubtedly the primary source of a child's political learning. Political values, like genes, are transmitted from parents to children. Not only do individuals acquire political values and attitudes from their parents, but at the same time the political system is also sustained and developed.

This paper investigates the content of political attitudes and values that elementary school students acquire in the socialization environment of the family, measures the extent of correspondence in parent-child political attitudes and values, and examines aspects of family structure which conceivably affect transmission flows.

The preliminary findings of this paper are that elementary school students in Taiwan already possess attitudes regarding the political world. The rate of parent-child agreement, measured in eleven sets of variables reflecting political attitudes and values, ranged from 22.87 percent to 56.93 percent—of which only one set was less than 30 percent. In regard to the correlation of correspondence, the chi-square test of national identity, national loyalty, and party preference all held statistical significance. With the exception of majority rule and sense of political efficacy (which both had less correlation of agreement), the other six sets of variables of democratic attitudes and values all held at least a 0.05 tau-b coefficient.

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Additionally, in comparing the six familial socialization factors of correspondence in parent-child political attitudes and values, we find that the familial politicization factor was the most influential socialization factor. In total, out of forty-eight tau-b correlation coefficient tests of eight sets of variables of democratic values and attitudes, there are thirty-nine tests that had statistical relations with tau-b coefficient above 0.05. Therefore, this research demonstrates that in the political learning of children in Taiwan, political attitudes and values are indeed transmitted from parents to children.

KEYWORDS: political learning; political socialization; basic political attitudes; democratic attitudes; democratic values; parent-child political attitudes and values

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The Role of the Family in Children's Political Learning

The family is the most important and common social unit, and is also the first place where people have contact with human environments. The family, then, is the logical system to select for detailed analysis in children's political learning because almost all young people belong to one and is the setting in which they have spent most of their formative years. Common phrases—such as "blood is thicker than water," "chip off the old block," "he who keeps company with the wolf will learn to howl," and "like father like son"—all describe the importance and power of the household environment in affecting the way in which children are brought up.

Many researchers of political socialization have investigated the socialization roles of the family and analyzed how the parents can influence their children's acquisition of political attitudes and values. For example, Herbert H. Hyman has concluded that "foremost among agencies of socialization into politics is the family."¹ M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi as well as M. Kent Jennings and Gregory B. Markus have sought to elaborate on this by using a panel research design aimed at twelfth-grade students to carry out a three-wave survey in attempts to create a model of

¹Herbert H. Hyman, *Political Socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior* (New York: The Free Press, 1959), 51.

how political values are transmitted from parents to child. Although they only detected a parent-child connection in party identification, there is indeed truth in saying that the parents transmit this identification to their children. However, the positions on other special issues show less signs of being transmitted from generation to generation.² In Jennings and Niemi's second-stage survey, they found some extent of difference in the political attitudes of students and parents. Meanwhile, in the parent-child political values matching comparison, young students in high school became more and more unlike their parents.³ Kent L. Tedin took this one step further in analyzing the factors of parent-adolescent political values. His findings show that the relating factors of parent-adolescent and peer-adolescent political values are primarily affected by specific topic communication.⁴ While looking for clues of successful transmission of political attitudes, Christine B. Williams and Daniel Richard Minns have discovered that the child learns on his/her own accord.⁵

Previous survey research has shown that the family as a socialization agent influences an individual's political learning. In fact, family is not an absolute influencing power, but is rather in opposition to relative facts. Different socialization agents have different degrees of influence on different age groups. In the so-called preschool stage, the significance of the family or of the parents goes without saying. When formal school education begins, the teacher's position surpasses that of the parents. Upon the teenage years, tendencies to act like one's peers become important and one no

²M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, *The Political Character of Adolescence: The Influence of Families and Schools* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1974); M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, *Generations and Politics: A Panel Study of Young Adults and Their Parents* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981); and M. Kent Jennings and Gregory B. Markus, "Partisan Orientations over the Long Haul: Results from the Three-Wave Political Socialization Panel Study," *American Political Science Review* 78, no. 4 (December 1984): 1000-1018.

³M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "Continuity and Change in Political Orientations: A Longitudinal Study of Two Generations," *American Political Science Review* 69, no. 4 (December 1975): 1316-35; Jennings and Niemi, *Generations and Politics*, 388.

⁴Kent L. Tedin, "Assessing Peer and Parent Influence on Adolescent Political Attitudes," *American Journal of Political Science* 24, no. 1 (February 1980): 152.

⁵Christine B. Williams and Daniel Richard Minns, "Agent Credibility and Receptivity Influences on Children's Political Learning," *Political Behavior* 8, no. 2 (1986): 175-99.



longer always follows the lead of parents and teachers. As youth continues into adolescence, the mass media become "the new parent" of political learning.⁶ Due to the fact that the influence of the family on eighteen-year-old students had already begun to drop off, Jennings and Niemi's survey research, which attempted to use twelfth-grade high school students to measure the influence of the family, was not an appropriate course of study.

In this study, we surveyed third-, fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade elementary school students and their parents. For third-, fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade elementary school students, the family is still the foremost among agencies of socialization and parents are the main source of political learning. Thus it is appropriate to analyze the family's influence and the transmission patterns of parent-child political attitudes and values.

Research Data and Data Analysis Methods

This paper uses the survey research data of "Political Socialization and Taiwan's Political Democratization" to investigate the way in which the family is related to elementary school students' political learning.⁷ The survey population encompasses third through sixth-grade elementary school students in Taiwan (including Penghu 澎湖) and parents of the student samples. This population totaled 39,239 classes and 1,266,436 students. Cluster random sampling was adopted to select the student samples from the Province of Taiwan and Taipei and Kaohsiung cities. The questionnaire is reprinted in appendix.

This survey took place in May of 2000. The school children's sample surveys were administrated in classrooms. The questionnaires for the parents, unlike the student surveys, were taken home by the students and given to the parents with a request for them to fill out and return the forms

⁶N. Hollander, "Adolescents and the War: The Sources of Socialization," *Journalism Quarterly* 48 (1971): 472-79.

⁷Chen Wen-chun and Kuo Chen, "Political Socialization and Taiwan's Political Democratization (III): A Study of Elementary School Students' Political Attitudes and Values" (Research project commissioned by the ROC National Science Council, October 1999-July 2000).

to the student's head teacher, who will then mail in the results. For the sake of allowing the parent samples to conform to those of the students' gender ratio, a male student was requested to give the survey questionnaire to his father, and a female student was requested to ask her mother. If the father and mother were both unavailable, then the student was requested to give the survey questionnaire to another senior member of the family. In a total of 36 schools and 143 classes of elementary school students, 3,939 students were surveyed, of which 2,077 (52.73 percent) were male, 1,862 (47.27 percent) were female; 1,011 (25.67 percent) were in the third grade, 1,003 (25.46 percent) were in the fourth grade, 1,015 (25.77 percent) were in the fifth grade, and 910 (23.10 percent) were in the sixth grade. In addition, 3,333 parents of sample students were surveyed, of which 1,428 (42.84 percent) were father samples, 1,855 (55.66 percent) were mother samples, and 50 (1.50 percent) were other senior members of the family. A total of 3,257 pairs were matched up between the students and the parents, resulting in an 82.70 percent rate of successful matching. The data analysis was based on the 3,257 pair-samples.

Items in the questionnaire (see appendix)—such as belief in democracy, political equality, majority rule, political trust and party competition, sense of political efficacy, sense of civic duty, and interest in political participation—were placed on a Likert-type scale. Each response to the items was measured on a five-point scale with 1 representing "strongly disagree" and 5 representing "strongly agree." In order to measure the degree of agreement/disagreement of the parent-child political attitudes and values, survey measurements were subdivided into three levels of least, middle, and most, which were converted from the original scale by normal distribution. Kendall's tau-b and chi-square test have been used to assess the degree of correspondence in parent-child political attitudes and values.

Correspondence in Parent-Child Political Attitudes and Values

In looking at elementary school students' political learning, exactly what kind of political attitudes and values do children acquire from their parents? Different researchers have different views and also study different

content of political attitudes and values. For the sake of convenience, this research will simply separate political attitudes and values into three categories: (1) basic political attitudes—including national identity, national loyalty, and party preference; (2) democratic values—including belief in democracy, political equality, majority rule, political trust, and party competition; and (3) democratic attitudes—including sense of political efficacy, sense of civic duty, and interest in political participation.

Basic Political Attitudes

1. *National identity*: One of children's earliest notions of belonging to a political community is the feeling of belonging to a country or a nation. David Easton and Jack Dennis' survey research studied the impressions children had toward the government, and the two researchers discovered that second-grade elementary school students already knew that they were Americans.⁸ These types of nationalistic feelings show children's patriotic sentiments and are good examples of their perception of national pride, which is represented by the longstanding historical culture, the beauty of the country, and its law-abiding people. Therefore, feelings of national belonging in the early years are part of an emotional nature.

The earliest teaching materials that cultivate national identity in Taiwan's elementary schools appear in fifth-grade Social Studies. Two units in volume nine are entitled "The Living Environment of the Chinese Nationality" (中華民族的生活環境) and "Chinese Nationality Coming Together" (中華民族的融合). In the first unit, "The Living Environment of the Chinese Nationality" states: "Chinese is the commonly used name of our country's people, which includes the ten races: Han (漢), Man (滿), Mongol (蒙), Hui (回), Tibetan (藏), Miao (苗), Yao (傜), Zhuang (壯), Weiwuer (Uyghur 維吾爾), and the aborigines of Taiwan." The second unit, "Chinese Nationality Coming Together," gives an account of how the Chinese people in East Asia founded the country from the Yellow Emperor (黃帝), Qin (秦), Han (漢), Sui (隋), Tang (唐), . . . Qing (清), up to the

⁸David Easton and Jack Dennis, *Children in the Political System* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), 95-108.

founding of the Republic of China, as well as the historical aspects of every dynasty's merging of nationalities.

To measure the national identity⁹ of elementary school students, this paper uses a subjective identification method. The result of the survey shows that 57.83 percent considered themselves "Taiwanese" (台灣人), 23.73 percent felt they were "Chinese and also Taiwanese" (中國人也是台灣人), and the percentage that identified themselves as "Chinese" was a mere 6.39 percent. One interesting fact is that in the second semester of the fifth-grade elementary school's volume nine Social Studies text, two units were used to introduce the history of "Chinese nationality" (中華民族), but only 4.17 percent of the elementary school students identified themselves as belonging to any "Chinese nationality" group. The result of the parents' subjective national identity survey showed that "I consider myself a Taiwanese" made up 33.98 percent, "I am Chinese and also Taiwanese" consisted of 35.86 percent, those identifying themselves as "Chinese" were 8.47 percent, and 11.64 percent considered themselves to be members of the "Chinese nationality."

To assess the correspondence in parent-child national identity, table 1 provides statistical significance of agreement. From the ratio of the diagonal distribution, the rate of agreement is 34.07 percent¹⁰ and the rate of disagreement is 65.93 percent (1-34.07 percent). Between the parent and child identification, "Taiwanese" had the highest rate, followed by "Chinese and also Taiwanese," "Chinese," and lastly "Chinese nationality."

2. *National loyalty*: National loyalty is a feeling of political identification. In definition, political identification is "the individual having the consciousness of belonging to a grouping."¹¹ Grouping can be a reference to any social unit—for example, family, school, nationhood, and social

⁹"Taiwanese": People who are living in Taiwan, governed by the Republic of China; "Chinese": People who are living in mainland China, governed by the People's Republic of China; and "Chinese Nationality": People who are ethnically Chinese, but not necessarily living in mainland China.

¹⁰The formula is: $34.07\% = (3073 * 8.5\% * 15.8\% / 3073) + (3073 * 35.9\% * 27.0\% / 3073) + (3073 * 33.9\% * 65.9\% / 3073) + (3073 * 11.6\% * 6.2\% / 3073)$, and so forth.

¹¹William Buchanan, "Political Identification," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. David L. Sills, vol. 7 (New York: Macmillan and the Free Press, 1968), 57.

Table 1
Correspondence in Parent-Child National Identity

Parents	Students						Row Total (%)	Marginal Total (%)
	1	2	3	4	5	6		
1	15.8	25.0	46.2	5.8	3.1	4.2	100.0	8.5
2	6.7	27.0	53.4	4.4	4.1	4.4	100.0	35.9
3	4.6	20.3	65.9	2.8	3.0	3.5	100.0	33.9
4	5.6	21.8	57.7	6.2	3.9	4.8	100.0	11.6
5	3.4	23.1	59.6	4.3	3.4	6.3	100.0	6.8
6	5.8	18.4	62.1	3.9	4.9	4.9	100.0	3.4
Marginal Total (%)	6.4	23.4	58.2	4.2	3.6	4.3	100.0	100.0

$X^2 = 85.696$; $DF = 25$; $P = 0.000$; $N = 3,073$

Keys:

1: Chinese; 2: Chinese/Taiwanese; 3: Taiwanese; 4: Chinese nationality; 5: No opinion; 6: Don't know.

groups. Therefore, the idea of political identification is that the individual will find a position for himself in a polity and in the mentality that the polity produces a sense of belonging. Some political theorists think that the idea of political identification is a condition that allows the political system to continue. For example, David Easton believes that members of a system will reciprocally divide themselves using "in-group" or "we-group" sentiments, identifying with each other as members of the same political system. Furthermore, according to some commonly accepted standards, territory, blood relationships, and citizenship will exclude other members. This is the way that members of a political system support a political community. Having this sense of political community enables the political system to continue on.¹²

Taiwan's school children, at a very early age, are taught about national loyalty. The earliest teaching materials appear in a fourth-grade Social Studies text, volume seven, in a unit entitled "Taiwan's Geographic Environment" (台灣的地理環境) and in three units of the fifth-grade volume

¹²David Easton, "An Approach to the Analysis of Political Systems," *World Politics* 9, no. 3 (April 1957): 391-92.



nine entitled "The Living Environment of the Chinese Nationality," "Chinese Nationality Coming Together," and "The Founding of the Republic of China" (中華民國的建立). Volume nine introduces Dr. Sun Yat-sen and other patriots of integrity, as well as how these leaders founded the Republic of China in October 1911. Volume nine states, "In the thirty-eighth year of the Chinese Republic (1949), the central government moved to Taiwan, and now has jurisdiction over the territories of Taiwan, Penghu, Jinmen (Quemoy 金門), and Matsu (馬祖)." Volume seven writes, "Taipei is the largest city and thus the central government is now established there."

In surveying national loyalty, those elementary school students who think that "Taiwan and mainland China" are "two different countries" had the highest rate at 37.79 percent. Next were those who thought "both are parts of China" at 17.56 percent. Those who believed Taiwan and mainland China are "one country" made up 10.60 percent. Those who believed that Taiwan and mainland China would be "possibly a unified country in the future" had the lowest at 8.32 percent, and others (including no opinion, don't know, refuse to answer) constituted 25.73 percent. Parents who think that "Taiwan and mainland China" are "two different countries" had the highest rate at 33.74 percent, followed by "both are parts of China" (21.99 percent), then "possibly a unified country in the future" (19.56 percent), "one country" (5.02 percent), and others (19.69 percent).

In table 2, the assessment of correspondence in parent-child national loyalty had statistical significance of agreement. The parent-child national loyalty agreement rate was 22.87 percent, with a disagreement rate of 77.13 percent. With student and parent participants, the common thought of Taiwan and mainland China being "two different countries" had the highest rate of 43.7 percent. This is followed by "both are parts of China" at 21.7 percent and then "one country" at 19.5 percent. The lowest rate of 12.8 percent is where both parents and children believe "possibly a unified country in the future."

3. *Party preference*: The political party is one distinct characteristic of a democracy. Political parties are both the result of democratic development and a key reason why democratic government can operate. One research survey of American voting behavior, which used the tracking of voters and party relationship, raised the idea known as "party identifica-

Table 2
Correspondence in Parent-Child National Loyalty

Parents	Students						Row Total (%)	Marginal Total (%)
	1	2	3	4	5	6		
1	21.7	10.8	35.9	8.1	7.2	16.4	100.0	22.1
2	24.0	19.5	27.3	4.5	7.1	17.5	100.0	5.1
3	13.7	10.2	43.7	7.5	6.3	18.6	100.0	33.4
4	18.8	9.2	37.3	12.8	7.1	14.8	100.0	19.6
5	15.5	10.8	35.2	8.1	9.7	20.7	100.0	12.6
6	15.1	9.6	32.6	6.0	9.2	27.5	100.0	7.2
Marginal Total (%)	17.3	10.6	38.0	8.5	7.3	18.2	100.0	100.0

$\chi^2 = 86.865$; $DF = 25$; $P = 0.000$; $N = 3,030$

Keys:

1: Both are parts of China; 2: One country; 3: Two different countries; 4: Possibly a unified country in the future; 5: No opinion; 6: Don't know.

tion." Political socialization research has discovered that party identification is the basic political attitude, one that is capable of being passed down from generation to generation.¹³ This research uses "party preference" to act in the place of "party identification" in surveying and measuring elementary school students' partisanship. Do Taiwan's elementary school students possess party preference? The survey result was that elementary school students favored the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP 民主進步黨, 27.21 percent), followed by the Kuomintang (KMT 國民黨 25.16 percent), then the People First Party (PFP 親民黨 16.03 percent), the New Party (NP 新黨 1.77 percent), and the Taiwan Independence Party (TAIP 建國黨 0.41 percent). Thus, 70.58 percent of elementary school students possess party preference. In the student's father's party preference survey, the highest preference was given to the DPP with a rate of 29.86 percent, followed by the PFP (21.42 percent), the KMT (16.38 percent), the NP (0.96 percent), and the TAIP (0.50 percent). A total of 69.12 percent of the fathers had a party preference. The mothers, on the other hand, also most favored the DPP with a rate of 27.53 percent, followed by the PFP (17.99

¹³Jennings and Niemi, *The Political Character of Adolescence*, 79.

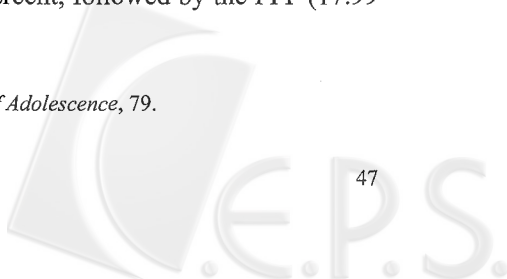


Table 3
Correspondence in Parent-Child Party Preference

Parents	Students							Row Total (%)	Marginal Total (%)
	KMT	DPP	NP	PFP	TAIP	Others	Don't know		
KMT	45.1	16.4	2.0	9.4	0.0	2.0	25.0	100.0	16.3
DPP	16.7	51.2	0.9	6.4	0.4	2.2	22.1	100.0	29.9
NP	17.2	24.1	10.3	27.6	0.0	3.4	17.2	100.0	1.0
PFP	18.2	11.7	2.8	39.4	0.5	3.3	24.1	100.0	21.5
TAIP	20.0	40.0	6.7	0.0	6.7	0.0	26.7	100.0	0.5
Others	28.1	21.9	1.4	11.6	0.3	2.7	34.0	100.0	30.2
Don't know	25.0	15.0	0.0	30.0	0.0	0.0	30.0	100.0	0.7
Marginal Total (%)	25.2	27.6	1.8	15.9	0.4	2.5	26.6	100.0	100.0

$X^2 = 682.656$; DF = 36; P = 0.000; N = 2,992

Keys:

KMT: Kuomintang; DPP: Democratic Progressive Party; NP: New Party; PFP: People First Party; TAIP: Taiwan Independence Party.

percent), the KMT (14.00 percent), the NP (0.90 percent), and the TAIP (0.23 percent). Mothers had a party preference rate totaling 60.65 percent.

In table 3, the correspondence in parent-child party preference had statistical significance of agreement. In the parent-child party preference, the agreement rate was 31.25 percent and the disagreement rate was 68.75 percent. Between parents and children, there was mutual preference for the DPP which had the highest rate of 51.2 percent, followed by the KMT, then the PFP, the NP, and lastly the TAIP, which had the lowest rate of party preference at 6.7 percent. In discussing mutual party preference between the parent and child, if parents pass down party preference to their children, then parents preferring the DPP had the largest influence on their children. The KMT, then the PFP, and the NP follow this and lastly the TAIP, which had the least handing-down effect.

Democratic Values

1. *Belief in democracy*: At the end of the twentieth century, democratic governance has spread to every corner of the world.¹⁴ In this trend

¹⁴Doh Chull Shin, "On the Third Wave of Democratization: A Synthesis and Evaluation of Recent Theory and Research," *World Politics* 47, no. 1 (October 1994): 136.

Table 4
Correspondence in Parent-Child Belief in Democracy

Parents	Students			Row Total (%)	Marginal Total (%)
	Least	Middle	Most		
Least	7.4	49.7	42.9	100.0	5.2
Middle	6.8	55.2	38.0	100.0	34.5
Most	7.5	46.0	46.4	100.0	60.4
Marginal Total (%)	7.3	49.4	43.3	100.0	100.0

tau-b = 0.06
 $X^2 = 23.563$; DF = 4; P = 0.000; N = 3,165

of "global resurgence of democracy,"¹⁵ Taiwan has also founded a democratic government. Possibly Taiwan's present democratic system falls short of the ideal, or perhaps will even eventually be replaced. Therefore, democratic consolidation depends on the people's faith in the democratic system. In believing that this system is the best and most suitable for our country, the democratic system becomes deep-rooted and steadily develops.

Belief in democracy was tested by two questions: (1) Is democracy the best form of government? (2) Is democracy the government system best suited for our country? The students displayed an average value of 3.56, which was above the mean. The parental belief in democracy survey items is identical to that of the students. The parents' average value of 3.77 was also above the mean. Parents and elementary school students alike have belief in democracy. The parents' belief in democracy is stronger than that of their children. In table 4 where the parent-child belief in democracy agreement/disagreement was tested, with Cronbach's α coefficient of 0.74 and 0.81 for students and parents, there was an agreement rate of 46.92 percent and a disagreement rate of 53.08 percent. The results of both the chi-square test and tau-b = 0.06 showed that the degree of agreement in parent-child belief in democracy had statistical significance.

¹⁵Samuel P. Huntington, "Democracy's Third Wave," in *The Global Resurgence of Democracy*, ed. Larry Diamond and Marc F. Plattner (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 3-25.

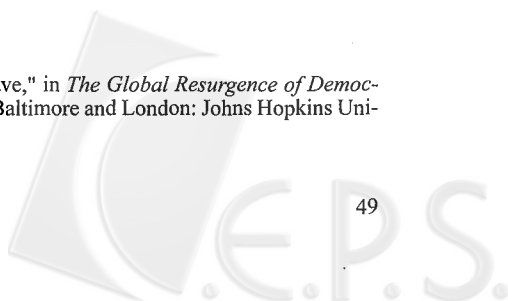


Table 5
Correspondence in Parent-Child Political Equality

Parents	Students			Row Total (%)	Marginal Total (%)
	Least	Middle	Most		
Least	7.6	51.8	40.6	100.0	6.4
Middle	5.1	46.6	48.3	100.0	48.2
Most	5.0	40.0	55.0	100.0	45.5
Marginal Total (%)	5.2	43.9	50.8	100.0	100.0

tau-b = 0.08
 $\chi^2 = 23.013$; DF = 4; P = 0.000; N = 3,084

2. *Political equality*: The main principle of a democracy is political equality. Governments that comply with this principle of equality allow all people—no matter if they are poor, rich, male, female, laborer, capitalist, or of the same class—to have equal participation and equally shared rights. During elections, "one person, one vote; one vote, one value" is the achievement of political equality.

In the survey children and parents were each asked three questions regarding the relationship between the right to vote and such status areas as money, prestige, and education. The survey found that students had an average value of 3.75, which was above the mean; parents had an average value of 3.68, which was also above the mean. Parents and children alike possess concepts of political equality; children's concepts of political equality were slightly stronger than those of their parents. In table 5 where the parent-child notions of political equality agreement/disagreement was tested, with Cronbach's α coefficient of 0.64 and 0.64 for students and parents, there was an agreement rate of 47.99 percent and a disagreement rate of 52.01 percent. The results of both the chi-square test and tau-b = 0.08 showed that the degree of agreement in parent-child notions of political equality had statistical significance.

3. *Majority rule*: Another important principle of democracy is the concept that the majority rules. According to the "majority rule" principle, what is known as democratic decision-making lies within the preparation of different alternatives; the alternative that is favored by the majority should be selected. In other words, in compliance with the majority—

Table 6
Correspondence in Parent-Child Majority Rule

Parents	Students			Row Total (%)	Marginal Total (%)
	Least	Middle	Most		
Least	3.8	15.0	81.3	100.0	2.6
Middle	1.9	17.9	80.2	100.0	76.0
Most	1.4	16.5	82.1	100.0	21.4
Marginal Total (%)	1.8	17.6	80.6	100.0	100.0

tau-b = 0.02
 $X^2 = 3.315$; DF = 4; P = .506; N = 3,110

while valuing the minority, any alternative up for selection that is voted on will become government policy. In this, the number of people in favor of the policy must be greater than that of people in favor of other policies.

In order to capture this value, the survey asked three questions of children and their parents (see appendix). The students had an average value of 4.16, which was above the mean. The parents had an average value of 3.30, which was also above the mean. Parents and children alike possess concepts of majority rule; children's concepts of majority rule were slightly stronger than those of their parents. Table 6 is based on the parent-child "majority rule" agreement/disagreement testing, with Cronbach's α coefficient of 0.65 and 0.20 for students and parents. The table shows there was an agreement rate of 31.25 percent and a disagreement rate of 68.75 percent. The result of both the chi-square test and tau-b = 0.02 showed that the degree of agreement in parent-child notions of majority rule had less statistical relationship.

4. *Political trust*: Trust between people is a basic component of all mutually fruitful interactions. From infancy people start developing personal trust; consequently there is the establishment of political affairs. Therefore, when people's personal trust disappears, politics becomes impossible.¹⁶ Opposite of political trust is political cynicism. Political cynics

¹⁶James Chowning Davies, "Political Socialization: From Womb to Childhood," in *Handbook of Political Socialization: Theory and Research*, ed. Stanley Allen Renshon (New York: The Free Press, 1977), 170.

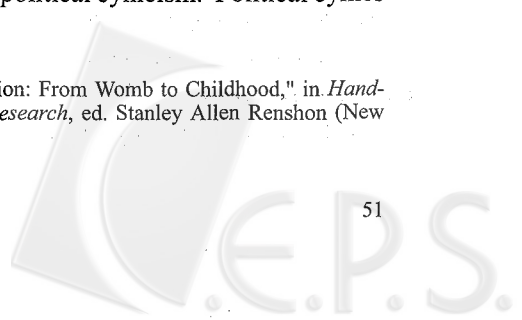


Table 7
Correspondence in Parent-Child Political Trust

Parents	Students			Row Total (%)	Marginal Total (%)
	Least	Middle	Most		
Least	14.3	51.0	34.7	100.0	32.6
Middle	11.2	52.5	36.3	100.0	56.0
Most	9.7	43.6	46.7	100.0	11.4
Marginal Total (%)	12.0	51.0	37.0	100.0	100.0

tau-b = 0.06
 $X^2 = 21.384$; DF = 4; P = 0.000; N = 3,066

are people who stand on the sidelines and observe with a cold and detached eye, having no trust in political figures or their actions. Political trust is an important democratic attitude, with an essential condition of having enthusiastic, self-initiating citizens.

By asking children and parents the same four questions related to political trust, the following levels of trust have been identified. Students had an average value of 3.37, which was above the mean; parents had an average value of 2.72 that fell below the mean. In comparing parents with their children, the children possessed a stronger feeling of political trust, which was above the mean and far surpassed that of their parents. Table 7 shows the results of the parent-child political trust agreement/disagreement testing, with Cronbach's α coefficient of 0.69 and 0.77 for students and parents. The table shows an agreement rate of 39.33 percent and a disagreement rate of 60.67 percent. The result of both the chi-square test and tau-b = 0.06 showed that the degree of agreement in parent-child political trust had statistical significance.

5. Party competition: Democracy is party politics. The present-day significance of political parties is born from democratic development, and democracy exists because of the activities of political parties. The competitive characteristic of political parties allows democracy to continue and to develop. Although traditional Chinese society has always emphasized harmony and unity, conflicts and cooperation alike are intrinsic qualities in all human societies. Conflicts force politics to have these imperative qualities of harmony and unity; cooperation requires these traits even more,

Table 8
Correspondence in Parent-Child Party Competition

Parents	Students			Row Total (%)	Marginal Total (%)
	Least	Middle	Most		
Least	25.8	61.3	12.9	100.0	2.0
Middle	13.8	70.2	16.1	100.0	42.8
Most	11.6	69.7	18.7	100.0	55.2
Marginal Total (%)	12.8	69.7	17.4	100.0	100.0

tau-b = 0.05
X² = 13.550; DF = 4; P = 0.008; N = 3,055

which makes politics even more likely.

The results of the party competition survey, which asked the same three questions to both parents and children, are as follows. Students had an average value of 3.31, which was above the mean; parents had an average value of 3.70, which was also above the mean. Parents and children alike possess concepts of party competition; parents' concepts of party competition surpassed those of their children. Table 8 displays the results of the parent-child party competition agreement/disagreement testing, with Cronbach's α coefficient of 0.27 and 0.50 for students and parents. The table shows an agreement rate of 40.88 percent and a disagreement rate of 59.12 percent. The result of both the chi-square test and tau-b = 0.05 showed that the degree of agreement in parent-child party competition had slight statistical significance.

Democratic Attitudes

1. *Sense of political efficacy*: The meaning of "sense of political efficacy" points to believing one is individually capable and able to influence political affairs. It is generally believed that citizens have this type of consciousness, representing their belief that they are part of the government system and are able to participate in and affect the political process. In doing this, a citizen will feel that exercising his/her civil rights has merit and therefore will urge him/herself to play the role of an active citizen. On the contrary, a citizen who has no sense of political efficacy will feel very insignificant and politically powerless, leaving no place for him/herself

Table 9
Correspondence in Parent-Child Sense of Political Efficacy

Parents	Students			Row Total (%)	Marginal Total (%)
	Least	Middle	Most		
Least	13.5	62.0	24.5	100.0	32.0
Middle	10.6	64.4	25.0	100.0	60.2
Most	12.6	62.6	24.8	100.0	7.8
Marginal Total (%)	11.7	63.5	24.9	100.0	100.0

tau-b = 0.02
 $X^2 = 5.334$; DF = 4; P = 0.254; N = 3,054

in the overarching political system. Thus this citizen feels detached and remote, and will end up retreating from political life. Therefore, the sense of political efficacy is an important condition of the citizen's role, and consequently is an important goal of democratic citizenship education.¹⁷

In order to measure political efficacy, the survey asked two different sets of questions to parents and children. As a result, it was found that students had an average value of 3.13, which surpassed the mean. Parents had an average value of 2.69, which was lower than the mean. In comparing parents with their children, the children possessed a stronger sense of political efficacy, which was close to that of the mean and far surpassed that of their parents. Table 9 displays the results of the parent-child sense of political efficacy agreement/disagreement testing, with Cronbach's α coefficient of 0.38 and 0.57 for students and parents. The table shows an agreement rate of 45.02 percent and a disagreement rate of 54.98 percent. The result of both the chi-square test and tau-b = 0.02 showed that the degree of agreement in parent-child political efficacy had less statistical significance.

2. *Sense of civic duty*: The meaning of "sense of civic duty" refers to the degree in which individuals internalize the role of citizen. Sense of political efficacy, on the other hand, is the individual's evaluation of

¹⁷R. Weissberg, "The Politics of Political Competence Education," in *Political Education in Flux*, ed. Derek Heater and Judith A. Gillespie (London and Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1981), 127-48.

Table 10
Correspondence in Parent-Child Sense of Civic Duty

Parents	Students			Row Total (%)	Marginal Total (%)
	Least	Middle	Most		
Least	17.9	42.9	39.3	100.0	1.8
Middle	2.7	41.6	55.8	100.0	25.3
Most	3.6	33.2	63.2	100.0	72.9
Marginal Total (%)	3.6	35.5	60.9	100.0	100.0

tau-b = 0.08
 $\chi^2 = 40.684$; DF = 4; P = 0.000; N = 3,125

whether the role of citizen has or has not a degree of effectiveness. The former is considered an aspect of knowing and understanding citizenship, whereas the latter is the evaluation of the value of playing this role. The significance lies in that a person having only a sense of political efficacy is still unable to completely fill the requirement of an active citizen; a sense of civic duty is also required. Even though a person may feel politically powerless, having a strong sense of civic duty will still induce an individual to participate in political affairs. Citizens lack a sense of political efficacy but have a comparatively stronger sense of civic duty and thus will more likely vote.

In order to test civic duty, four questions were asked of parents and students. Students had an average value of 3.81, which was much higher than the mean; parents had an average value of 3.95, which also surpassed that of the mean. Parents and children alike possess sense of civic duty; the depth of children and parents' sense of civic duty was very close. Table 10 shows the results of the tests for agreement/disagreement between the parent-child sense of civic duty, with Cronbach's α coefficient of 0.64 and 0.72 for students and parents. This table reveals an agreement rate of 56.93 percent and a disagreement rate of 43.07 percent. The result of both the chi-square test and tau-b = 0.08 showed that the degree of agreement in parent-child sense of civic duty had statistical significance.

3. *Interest in political participation*: Classical democratic theories presume citizens to be rational, have interest in political participation, and will actively and for their own accord participate in politics. This partici-

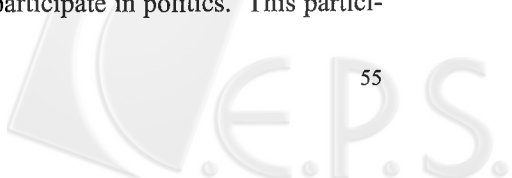


Table 11
Correspondence in Parent-Child Interest in Political Participation

Parents	Students			Row Total (%)	Marginal Total (%)
	Least	Middle	Most		
Least	34.1	45.7	20.3	100.0	7.8
Middle	26.6	49.3	24.1	100.0	48.0
Most	20.5	41.7	37.7	100.0	44.3
Marginal Total (%)	24.5	45.7	29.8	100.0	100.0

tau-b = 0.14
 $X^2 = 77.919$; DF = 4; P = 0.000; N = 2,982

pation can also help lead to the highest degree of development. Opposite of interest in political participation is political apathy. If the people lack the interest to understand and discuss major foreign and domestic political issues, or to play a part in the government, then the idea of government by the people will never truly be realized.

Four questions measured the interest of parents and children in political participation. According to the results, students had an average value of 3.31, which was close to the mean; parents had an average value of 3.48, which was also close to the mean. Parents and children alike possess interest in political participation; the degree of children and parents' interest was very close. Table 11 shows the results of the parent-child political participation interest agreement/disagreement testing, with Cronbach's α coefficient of 0.59 and 0.55 for students and parents. The table shows that there was an agreement rate of 43.02 percent and a disagreement rate of 56.98 percent. The result of both the chi-square test and tau-b = 0.14 showed that the degree of agreement had statistical significance.

Familial Socialization Factors and Parent-Child Political Attitudes and Values

How are the political attitudes and values of elementary school students formed? How does the familial socialization environment affect their acquisition of political values and attitudes? This paper examines the fol-

lowing familial socialization factors: (1) familial patterns of authority, (2) parents' child-rearing practices, (3) parent-child affectivity, (4) familial politicization, and (5) mode of familial communication. These factors and the degree of correspondence in parent-child political attitudes and values will also be analyzed.

Familial Patterns of Authority

The familial patterns of authority make up the power structure of a family. The right to make policies in the family lies in the parents, children, or—by agreement—both the parents and the children. The fact that children may or may not have a right to voice their opinion or have the power to decide on their own personal affairs may reflect an autocratic/democratic pattern of family authority.

The result of the familial patterns of authority survey was an average value of 3.04, which was close to the mean. In a sense, the pattern of authority in the modern Taiwan's family is somewhere between that of an autocracy and democracy, and has already broken away from the traditional household where father and mother are the ruling center. Within the family, children are no longer just able to listen but are now permitted to express their opinion, especially in having the power to decide on their own affairs.

The scale of familial patterns of authority had a Cronbach's α coefficient of 0.56. Table 12 shows that there is absolutely no discrepancy between parents and children in familial patterns of authority and in national identity, national loyalty, or party preference. Table 13 shows that correlation was more notable in majority rule, belief in democracy, political equality, and interest in political participation. In party competition and sense of civic duty, there is less correlation. However, sense of political efficacy had a negative correlation, and political trust held no relationship.

Parental Child-Rearing Practice

Parental child-rearing practices are the ways in which parents raise their children. Although disciplining children is still the right of the parents, parental child-rearing practices are clearly different between the traditional and modern family. The traditional family used what is known

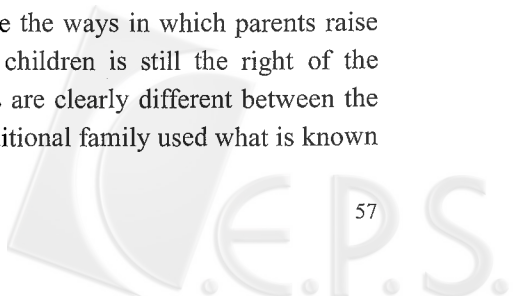


Table 12
Student-Parent Correspondence in Familial Political Socialization Factors and Basic Political Attitudes: Chi-square Test

Socialization Factors	Basic Political Attitudes			National Identity			National Loyalty			Party Preference		
	X ²	DF	P	X ²	DF	P	X ²	DF	P	X ²	DF	P
Patterns of authority	5.317	4	0.256	5.639	6	0.464	10.402	8	0.237			
Child-rearing practice	6.854	4	0.143	11.167	6	0.083	9.356	8	0.313			
Parent-child affectivity	9.690	4	0.459	9.965	6	0.126	12.973	8	0.112			
Familial politicization	3.739	4	0.442	5.981	6	0.425	16.328	8	0.037			
Socio-oriented communication	3.858	4	0.425	3.510	6	0.742	5.017	8	0.755			
Concept-oriented communication	2.770	4	0.596	6.483	6	0.371	5.075	8	0.749			

Table 13
Student-Parent Correspondence in Familial Political Socialization Factors and Democratic Values and Democratic Attitudes: Tau-b Coefficient

Attitudes and Values	Socialization Factors			Parent-child affectivity			Familial politicization			Socio-oriented communication			Concept-oriented communication		
	Patterns of authority	Child-rearing practice	Parent-child affectivity	Parent-child affectivity	Familial politicization	Socio-oriented communication	Concept-oriented communication								
Belief in democracy	0.155	0.128	0.131	0.207	-0.099	0.140									
Political equality	0.113	0.091	0.081	0.149	-0.087	0.122									
Majority rule	0.174	0.224	0.224	0.225	-0.151	0.186									
Party competition	0.082	0.074	0.058	0.123	-0.100	0.116									
Political trust	0.000	0.069	0.120	-0.010	-0.012	0.057									
Sense of political efficacy	-0.024	0.004	0.019	0.003	0.007	-0.012									
Sense of civic duty	0.058	0.105	0.077	0.109	-0.100	0.089									
Interest in political participation	0.101	0.061	0.126	0.237	-0.088	0.130									

as the "spare the rod, spoil the child" rearing practice, which entailed beating, scolding, insulting, humiliating, and using phrases like "I no longer like you" and "I don't love you." It seems that the parents' main rearing goal was to cultivate children's filial obedience to the parents and elder siblings and for children to be obedient to community standards, so that children will have these principal values. The modern family, on the other hand, respects children's acceptance of authority and uses reason and convince-ment to deal justly with children in order to foster the degree of acceptance children have toward discipline. This is a constructive type of personal relationship where personal trust and "participation" are the main values. This helps to cultivate children's political trust, sense of political efficacy, and active political participation and consciences. Arbitrarily, if left alone, democratic teaching practices will probably influence elementary school students' political learning.

These child-rearing practices were captured in the responses to four questions posed to children. The result was a value of 4.95, which was far above the mean. The scale of parental child-rearing practices survey had a Cronbach's α coefficient of 0.54. Table 12 shows that there is absolutely no discrepancy between parents and children in parental child-rearing practices and in national identity, national loyalty, or party preference. Table 13 shows that correlation was more notable in majority rule, belief in democracy, political equality, and sense of civic duty. Political equality, party competition, political trust, and interest in political participation had less of correlation, and sense of political efficacy had the lowest correlation.

Parent-Child Affectivity

The parent-child affectivity represents the affections as well as the degree of intimacy between parents and children. The parent-child affectivity has different degrees of intimacy, neutrality, and remoteness. Intimacy in the parent-child relationship provides a positive communication environment between parents and children. Parents and children are attracted to each other, and complete honesty helps children to imitate and to learn from their parents. On the other hand, a cold and detached family environment has no way of fostering feelings of personal trust or political attitudes of active participation.

This affectivity was measured by asking children three questions. The resulting value was 3.41, which was above the mean and showed the relationship between parents and children had more of an inclination to intimacy. The scale of parent-child affectivity survey had a Cronbach's α coefficient of 0.70. Table 12 shows that there is absolutely no discrepancy between parents and children in parent-child affectivity and in national identity, national loyalty, or party preference. Table 13 shows that correlation was more notable in majority rule, belief in democracy, political trust, and interest in political participation. Political equality, sense of civic duty, and party competition had less of correlation, and sense of political efficacy had a very small correlation.

Familial Politicization

Familial politicization means that within the family, parents or other members have an interest in political participation, have contact with politically-related news, care about major national issues, and frequently have discussions about political topics within the family. The family was originally categorized as a unit of moral principles, providing a place of sufficient intimacy for its member. Let us suppose, however, that an elementary school student lives in an environment where political topics are frequently discussed. Not only will that child be influenced by what he/she sees and hears, the student will also be soaking up political knowledge which will also help him/her to acquire political attitudes and values.

To measure familial politicization, three questions were asked of children; the resulting value of 3.81 was above the mean. The scale of the familial politicization survey had a Cronbach's α coefficient of 0.59. Table 12 shows that there is absolutely no discrepancy between parents and children in familial politicization and in national identity or national loyalty. Table 13 shows that correlation was more notable in interest in political participation, majority rule, belief in democracy, political equality, party competition, and sense of civic duty. Political trust not only had less of a correlation but was negatively related as well. Furthermore, as familial politicization increases, children's political trust will tend to decline. The relationship between familial politicization and sense of political efficacy had a very small correlation.

Modes of Familial Communication

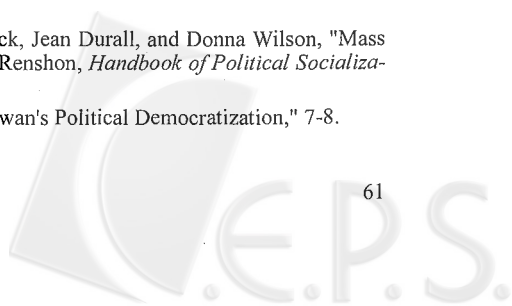
Interpersonal communication within the family is a good predictor of the political socialization processes. Families have been differentiated in terms of the relative emphasis they place on two types of cognitive orientations, which these investigators have called "socio-oriented" and "concept-oriented."¹⁸ Socio-oriented communication maintains the inclinations of obedience and the role and duties of one position. This type insists on cordial human relations and does not hesitate to stifle differences in points of views or ideas. Concept-oriented communication attempts to cultivate constructive communication, where different points of views and ideas between parents and children can be publicly discussed.¹⁹

The socio-oriented communication survey asked three questions of the children. The result was an average value of 2.05, which was below the mean. This shows that presently socio-oriented communication still has a tendency in Taiwan's families toward maintaining obedience and ideas of positional role and duties, thus stifling differences in point of views or ideas. The result of the concept-oriented communication survey was an average of 3.47, which was above the mean. This shows that concept-oriented communication cultivates constructive communication, where different points of views and ideas between parents and children can be publicly discussed.

The scale of the socio-oriented communication survey had a Cronbach's α coefficient of 0.61. Table 12 shows that there was absolutely no discrepancy between parents and children in socio-oriented communication and national identity or party preference. Table 13 shows that majority rule, party competition, and sense of civic duty all had notable correlations, but socio-oriented communication had negative correlations. This shows that the more a family tends to use socio-oriented communication, the more likely children will have weaker conceptions of majority rule, party competition, and sense of civic duty. Furthermore, belief in democracy, interest

¹⁸Steven H. Chaffee, with Marilyn Jackson-Beeck, Jean Durall, and Donna Wilson, "Mass Communication in Political Socialization," in Renshon, *Handbook of Political Socialization*, 244.

¹⁹Chen and Kuo, "Political Socialization and Taiwan's Political Democratization," 7-8.



in political participation, and political equality all had weaker relationships and also displayed negative correlations. Sense of political efficacy had a positive correlation and political trust had a negative correlation—but both relationships were almost negligible. The scale of the concept-oriented communication survey had a Cronbach's α coefficient of 0.69. Table 12 shows that there is absolutely no discrepancy between parents and children in concept-oriented communication and national identity, national loyalty, and party preference. Table 13 shows that majority rule, belief in democracy, interest in political participation, political equality, and party competition had a more notable relationship. Sense of civic duty and political trust had less of a relationship, and sense of political efficacy had a slightly negative correlation.

Summary and Discussion

This paper examines the content of elementary school students' acquired political attitudes and values, and analyzes the degree of agreement between parents and their children's political attitudes and values. Moreover, we look for familial political socialization factors in the consistency of political attitudes and values between parents and their children. This summary uses the results of the aforementioned data analysis as a basis for discussion.

First, from the content of elementary school students' acquired political attitudes and values, we find that elementary school students in Taiwan already possess attitudes regarding the political world. After all, the lives of elementary school students are still quite distant from the political world. For most students, ideas such as government, political party, and democracy are unfamiliar and distant. This leads us to ask if, even though the data this survey research used to measure elementary school students' political values and attitudes had a degree of reliability, validity is truly completely sound. Note first that the survey samples were elementary school middle- and upper-grade students. Their ability to think and analyze has already begun to develop, and they have at least two years of experience studying elementary school Social Studies. In addition, in terms of survey design,

this paper has attempted to use survey items that utilize the content that is introduced in elementary school Social Studies textbooks. This approach can possibly reduce the problem of surveying while at the same time increasing the survey's validity.

Second, in the degree of agreement between political attitudes and values of the parents and their children, in eleven test variables of political attitudes and values the rate of parent-child agreement ranged from 22.87 percent to 56.93 percent, of which only one test was less than 30 percent. Notable is that in the three measurements of basic political attitudes, the rate of agreement between children and their parents was low. In the two sets of variables of democratic values—majority rule and political trust, the rate of agreement was also low. In the correlation of correspondence in parent-child political attitudes and values, the chi-square test of national identity, national loyalty, and party preference all held statistical significance. Except for majority rule and sense of political efficacy, which had less correlation of agreement, the other six sets of variables of political attitudes and values held at least a 0.05 tau-b correlation coefficient. The observed similarity between parents and children indicated the fact that transmission of political attitudes and values from one generation to the next is carried out rather successfully in the Taiwan context.²⁰ Most notably in the cases where parents and children display the most difference and least correlation in political attitudes and values, this inconsistency also indicates that other factors have weakened the similarity in parent-child political attitudes and values. There are two possible causes: the first points to individual "maturational factors"—individuals go through different learning processes and life experiences, which may influence political learning. The second possible cause points to "generational factors"—each

²⁰However, to say that there is agreement between the political values and attitudes of the parents and children does not necessarily mean that there is a transmission of values and attitudes from parents to children. In this paper, our aim is to indicate the importance of family and parents in children's political learning. We do not neglect the effects of other agents of socialization—such as school, peers, and the mass media. If political attitudes and values were learned attitudes which were not derived instinctively or hereditarily, and the agreement between the parents' and children's political values and the family environment of political socialization have effects on children's political learning, then there may be transmission of values and attitudes from parents to children.

birth cohort was born and growing up under different settings that may influence political learning.²¹ As an individual begins to mature, parents' political attitudes and values will differ from the child. However, in the case where parents and child live in the same household and have the same socialization environment, a child's political attitudes and values will naturally be similar to those of the parents as he/she grows older.²² Therefore, expounding on the inconsistency between the two generations of parents and children, the main factor possibly lies in that parents and children have different childhood and settings. Put another way, Taiwan's political transition has especially widened the gap between elementary school students and their parents' background, given the fact that parents grew up before Taiwan's democratization and their children are growing up after the transition.

Third, in the familial socialization factors of correspondence in parent-child political attitudes and values, in comparing the six factors of familial political socialization, familial politicization was the most influential socialization factor. There were eight test items of democratic attitudes and values for familial political socialization factors that had tau-b coefficient above 0.10: familial politicization had six items; concept-oriented communication had five items; familial patterns of authority and parent-child affectivity both had four items; child-rearing practices and socio-oriented communication both had the least amount with only three items. In total, out of forty-eight tau-b correlation coefficient tests of eight sets of variables of democratic values and attitudes, there are thirty-nine tests that had statistical relations with tau-b coefficient above 0.05. In addition, socio-oriented communication was the most harmful to the transmission of political attitudes between parents and children.

²¹Neal E. Cutler, "Generational Approaches to Political Socialization," *Youth and Society* 8, no. 2 (December 1976): 175-207; Neal E. Cutler, "Political Socialization Research as Generational Analysis: The Cohort Approach Versus the Lineage Approach," in Renshon, *Handbook of Political Socialization*, 294-326.

²²Jennings and Niemi, "Continuity and Change in Political Orientations," 1316-35.

Conclusion

This paper has shown that elementary school students in Taiwan already possess attitudes regarding the political world. In eleven sets of variables of political attitudes and values, the rate of parent-child correspondence ranged from as low as 22.87 percent to as high as 56.93 percent, of which only one set was less than 30 percent. The chi-square test of parent-child correspondence in national identity, national loyalty, and party preference all held statistical significance. Furthermore, other than majority rule and sense of political efficacy, which had the lowest correspondence, the degree of correspondence in the other six variables of democratic attitudes and values all had a tau-b coefficient above 0.05. In regard to the six familial political socialization factors, the familial politicization factor was the most influential socialization factor, followed by the mode of concept-oriented communication, then familial patterns of authority, parent-child affectivity, child-rearing practices, and mode of socio-oriented communication. Therefore, in looking at children's political learning in Taiwan, there does exist transmission of political attitudes and values from parents to children. However, to say that there is agreement between the political values and attitudes of the parents and children does not necessarily mean that there is a transmission of values and attitudes from parents to children. Additional research is needed to justify this relationship.

Appendix: Questionnaire

1. National identity: Students and Parents

I am: (1) Chinese; (2) Chinese/Taiwanese; (3) Taiwanese; (4) a member of the Chinese nationality; (5) no opinion; (6) don't know.

2. National loyalty: Students and Parents

Taiwan and mainland China are: (1) both parts of China; (2) one country; (3) two different countries; (4) possibly a unified country in the future; (5) no opinion; (6) don't know.

3. Party preference: Students and Parents

I like the _____ political party best: (1) Kuomintang; (2) Democratic Progressive Party; (3) New Party; (4) People First Party; (5) Taiwan Independence Party; (6) others; (7) don't know.

4. Belief in democracy: Students and Parents

- (1) Is democracy the best form of government?
- (2) Is democracy the government system best suited for our country?

5. Political equality:

Students:

- (1) People who come from prestigious families should have more political rights.
- (2) People with money should have more voter representation than the average person.
- (3) Teachers are more knowledgeable than the average person, so teachers should be allowed to cast more votes.

Parents:

- (1) People who come from prestigious families should have more political rights.
- (2) People with money should have more voter representation than the average person.
- (3) That people with a higher degree of knowledge have identical rights to the average person is unfair.

6. Majority rule:

Students:

- (1) Although I do not like class decisions, I should still follow them.
- (2) Every person has different characteristics, feelings, and points of view, as well as their good and bad points; therefore, important is to value other people.
- (3) Although my classmate's opinions may differ from mine during class meetings, I still pay attention and listen to their opinions.

Parents:

- (1) People who insist on having opposing opinions are selfish and unwilling to cooperate.
- (2) If the majority of people decide to do something, the rest should not continue to criticize the decision.
- (3) We should be allowed to publish anti-government political views.

7. Political trust: Students and Parents

- (1) Our political officials are all very law-abiding.
- (2) Our political officials work for the interest of all people.
- (3) The majority of political officials value and use public property sparingly.

(4) Our government respects the opinion of the people.

8. **Party competition:** Students and Parents

- (1) If there are too many political parties, the country will be in disorder.
- (2) If there is an opposition party, then the country can make progress.
- (3) If a political party does poorly, then a country should change political parties.

9. **Sense of political efficacy:**

Students:

- (1) Politics and the government are too complicated. Even after I grow up, I still will not be able to understand them.
- (2) Even after I grow up, I will still have no way of changing any of the things the government does.
- (3) Voting is my only way to affect the government in the future.

Parents:

- (1) Politics and the government are too complicated; I am not be able to understand them.
- (2) I have no way of changing any of the things the government does.
- (3) Voting is my only way to affect the government.

10. **Sense of civic duty:** Students and Parents

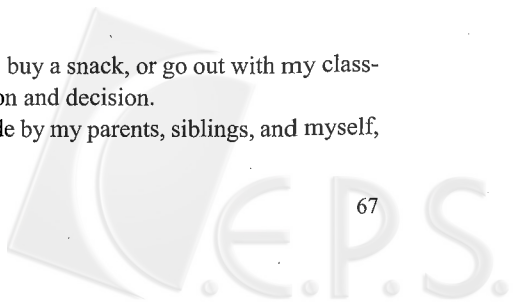
- (1) People who are not concerned about the result of an election should not vote.
- (2) Local elections are really not important, so it is okay not to vote.
- (3) At every election many people vote; so if I do not vote, it will not matter.
- (4) If the candidate that I support has no hope of winning the election, it is okay not to vote.

11. **Interest in political participation:** Students and Parents

- (1) During the 2000 presidential election, did you go to listen to candidate's speeches or take part in campaigning activities?
- (2) During the 2000 presidential election, did you pay attention to election news reports in the newspaper?
- (3) During the 2000 presidential election, did you pay attention to election news reports on television?
- (4) Before voting during the 2000 election, did you worry about who was going to be elected and who will lose?

12. **Familial patterns of authority:**

- (1) If I want to watch television, buy a book, buy a snack, or go out with my classmates, my parents will respect my opinion and decision.
- (2) Are decisions in the family normally made by my parents, siblings, and myself,



or does the whole family decide together?

- (3) Concerning matters in the family, mom and dad will frequently ask for my opinion or point of view.

13. Parental child-rearing practice:

- (1) My parents deal fairly with my siblings and me.
- (2) I am very satisfied with the way in which my parents discipline my brothers, sisters, and me.
- (3) When I do wrong or when I do less well than before, my parents beat and scold me in front of family members and make me feel embarrassed.
- (4) I feel my parents use democratic methods in rearing my siblings and me.

14. Parent-child affectivity:

- (1) If I am in a bad mood, my parents will comfort and encourage me.
- (2) I feel I am very close with my parents.
- (3) I frequently will tell my parents what I am feeling.

15. Familial politicization:

- (1) At home, my parents frequently discuss major international and domestic issues and political affairs seen on TV or in the newspapers.
- (2) At home, I frequently watch news reports with my parents.
- (3) I often pay attention when my parents discuss major international and domestic issues and questions with political aspects.

16. Modes of familial communication:

Socio-oriented family communication:

- (1) My parents frequently tell me: You cannot talk back to your elders.
- (2) My parents frequently tell me: Do not argue with other people.
- (3) My parents frequently tell me: Not to mind other people's business.

Concept-oriented family communication:

- (1) My parents frequently tell me: You need to have your own opinion on matters.
- (2) My parents frequently tell me: It does not matter if other people have different opinions; you still need to state yours.
- (3) My parents frequently tell me: As long as you feel yourself justified, you should speak out.

