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The Role of Socialization in the Process of Political Life: An Analysis of Gender Roles in Elementary School Textbooks on Taiwan

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THE ROLE OF SOCIALIZATION IN THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL LIFE:
AN ANALYSIS OF GENDER ROLES IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
TEXTBOOKS ON TAIWAN

by

Chien-Hong Lee

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the
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THE ROLE OF SOCIALIZATION IN THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL LIFE:
AN ANALYSIS OF GENDER ROLES IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
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Chien-Hong Lee, M.A.

Western Michigan University, 1989

This thesis contains both theoretical and applied research. In the theoretical part, political socialization is the main theme to be studied; and an incorporated model is designed to examine how political socialization can be viewed in the process of political life. In the applied part, three sets of elementary school textbooks have been examined and we have found that those textbooks contain clear sex-typed images of adult behavior; and male characters are emphasized more than female characters, which might contribute to the understanding why women are rarely seen in any positions of power in any realm on Taiwan.

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Writing a thesis is not easy, and this is especially true for a foreign student. Without the help of those individuals mentioned above, I could not have finished this thesis.

Chien-Hong Lee

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
LIST OF TABLES	v
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of the Problem	1
Significance of the Problem	4
II. REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE	6
Historical Development of Political Socialization	6
The Origins	6
Behavioralism Period	7
Current Status	11
Definitions of Political Socialization	14
Theories of Political Socialization	16
Systems Theory	17
Hegemonic Theory	23
Social Learning Theory	26
Cognitive Theory	29
A Model of the Process of Political Life	33
Political Culture	34
Political Socialization	36
Political Personality	36
Political Participation	38

Table of Contents--Continued

CHAPTER		
	Political System	38
	Public Policy	40
	Political Change	40
	Socialization Studies on Taiwan	41
	Political Culture and Gender Roles on Taiwan . . .	43
III.	DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	46
	Data Collection	46
	Hypotheses	49
	Data Analysis	50
IV.	FINDINGS	52
	Social Studies	52
	Life and Human Relationships	54
	Chinese Language	55
V.	CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	60
	Conclusions	60
	Recommendations	62
BIBLIOGRAPHY	64

LIST OF TABLES

1. Research on Political Socialization by Political Scientists in the 1960s and Early 1970s (Hirsch, 1971)	9
2. Compounds of Political Culture	35
3. Characteristics of the Sampled Textbooks	48
4. Frequency of Characters by Gender in <u>Social Studies</u> (12 Volumes)	52
5. Frequency of Characters by Gender in <u>Life and Human Relationships</u> (6 Volumes)	54
6. Frequency of Characters by Gender in <u>Chinese Language</u> (13 Volumes)	55
7. Role Models in <u>Chinese Language</u> by Gender	57
8. Virtues by Gender in <u>Life and Human Relationships</u>	58

LIST OF FIGURES

1. A Model of the Political System	18
2. The Incorporated Model of Political Life	34
3. Models of Political Culture: Orientations Toward Involvement in the Political Process	39
4. Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Characters by Gender in <u>Social Studies</u>	53
5. Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Characters by Gender in <u>Life and Human Relationships</u>	55
6. Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Characters by Gender in <u>Chinese Language</u>	56

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The principal objectives of this thesis are, first of all, to clarify the concept of political socialization; second, to examine how political socialization has an impact on the process of individual life; and finally, to analyze the learning of gender roles in elementary school textbooks on Taiwan.

In a pluralistic society people are typically overloaded with political information and experience a great deal of uncertainty and stress. They find understanding those diverse values and data difficult so that powerlessness, apathy, and alienation are inclined to arise. Although this situation is inevitable, learning some useful theories to organize, explain, and predict the complex phenomena of politics is still desirable. After all, understanding is the beginning of interest. Once people understand and care what politics is all about, they have much more ability to participate effectively in the process of resource allocation in the public sphere.

The subject of political socialization is central to the understanding of political life of an individual. From the human infant to a social being, the individual has been through a complex process of socialization. Unlike other animals, human beings are

not born with rigid behavior patterns that enable cultural means of adapting to unfamiliar environments. These learned ways of life, which are modified and passed on from one generation to the next, are crucial to the understanding of human society. Robertson (1987b) argued that "socialization is the process of social interaction through which people acquire personality and learn the way of life of their society" (p. 115). In order to understand the relationship between individuals and culture, political scientists must take the socialization process into account, but their primary focus of study is on the political life of the individual and the political aspect of a culture.

The case study of political socialization in this thesis is to investigate if elementary school textbooks present sex-typed images of adult behavior. According to the Taiwan Statistical Data Book (Council for Economic Planning and Development, 1988), women represent 47% of the population; but most of the role models in politics are male. Women are rarely seen in any positions of power or authority in any realm on Taiwan. Why are women underrepresented in formal political participation on Taiwan? Why do they occupy few positions of political power, particularly at the top? In order to examine the questions above, this research attempts to use the idea of political socialization to provide the answers. Much of my thinking in developing the strategy was influenced by Robertson's (1987a) arguments:

As sociologists point out, the inequality of the sexes is a form of social stratification, similar in many respects to inequalities of class, caste, race, or age. As with

other forms of structured social inequality, the relationship between the sexes is not maintained primarily by force. Rather, it rests on the power of cultural traditions and assumptions, which help ensure that people are socialized to accept their respective statuses in society. (p. 164)

Chinese culture has traditionally stressed sex-linked personality characteristics. The Chinese woman is typically supposed to be conformist, passive, kind, dependent, self-sacrificing for her family, and primarily concerned with domestic life. She is supposed to be ignorant of sports, politics, and economics, but deeply concerned about routine domestic duties. She should not take initiative, but should be emotional, tender, and appreciative (Yi, 1988).

The Chinese man, on the other hand, is traditionally supposed to be fearless, tough, self-reliant, logical, independent, and aggressive. The Chinese male should have definite opinions on the major issues of the day, should be capable of making authoritative decisions in the home and on the job, and should take care of economics for the family. He takes the initiative in the relationships with women and expects to dominate them in most spheres of life.

If the purpose of socialization in the school is to reflect and reinforce the dominant culture, we might anticipate that school textbooks have emphasized males and masculine activities more than females and feminine activities. Based on this assumption, two hypotheses will be tested in Chapter III:

1. In school textbooks, male characters outnumber female characters.

2. The contents of textbooks offer many more diverse and significant role models for males than females.

Significance of the Problem

This thesis contains both theoretical and applied research. In the theoretical part, political socialization is the main theme to be studied. Political science is the discipline that seeks to explain the political behavior of individuals and the behavior of the political system. Political socialization is very important because it is the essential link between the individual and the political system--a link so vital that neither individual nor political system could survive without it. Political socialization enables the individual to learn the norms, values, rules of the game, and other patterns of thought and action that are essential for political living. On the other hand, political socialization enables the political system to have a relatively integrated political culture, thus ensuring its continuity from generation to generation.

In the applied part, this research attempts to analyze the gender roles found in elementary school textbooks on Taiwan. The rationale underlying this attempt is based on two reasons:

1. The school is an agent formally charged by government with the task of socializing the young in particular norms and values. Unlike other socializing agents, difficult to trace with any

certainty, the school can be studied more easily and objectively. The individual child in schools is no longer considered special; he or she is one of a crowd, subject to the same regulations and expectations that everyone else is subject to.

2. Teachers, textbooks, classroom activities, and school ritual life are all means of conveying desired attitudes and behavior to children in the school (Dawson, Prewitt, & Dawson, 1977). Textbooks are a medium extremely sensitive to political control and to uniformity of message, especially when they are published by government printing houses and circulated through all of the nation's schools, as they are on Taiwan. In order to get a more integrated culture, every society uses the school to socialize its children into appropriate attitudes and behavior. Therefore, by analyzing the contents of school textbooks, we can then understand the cultural norms of behavior and morality, and even official ideology of a given society.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

In order to gain a better understanding of political socialization, the purposes of this chapter are: (a) to study the historical development of political socialization, (b) to define political socialization, (c) to describe various theories of political socialization, and (d) to propose a descriptive model of political life and examine how political socialization can be viewed in this model.

Historical Development of Political Socialization

One convenient, if rough, way of studying the historical development of theories of political socialization is to divide it into three stages: the origins, behavioralism period, and current status.

The Origins

A concern for the citizen's development of political learning can be traced back to the beginning of the study of politics. Political philosophers have been interested in and have speculated about the training of citizens and the means used by elites to maintain status quo. The Greek philosopher Plato, in his Republic, puts stress on making the young into good citizens through

state-run directed programs (Annas, 1981). Aristotle also discussed the necessity of legislation that would insure that young generations received the education necessary to fulfill their roles as citizens (Barker, 1958). Rousseau, in his Social Contract, claimed that the only possible way the "general will" could operate would be through citizens trained to accept the same values (Gildin, 1983). Throughout the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries, theorists such as Thomas Jefferson, Alexis de Tocqueville, Karl Marx, and John Dewey all emphasized some form of education and civic training as prerequisites to citizen participation in their ideal political systems (cited in Greenstein, 1965; Jaros, 1973; Weissberg, 1974; Winter & Bellows, 1977).

In sum, before the mid-1900s the study of political socialization was the domain of political philosophers, thinkers who were often less concerned about what political socialization actually is like than what they thought it ought to be like. Much of their analyses argued for an ideal political system through manipulation of the educational system.

Behavioralism Period

Political science has gone through a revolution since World War II, moving from a traditional approach to a behavioral approach. The transition is: (a) from concern with political institutions to concern with political process, (b) from normative questions to empirical questions, and (c) from qualitative methods to quantitative methods (Goel, 1988; Isaak, 1987).

Although concern for the citizen's political development dates at least from Plato's Republic, only recently, as Hirsch (1971) argues, "has empirical research begun to transform early philosophical speculation and the assumptions of political practice into more concrete knowledge of the factors involved in political learning" (p. 1). Once attention has been paid to studying political socialization, the next question is what the research priorities ought to be. According to Greenstein (1968):

Although there is no generally accepted approach to the study of political socialization, much of what is known and of Lasswell's what ought to be known can be summed up in the following paraphrase of formulations of the general process of communication: (a) who (b) learns what, (c) from whom, (d) under what circumstances, and (e) with what effects? (p. 552)

Table 1, summarized from Hirsch's (1971) work, characterizes the main concerns political scientists had in their earlier research on political socialization.

The greatest concern of researchers of political socialization has been concentrated on studies of young children. The rationale underlying this tendency is based on two premises: (1) that basic orientations toward politics are formed in early childhood and adolescence, and (2) that this early socialization has crucial impacts on adult political behavior (Hirsch, 1971). Typical studies have been done by Dennis and Jennings (1970), by Easton and Jennings (1969), and by Greenstein (1965).

According to Greenstein (1965), what is learned from the socialization process can be divided into three phases:

Table 1

Research on Political Socialization by Political
Scientists in the 1960s and Early 1970s
(Hirsch, 1971)

Main question	Main focus
Who learns?	Young children
Learn what?	How to be a citizen
Roles?	(1) Subject role and (2) specialized role
From whom?	Agents of political socialization
Under what circumstances?	Cultural comparison
With what effects?	No study reported to test the effects of political socialization during this period.

1. Learning connected with the citizen role (partisan attachment, ideology, motivation to participate).

2. Learning connected with subject role (national loyalty, orientations toward authority, conception of the legitimacy of institutions).

3. Learning connected with recruitment to and performance of specialized roles, such as bureaucrat, party functionary, and legislator. (p. 13)

The question of "From whom?" refers to the agents of political socialization--important individuals, groups, or institutions that provide situations in which socialization takes place. Although there is no consensus about which agent is most significant, four agents--the family, the school, the peer group, and the mass media--merit more attention and scrutiny from researchers of political socialization (Dawson et al., 1977; Hirsch, 1971;

Langton, 1969; Weissberg, 1974).

The question of "Under what circumstances?" is, according to Greenstein (1965), very similar to the question of "Under what culture?" There have been some attempts to examine political socialization through cultural comparisons of two or more countries during this period. Quite clearly both the theoretical advances in comparative politics and methodological improvement in data collection and analysis have fostered the study of political socialization into cross-cultural analysis (Dennis & Jennings, 1970). Hess (1963) studied socialization of attitudes toward political authority in five different countries: United States, Chile, Puerto Rico, Japan, and Australia. Langton (1969) compared high school students in Jamaica and the United States. Dennis and Jennings (1970) examined pre-adult development of political party identification in Western democracies. Wilson (1970) studied attitude learning in Chinese and American societies. Greenstein (1975) investigated children's images of political leaders in Britain, France, and the United States.

The problem "With what effects?" refers to the question of effects that political socialization has on the later behavior of the individual who is socialized. Greenstein (1965) argued, for example, that early learning is significant because it "takes place during a formative period and because early learning affects later learning" (p. 79). There are actually no data, especially longitudinal data, to test the effects of political socialization in the 1960s and early 1970s; and this fact is more or less responsible

for the subsequent decline of political socialization.

In sum, the study of political socialization which flourished in the 1960s and early 1970s is based on the premises that political socialization can explain political attitudes and behavior of the individual and the operation of the political system as a whole. Although political scientists have no consensus on research priorities of what political socialization ought to be, they do agree that political socialization helps the individuals understand the political realities of their environment, and that it also helps the political system integrate each new generation into the dominant political culture.

Current Status

Today the research boom on political socialization is at an end. Not so long ago, political socialization was claimed to be a growth stock (Greenstein, 1970). But as Cook (1985) argued: "Just as in real-life stock markets, a boom is often followed by a bust, and political socialization futures are no longer such hot sellers. The confident predictions in the late sixties and early seventies failed to materialize" (p. 1079).

Basically, two reasons are responsible for the decline of studies of political socialization:

1. The first reason for the scholarly neglect of political socialization is derived from a loss of confidence about the traditional methods used to study political socialization (Cook, 1985). The key assumption of political socialization research is that

pre-adult political socialization affects adult political attitudes and behavior (Beck & Jennings, 1982). Therefore, political scientists have developed many research methods to investigate children's reactions to politics. According to Cook (1985), however, some of the methods, such as survey research, are now clearly inappropriate as a way of tapping children's political orientations; this is because survey research, he argued, is often processed "through pencil-and-paper questionnaires which may have seemed more like a test of socially correct views rather than an opportunity to speak one's mind" (p. 1080). Children's responses under such conditions are not then reliable.

2. The second reason is the lack of a clear rationale for studies of children's political attitudes and behavior (Cook, 1985). Beck and Jennings (1982) argued that "the compelling justification for a political science interest in the pre-adult's political world is that understanding of that world can yield useful insights into adult political orientations" (p. 94). It is apparent, however, that the process of political socialization experienced by the individuals in childhood cannot prepare them for all the roles they will be expected to possess in later years. People must learn to be able to participate effectively in the political system through different stages of the life cycle. Furthermore, as Almond and Powell (1978) noted, "attitudes may be initially formed in childhood, but they are always being adapted as the individual goes through political and social experiences" (p. 19). Thus, any change of political attitudes and behavior that can be found in

adulthood can be taken as distrust of the significance of pre-adult political learning. Critiques (Marsh, 1971; Searing, Schwartz, & Lind, 1973; Searing, Wright, & Rabinowitz, 1976) have raised serious questions about the extent of the impact which children's political learning has on subsequent adult political behavior.

Although it is plausible to argue that attitudes and behaviors formed in pre-adulthood may change under the influence of socialization experiences throughout the life course, what children have learned from schools does have a crucial impact on determining their attitudes and behaviors in adulthood. For one thing, the government is inclined to impose an official ideology on the young generation through an educational system. This unique ideology may be so well-constructed that it can somehow give children much more ability to dispute any criticism of the established social and political arrangements. For another, as the government has become engaged in almost every sphere of human activity, socializing agents such as mass media are likely to be under great pressure to conform to the values and regulations of the official ideology. If society at large provides strong, even coercive, supports for attitudes and behaviors learned in schools, they will be further reinforced rather than changed. Under this condition, it is not common for typical children to form their attitudes and behaviors against authority. Therefore, the contents of pre-adult education in schools still deserve more attention; nevertheless, we do admit the possibility that people may come to behave in unanticipated ways as they grow up.

Definitions of Political Socialization

Although a number of definitions of political socialization have been used by political scientists, there is no consensus of what political socialization means. However, definitions of political socialization have been generally classified into either individual-level or system-level categories (Dawson et al., 1977).

An individual-level definition of political socialization focuses on the process through which the individual learns political attitudes and political behavior. Examples can be illustrated as follows:

Political socialization is all political learning, formal and informal, deliberate and unplanned at every stage of the life cycle, including not only explicitly political learning but also nominally non-political learning that affects political behavior, such as learning of politically relevant social attitudes and the acquisition of politically relevant personality characteristics. (Greenstein, 1968, p. 551)

We shall define political socialization restrictively as those developmental processes through which persons acquire political orientations and patterns of behavior. (Easton & Jennings, 1969, p. 7)

We will define political socialization quite loosely as the process by which the individual acquires attitudes, beliefs, and values relating to the political system of which he is a member and to his own role as citizen within that political system. (Greenberg, 1970, p. 3)

At the individual level political socialization may be defined very simply as the processes through which an individual acquires his particular political orientations--his knowledge, feelings, and evaluations regarding his political world. (Dawson et al., 1977, p. 33)

We use the term socialization to refer to the way children are introduced to the values and attitudes of their society and how they learn what will be expected of

them in their adult roles. Political socialization is the part of this process that shapes political attitudes. (Almond & Powell, 1988, p. 34)

A system-level definition of political socialization stresses how the political system inducts the individual into established patterns of thought and action that are usually appropriate to maintain the status quo. For example:

What do we mean by the function of political socialization? We mean that all political systems tend to perpetuate their cultures through time, and that they do this mainly by means of the socialization influences of the primary and secondary structures through which the young of the society pass in the process of maturation. . . . Political socialization is the process of induction into the political culture. Its end product is a set of attitudes, cognitions, value standards, and feelings toward the inputs of demands and claims into the system, and its authoritative outputs. (Almond & Coleman, 1960, pp. 27-28)

Political socialization refers to the processes through which values, cognitions, and symbols are learned and "internalized," through which operative social norms regarding politics are implanted, political consensus created, either effectively or ineffectively. (Eckstein, 1963, p. 26)

Political socialization refers to the process by which the political norms and behaviors acceptable to an ongoing political system are transmitted from generation to generation. (Sigel, 1970, p. 1)

From the system perspective political socialization can be defined as the process through which citizens acquire political views that become aggregated in ways that have consequences for the political life of the nation. (Dawson et al., 1977, p. 14)

Political socialization is also the way one generation passes on political standards and beliefs to succeeding generations, a process called cultural transmission. (Almond & Powell, 1988, p. 34)

In sum, the various definitions of political socialization show the differences in direction which the study of political

socialization has taken. While some political scientists emphasize the transmission of a country's political culture, others stress the development of individual political orientations. For political researchers, which approach they are going to take depends on their preference as to theories of political socialization. If they are interested in explaining political attitudes and behavior of individuals, the individual-level definition is relatively appropriate for their research. If, on the other hand, their goal is to explain the continuities and discontinuities of a country's political culture, the system-level definition is more suitable. Both types of definitions have merits in their own perspectives. This fact is well described by Weissberg (1974):

In each instance, some aspects of political learning are ignored and others emphasized; but this is essential in any investigation since examining everything is impossible and undesirable. Depending on the types of questions we are interested in, these approaches are complementary, not conflicting. (pp. 14-15)

Theories of Political Socialization

Like definitions of political socialization, theories of political socialization also can be classified into either system-level or individual-level categories. While the individual-level theory stresses the development process of how children learn political attitudes and behavior, the system-level theory emphasizes the consequence of political socialization in the political system.

Two system-level theories of political socialization will be analyzed as follows:

Systems Theory

Systems theory in political science has been developed by Easton (1965). Easton and Jennings (1969) have applied systems theory to study political socialization. They are concerned primarily with political socialization as part of the general systems theory. Therefore, we should first examine systems theory in order to understand what position political socialization has in a political system.

In systems theory, Easton (1965) tried to construct an empirically general theory of politics, and with that in mind, he sought to define the kinds of functions of any political system through a systematic framework for political analysis. He studied the basic processes through which a political system, regardless of its generic or specific type, is able to persist as a system of behavior in a world either of stability or of change. According to Easton (1965):

Systems analysis takes its departure from the notion of political life as a boundary-maintaining set of interactions embedded in and surrounded by other social systems to the influence of which it is constantly exposed. As such, it is helpful to interpret political phenomena as constituting an open system, one that must cope with the problems generated by its exposure to influences from these environmental systems. If a system of this kind is to persist through time, it must obtain adequate feedback about its past performances, and it must be able to take measures that regulate its future behavior. Regulation may call for simple adaptation to a changing setting in the light of fixed goals. But it may also include efforts to modify old goals or transform them entirely. Simple adaptation may not be enough. To persist it may be necessary for a system to have the capacity to transform its own internal structure and processes. (p. 25)

Figure 1 presents a simplified model of a political system which involves five crucial variables (Easton, 1965; Easton & Jennings, 1969):

1. Inputs: Those events in the environment that act upon the political system and provoke some kinds of responses from it.

2. Political system: Those institutions, processes, and interactions through which values are authoritatively allocated for a society.

3. Outputs: Those decisions and actions by the political system in response to inputs that affect the system's environment.

4. Environment: Those intra-societal and extra-societal systems that generate inputs.

5. Feedback: A movement of perceptions with regard to how the political system has made authoritative decisions.

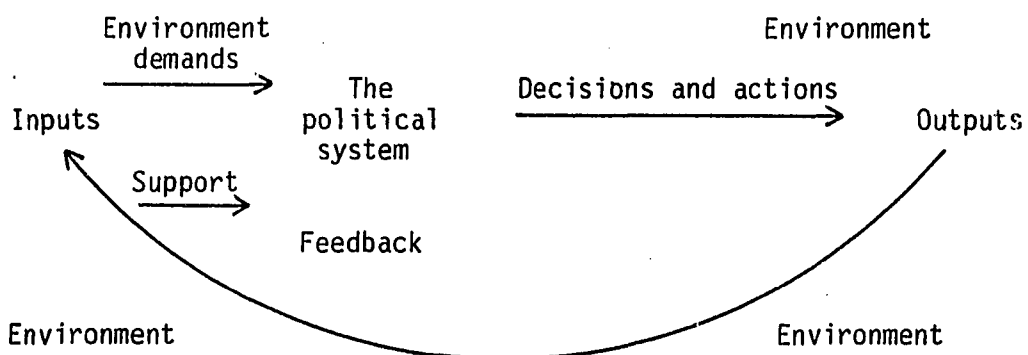


Figure 1. A Model of the Political System.

According to the systems model, the political process starts when members of the society make demands and support on the political system. Then the political system, as a vast conversion

process, transforms the inputs of demands and support into outputs, that is, into authoritative decisions and actions. After outputs have been released, demanding members now realize, through the feedback process, how their demands are handled. According to the contents of the outputs, at this point, these members respond to the outputs. The possible reactions can be illustrated by Isaak's (1987) description:

If the system has acted to satisfy the demands, the process pauses for the time being. If, on the other hand, the system has not satisfied the demands, the demanders have several choices: to accept the decision because the decision makers are able to enforce it; to try again with more moderate demands; to work through another part of the political system; to begin to withdraw their support from the decision makers or even from the system itself. (pp. 32-33)

Now let's begin to analyze the systems theory of political socialization. According to Easton and Jennings (1969), societies are not naturally destined to survive. Government could not be possible unless the tensions caused by the unequal allocation of values in society are somehow reduced and tolerated. They argued that a political system persists when two conditions prevail: "(1) when its members are regularly able to allocate valued things, that is, make decisions; [and] (2) when they are able to get these allocations accepted as authoritative by most members most of the time" (p. 49).

Easton and Jennings (1969) designated these two conditions as the essential variables of any political system. Political socialization, they argued, is "one of a number of major kinds of response mechanisms through which a political system may seek to cope

with stress on its essential variables" (p. 51).

According to Easton and Jennings (1969), stress on the political system may come from four major directions; and it is the very idea of political socialization, they argued, that serves to cope with these stresses in order to maintain the persistence of the political system.

The first stress--output stress--stems from the failure of most of the members in the society to accept these actions and decisions made by the political system. Political socialization works as a crucial mechanism that may help members in the society to internalize a need to comply with the political authorities and their decisions. Thus, through political socialization, the political system may be able to ensure itself of being accepted by members in the society.

The second stress--demand-input stress--may come from an excess of demands put into the political system. If the political system is overloaded with too many demands in a given period of time, the processing structures can become so blocked that the political system might be faced with a possible breakdown. Although the political system has many ways of dealing with this situation, Easton and Jennings (1969) argued, "the development of a sense of self-restraint in the conversion of social wants into political demands represents a major device in every age" (p. 55). Political socialization may serve as a system response through which members in the society learn some degree of self-restraint.

The third stress--support-input stress--results from the failure of the political system to mobilize positive support and move it toward the appropriate political objects. According to Easton and Jennings (1969), support can be defined as: "feelings of trust, confidence, or affection and their opposites, that persons may direct to some object. If support is positive, a person favors an object; if support is negative, he withholds or withdraws his favor from the object" (p. 57).

There are two types of support in systems theory. One is specific support; the other is diffuse support. People grant specific support when they get something specific in return. For instance, workers will vote for the Democrats when they believe wages go up if the Democrats run the government. Specific support may increase or decline depending on how people interpret the outcomes of the outputs of the political system. Diffuse support refers to unconditional support people extend to political authorities or objects. National loyalty and patriotism are good examples of diffuse support. In times of external or internal crises, citizens continue to be loyal to their government even though specific rewards might not be anticipated.

According to Easton and Jennings (1969), the political system will be in difficulty when both specific and diffuse support fall to a low level. In other words, if the political system is to persist, strong support from both types must be gained. How then does the government manage to obtain this support?

For Easton and Jennings (1969), the answer to this question is found in the study of political socialization. They argued that socialization may "act as a major response by which a system seeks to generate at least a minimal level of positive support for those basic political objects without which no system could operate at all" (p. 66).

The fourth stress--structural stress--comes from the possible breakdown which might occur in the structure and processes of the political system through which conversion takes place. Easton and Jennings (1969) suggested every type of the political system has its own unique kinds of structures and processes through which inputs of support and demands are converted into authoritative outputs. But no matter how different the types of conversion processes may be, if some kind of the political system is to be able to persist, it has to make sure that its members acquire knowledge, skills, and motivations needed to make the conversion process possible. There is no guarantee that the members of the political system necessarily learn how to perform their specific roles. Rather, it is the process of political socialization that makes those members acquainted with structures of their political system and helps them to handle possible structural stress.

In conclusion, Easton and Jennings (1969) tried to develop a political theory of political socialization within the framework of systems analysis. Political socialization is viewed as a means used by the political system to deal with stress on itself. If the political system is to continue to operate as a system of behavior

through which values are authoritative allocated for a society, the subject of political socialization must be taken into account.

Hegemonic Theory

Stimulated by Machado's (1975-1976) study, Dawson et al. (1977) have presented the hegemonic theory of political socialization. The main idea of this approach is that the dominant political groups always manipulate social institutions and use propaganda and censorship to maintain their privileged positions. For this reason, institutions like the government always serve to maintain the status quo, not to change it. Political socialization is defined as the process through which political ideology is transmitted from the dominant to the dominated groups in society.

The most common term in hegemonic theory is class hegemony. According to the Marxist theorists, when the interests of one class are believed to stand for the general interests of the nation, class hegemony is established (Dawson et al., 1977). Under this consideration, the hegemonic theory begins with the assumption that the state plays an important role in protecting the domination of the ruling class and the ruling class uses the powers of the states, both coercive and educative, to preserve their control.

In society, the things people desire--such as power, wealth, and prestige--are always scarce, and the demand for them exceeds the supply. Those who gain control of these resources are able to protect their own interests at other people's expense. The powerful do this in two respects: They use force to coerce the rest of

the population into compliance and conformity; and they try to educate the powerless so that the powerless would accept the rules and values by which they are dominated. In other words, political order is maintained not only by force or the implied threat of force, but also by education. A hegemonic theory of political socialization, therefore, Dawson et al. (1977) argued, stresses socialization processes and agencies that "dominant groups use to get subservient groups to accept the social values and the social order that maintain the control relationships" (p. 26).

Hegemonic theory gives much stress to the position of the government in the process of political socialization. The government controlled by the ruling class always uses propaganda and censorship to maintain status quo. When and how propaganda and censorship begin to play a part can be best described by Dawson et al. (1977):

Propaganda comes into play if the state is generally accepted. It is a technique that reaffirms the legitimacy of current authority relations. There are numerous methods of propaganda, including the widespread use of political ceremonies and symbols (flags, national heroes), the content of school textbooks, the attempt to associate government personnel and actions with majesty (the robes of judges and the hushed tones of the court), and the general speech making that celebrates the current political order. Censorship comes into play when the legitimacy of the state is in doubt or is being actively challenged. The power of the state is used to manage the news, to quiet criticism, to deny a voice to groups challenging state authority, or to forbid public meetings or political demonstrations that aim "at the overthrow of the government." (p. 29)

In hegemonic theory effective political socialization leads to the continuing stability of the current political order. But what

if political change arises? Discontinuity is the term used to account for this. According to hegemonic theory, there would be discontinuity in political socialization if "ruled groups refused to learn or were not taught the basic political values fostered by the ruling group" (Dawson et al., 1977, p. 28). Typically, in times of discontinuity in political socialization the ruled are inclined to form social movements such as labor movements or the civil rights movement. They may do this through demonstrations, strikes, and so on. In extreme cases, social movements aim at revolution. World history, particularly of the past 200 years, has shown the revolutionary overthrow of several ruling classes--from the French Revolution of the 18th century to the Russian, Chinese, Cuban, Iranian, and Nicaraguan revolutions of the 20th century.

In conclusion, the hegemonic theory of political socialization puts stress on the conflict perspective in society. Political socialization is viewed as the means used by the ruling class to impose its dominant political ideology on the ruled class. The ruling class realizes that power based on coercion alone tends to be unstable, because people obey only out of fear and will disobey at the first opportunity. In order to maintain its privileged status, the ruling class must also develop an ideology to justify and legitimate current political order. In practice, what actually happens in society is that the powerful continuously use propaganda (symbol manipulation) and censorship (selective control of information) to control the rest of the population into compliance and conformity.

Social learning theory and cognitive development theory are two major individual-level theories of political socialization. Both will be analyzed in the following pages.

Social Learning Theory

How does the individual receive his or her own thoughts and behavior? To proponents of the social learning theory, the answer will be based upon the principle of reinforcement. Learning theorists such as Skinner (1971) believe that human behavior is formed through the process of reinforcement. He views the human organism as a machine, "a complex system behaving in lawful ways" (p. 202).

A human being is only a product of past reinforcements: Those behaviors that have been rewarded will be repeated, and those that have not been rewarded or that have caused punishment will not be repeated. Thus, whoever controls the reinforcement available to a person is in a position to control the behavior of that person. The children, for example, are likely to take on the thought patterns of their parents. They depend on their parents for food, protection, and love; and through dependence, children internalize the thought patterns of their parents. Good behavior and appropriate thoughts are reinforced by parents' rewards; bad behavior and unacceptable ideas are removed by parents' punishment.

Conway and Feigert (1976) have applied the social learning theory to explain how people develop a sense of legitimacy for the regime. They argued that a regime acts to foster public support (the creation of legitimacy) through a six-state learning process:

1. Promoting an unconditioned response: The regime provides the stimulus for people in terms of material inducement, such as food, security, and shelter. People, in turn, respond to the rewards these inducements offer.

2. Using classical conditioning methods: The regime associates itself with the stimulus that provokes the behavior in the first stages; this association is made by pairing the government with the unconditioned stimulus of material inducements.

3. Intermittent reinforcement: The government provides the rewards only occasionally, which reduces the cost of providing the reward. Moreover, it is effective to reward desired behavior but not to reward it each time it occurs.

4. Secondary reinforcement: A new behavior pattern is demanded of the population by the government; the response demanded is given because the government guarantees the citizens that if they respond, the regime will produce the institutional processes that symbolize unconditional reinforcement.

5. Reducing the cognitive dissonance: Compliance with the regime's demand for the new behavior pattern is accompanied by the conferring of legitimacy on the regime. This is done by the population to reduce the cognitive dissonance between gaining symbolic rewards and having to learn new behavior patterns.

6. Using condensation symbols: Condensation symbols may include the nation's flag, national heroes, constitution, and slogans. In the process of using these symbols, the symbols of legitimacy become substitute gratification.

According to the social learning theory, if our behavior and thought depend so much on the content of our individual socialization, what becomes of human free will? Can we pass any choice over our personal behavior, or is it all shaped for us by our past experiences? Skinner's (1953) position is clear on the free will versus determinism issue. He emphasized the role of environment in influencing behavior and rejected notions about the inner dynamics of personality development. We are operated on by forces in the external world, not by forces within ourselves. As a matter of fact, Skinner has long argued that the deterministic assumption is necessary for scientifically studying human behavior:

If we are to use the methods of science in the field of human affairs, we must assume that behavior is lawful and determined. We must expect to discover that what a man does is the result of specifiable conditions and that once these conditions have been discovered, we anticipate and to some extent determine his actions. (Skinner, 1953, p. 6)

In Skinner's (1971) theory, an infant has a limitless number of possibilities for behavior acquisition. It is parents first who principally reinforce and shape development in specific directions; the infant, in turn, will behave contingent upon their rewards. Gradually, as the child's social world expands, other reinforcement sources are more crucial in influencing behavioral development. The school, the peer group, and the mass media are especially important sources of reinforcement. The principle of behavior determination by reinforcement remains the same; it is only the kinds and sources of reinforcement that change. Throughout the whole development process, previously reinforced behaviors drop out of

the person's response as a result of either nonreinforcement or punishment from the present social environment (Hjelle & Ziegler, 1976; Schultz, 1986).

In conclusion, the social learning theory of political socialization is based upon the principle of conditioning and reinforcement. Socialization is viewed as the learning process of associating stimuli with proper responses. We are primarily products of socialization, shaped more by external variables than by inner factors. The socialization process is lifelong; it occurs in the family shortly after the infant is born; and schools, peer groups, and the mass media continue the process; and in later life, the adult's behavior and thought patterns are reinforced by the workplace and other significant agents. Our basic behaviors are formed in childhood. This does not mean, however, that our behavior cannot change later in life. What has been learned can be modified and new patterns of behavior can be acquired at any age.

Cognitive Theory

The cognitive theory of human development is based upon the principle of intellectual maturation--the development of cognitive abilities such as perceiving, remembering, reasoning, and believing. Cognitive theorists believe that intellectual maturation determines when certain kinds of learning can occur. Some kinds of skills are beyond children of certain ages; even practice will not allow children to master these skills earlier than those of the same age who have no practice. Certain kinds of conceptual

abilities and coordination simply take time to develop (Green, 1989; Spence, 1978).

Jean Piaget, a developmental psychologist, has devoted a long career to the process of intellectual maturation. He began with intensive observation of his own children, and from his conclusions about their development he began to build a theory. He suggested that human beings gradually pass through stages of cognitive development. Each stage is characterized by the particular kinds of intellectual processes (Phillips, 1981; Piaget, 1972):

1. The sensorimotor stage: In the sensorimotor stage, which lasts from birth until about the age of 2, the intelligence of children is expressed only through sensory and physical contact with the objects that surround them. Lacking language, infants cannot think about and understand the world.

2. The preoperational stage: This stage lasts from around the age of 2 to 7 and is characterized by the rapid development of representational processes. There are six representational functions which Piaget considers to develop in this stage: imitation, play, drawing, mental image, memory, and language. Children also demonstrate egocentrism in the early part of the preoperational stage; they see the world almost entirely from their own perspectives and, therefore, have difficulty taking other people's points of view into account.

3. The concrete operational stage: In this stage, which lasts from about 7 to 12, children can reason about concrete situations, but not about abstract ones. If children of this age, for

example, are asked to talk about abstract concepts such as death, they have great difficulty in doing so without referring to actual events, such as the death of a dog. Children in this stage can also take other people's points of view into consideration and, therefore, can participate effectively in games and other social organizations.

4. The formal operational stage: In this stage, which lasts from about 12 to 15, children are able to achieve formal, abstract thought. They can think in terms of theories and can manipulate complex chemical, moral, and other concepts. They are able to use general rules to solve whole classes of problems, and they can reason logically from premises to conclusions that would not be possible in previous stages.

Although the exact ages at which a child moves along these four stages varies from child to child and from culture to culture, Piaget (1972) insisted that this sequence of stages is universal. It must be pointed out, however, that not everyone reaches the final stage of formal operations. As Robertson (1987b) argued:

Many adults have great difficulty in understanding abstract concepts, particularly if they have little exposure to formal thinking in their own socialization. In fact, more than half the people in the world today cannot read or write, for they live in societies that lacked the resources to make access to the vast storehouse of facts, ideas, and literature that the rest of us, socialized differently, can take for granted. (p. 125)

Piaget's (1972) theory of cognitive development has been used by many political scientists in research on political socialization. In their longitudinal work of The Child's Political World,

for instance, Moore, Lare, and Wagner (1985) have adopted the Piagetian approach to the study of how children receive political knowledge and political values. They posed a series of research questions, such as: Do stages of political awareness exist? Are they empirically identifiable? Are they sequential? Are there certain political concepts which have to be grasped before a child can move on to more advanced levels of political awareness? In order to examine these questions, through Piagetian model, Moore et al. (1985) hypothesized that "in the realm of political awareness, as in other areas of learning, a maturing child moves through a series of cognitive stages during which increasingly complex understandings are assimilated" (p. 65).

After presenting longitudinal data to illustrate children's expanding awareness of the presidential role, Moore et al. (1985) successfully confirmed the relevance of the cognitive-developmental theory of learning to the sphere of political awareness. When being asked each year "What does the President do when he goes to work?" one of the observed children responded as follows:

Kindergarten: "I don't know."

First grade: "Sometimes makes speeches and works in his office."

Second grade: "Make speeches and does laws."

Third grade: "He signs bills and all that; he signs laws."

Fourth grade: "He signs bills, goes to meetings in Congress, signs laws." (p. 90)

In conclusion, the cognitive theory of political socialization suggests that as children mature they pass through a series of stages of cognitive development. These stages are sequential and a child must reach a particular maturational level in order to comprehend more complex phenomena. Since maturational factors limit the kind and speed of socialization, the payoff of learning cognitive theory is clear--people can more intelligently and efficiently judge how best to socialize children.

A Model of the Process of Political Life

In the previous sections, we described the historical development of political socialization, defined political socialization, and studied representative theories of political socialization. In this section of the chapter, we propose the incorporated model of political life (see Figure 2) which is designed to examine how political socialization can be viewed in the process of political life. Before we begin to introduce the recommended model, two essential characteristics of this political analysis need to be pointed out; and definitions of the basic terms in this model follow.

First of all, the incorporated model is developed to connect both individual-level and systematic-level analyses for political socialization. The two levels may complement each other, for each focuses on a different aspect of political reality. The individual approach shows how people learn political attitudes and behavior; the systematic approach shows the consequence of political

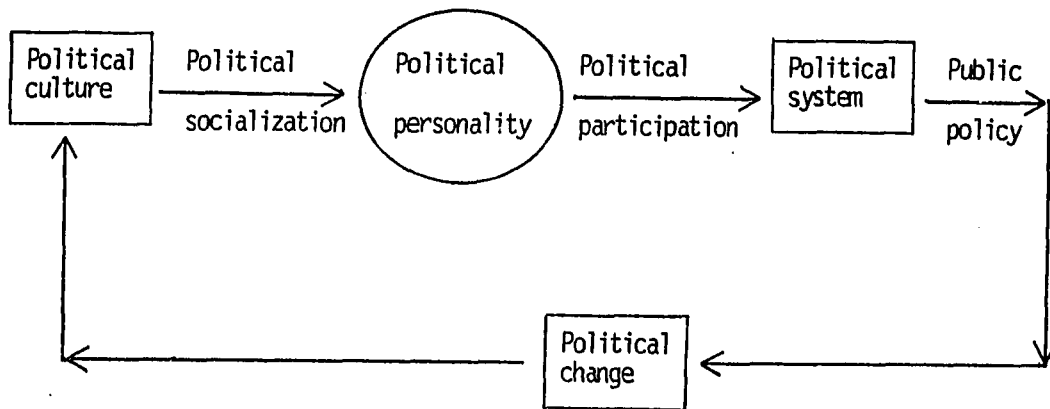


Figure 2. The Incorporated Model of Political Life.

socialization in the political system. Taken together, they may provide a more comprehensive view of the topic than could be offered by either one perspective alone.

Secondarily, the concepts and their interrelations involved in this model are abstract and may seem far removed from the concreteness of the political life that every one of us personally experiences. However, they can help guide us to an understanding of many things we do not directly experience and thus broaden our political insight.

Political Culture

Political culture refers to cognitive, affective, and evaluative compounds of orientations people have toward three basic elements of the political system: (1) the government, (2) others in the political system, and (3) themselves (Almond & Powell, 1978; Rosenbaum, 1975). We may provide Table 2 to gain further understanding of this definition. A political culture is the product of

the historical experience of a nation as well as the ongoing processes of political, social, and economic activity. In any society, political culture plays an important role in helping individuals cope with problems from the political system.

Table 2
Compounds of Political Culture

Compound of political culture	Manifestations
Cognitive orientation: beliefs about how things are in the political world	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. We (Americans) have a democratic government. 2. The ruling party always equates its own policies with the national good and tends to regard opposition as disloyal. 3. I don't have the ability to make a difference in the decision-making process.
Affective orientation: emotions toward perceived political objects	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I love my country. 2. I don't trust the ruling party. 3. I don't like to be powerless in the decision-making process.
Evaluative orientation: beliefs about public policy should be sought	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Social welfare should be the first priority of public policy. 2. A tolerance of dissenting opinion is fundamental to democracy. 3. I should be politically active.

Political Socialization

Political socialization is the process of social interaction through which people internalize political norms and values of their culture and thus acquire their political personalities. Political socialization is the crucial link between the individual and the political system. Political socialization helps the newcomers clarify expectations, receive new values, modify old values, and learn behavior patterns that are essential for political living. And, political socialization enables the political system to have a relatively integrated political culture, thus ensuring its continuity from generation to generation. The political socialization process serves three main functions (Dawson et al., 1977): one is to pass on to newcomers of a society the central elements of political culture of older generations; another, to transform some of those elements as change in order to cope with stress from the new environment; finally, in some relatively unusual instances such as the establishment of a new independent state, to create a new political culture.

Political Personality

One of the most important outcomes of political socialization is individual political personality. Personality refers to "the persisting, organized dispositions that lead a person to respond in characteristic ways to the environment . . . the dispositions that shape responses to political stimuli are sometimes called political

personality" (Plano, Riggs, & Robin, 1982, p. 90). The main function of political personality for an individual is to provide the cue for political participation. It is true that personality has always been and always will be with us. There has never been a time when human behavior, including political behavior, has not been largely influenced by the mental images through which people have grown accustomed to perceiving and judging their environment.

The formation process of political personality is under the influence of socialization experiences throughout the life course. Nobody is born a radical Democrat, a conservative Republican, or an anarchist. People may be born with the potential to become any of these, but what they actually become is primarily the product of their unique socialization experiences. Political personality is never entirely stable; it can be modified or replaced in the light of subsequent experiences. It is not uncommon to an individual that the values of the various socialization agents, in a given situation, may not be the same and can even be in outright conflict. Parents may tell us one thing, teachers something else, and the media something else again. And the different roles that the individual plays may also be in conflict. As a Republican, you are supposed to vote for the Republican presidential candidate; for some reason, however, you might prefer the Democratic candidate. The individual is pushed this way and that and somehow has to make choices in unexpected situations.

Political Participation

Political participation can be defined as "those activities by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the decisions that they make" (Verba, Nie, & Kim, 1971, p. 9). The types of political culture have been classified into participant, subject, and parochial categories (Almond & Verba, 1963); we can use this classification to analyze the way people typically participate in their political system. The typical citizen of participant culture is active in the process of resources allocation. The subject culture is characterized by citizens who passively accept the decisions of governments. In the society of parochial culture, citizens might not identify themselves as members of the political system which may lead them to political apathy or radical attempts to overthrow the system (Isaak, 1987).

The degree to which people get involved in the political process varies not only from person to person but also from state to state. We provide Figure 3 to show that different states have their own different styles of political participation.

Political System

The political system refers to those institutions and processes through which values are authoritatively allocated in a society (Easton, 1965). It is the political system that responds to people's political participation (demands and support) in terms

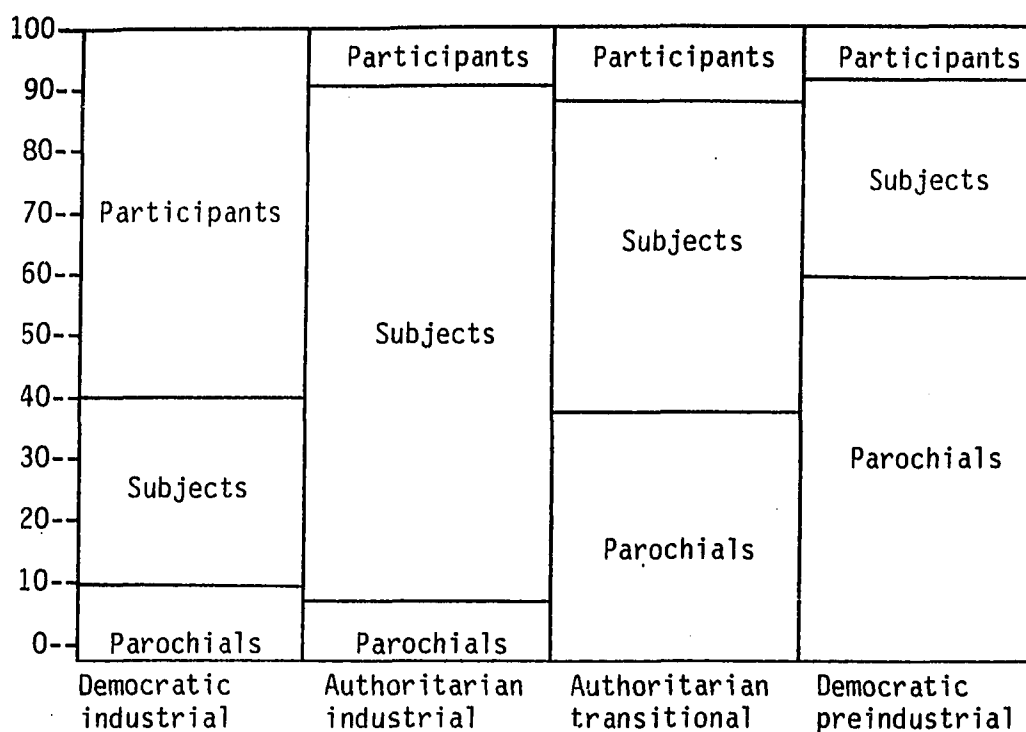


Figure 3. Models of Political Culture: Orientations Toward Involvement in the Political Process.

Source: From *Comparative Government Today* (p. 43) by A. G. Almond and G. B. Powell, Jr., 1988, Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman.

of decisions and actions. From time to time, the sum of the wants and needs of the individuals and groups within the society may exceed the resources available for distribution to them. So long as there is scarcity in the world, people will face the problem of distribution. The political system, therefore, is needed to deal with this problem. In other words, government lays down the rules of the game in conflict and competition between individuals and institutions within society.

Public Policy

Public policy, in Dye's (1975) view, is "whatever governments choose to do or not to do" (p. 1). In a society, governments perform many tasks: They regulate conflict between people and groups; they allocate a great variety of goods and services to members within society; they provide economic aid to foreign nations; they collect taxes. Public policy may be expressed in a variety of forms, including laws, executive orders, judicial decisions, and the like made by the authorities. In systems theory, we may also conceive of public policy as those actions by the political system in response to the demands and supports from the environment.

Political Change

According to Andrain (1988), political change refers to:

The mode of political production has altered--that is, the policy process has experienced changes in the structural basis of political rule, the cultural beliefs that become priorities of political decision-makers, and the ways of handling basic issues in the policy process.
(p. 9)

No society can successfully prevent political change, not even those that try to do so, although some societies are more resistant to change than others. Political change may occur when a political system adapts to new demands from its changing environment, or when a political system cannot maintain itself and is replaced by another. Political change is extremely important because "the survival of any government depends on its capacity to change and adapt to its environment" (Plano et al., 1982, p. 98).

In sum, the character of political institutions and behavior varies a great deal from one society to another, but the process of political life itself may be universal. Through political socialization, people have learned political culture and formed their political personalities with which they perceive and participate in the political system. Finally, mass participation will cause political change and, consequently, reshape political culture. In this incorporated model, the process of political life continues to run through its continuous "loop" without end: political culture --> political socialization --> political personality --> political participation --> political system --> public policy --> political change --> new political culture --> and so on.

Socialization Studies on Taiwan

Socialization research on Taiwan has been conducted by many scholars from various aspects. Wilson (1970), for instance, has studied the political culture of Taiwan in terms of socialization analysis. In examining the political socialization of Chinese children on Taiwan, he analyzed three areas. The initial area of investigation is the relationship between children and social groups in which they live. The factors for analysis are the means by which "group integration is achieved, the nature of the stimuli that bring such integration about, and how responses are related to these stimuli" (Wilson, 1970, p. 10). One main element of this investigation is how the educational system attempts to socialize children to invest loyalty in the state. The secondary area of

investigation covers those group attitudes to the attitudes children hold toward authority figures. Wilson put stress on aspects of political education of how political leaders are introduced into the educational content and how children come to perceive the political leader and the political process. The final area of investigation is how hostility is expressed in group solidarity. Wilson (1970) studied "how the political authorities, acting through the educational system, attempt to channel potential hostility into increased loyalty and solidarity for their own political system and into hatred for political enemies" (p. 10).

Based on the assumption that the school is more accessible to governmental control, Martin (1975) has revealed, through examining elementary school textbooks, the social and political norms which the government of Taiwan encourages its future citizens to adopt. The textbooks used for analysis were Chinese Language (Republic of China, 1970) for Grades 1 to 5. Among 10 volumes, only the odd numbered volumes were selected as the sample for examination. The findings presented by Martin have been organized into the following topics: (a) basic personal "virtues" and attributes, (b) social relationships, (c) attitudes and behaviors, (d) types of individuals presented in model roles, (e) rewards noted for sanctioned behavior, and (f) political issues and symbols. This analysis is another contribution toward understanding of the political culture of Taiwan.

Meyer (1988) has studied teaching morality in Taiwan schools. He argued that unlike Western cultures which have traditionally

emphasized knowledge, religion, and law, Chinese culture has been primarily concerned with morality. And it is the morality that has strong impact on regulating individual behavior in everyday life. By examining school textbooks, he attempted to identify the uniqueness of the Chinese moral tradition. Meyer's study was based on an examination of the textbooks which have some moral content during primary school (6 years) on Taiwan. The textbooks used for analysis were Life and Human Relationships (Republic of China, 1983h, 6 volumes), Chinese Language (Republic of China, 1983a, 12 volumes), Social Studies (Republic of China, 1983m, 12 volumes), Citizenship and Morality (Republic of China, 1983c, 6 volumes), Chinese Literature (Republic of China, 1983b, 6 volumes), Geography (Republic of China, 1983e, 6 volumes), and History (Republic of China, 1983g, 6 volumes).

From another perspective, this thesis attempts to investigate the contents of school textbooks with regard to the gender role. We try to examine elementary school textbooks to see if they have messages of political difference between sexes which might contribute to the understanding of why women are rarely seen in any positions of power or authority in any realm on Taiwan.

Political Culture and Gender Roles on Taiwan

Men and women in every society tend to differ in personality traits and the performance of social roles. Taiwan is no exception. Taiwanese society treats men and women in different ways and expects different patterns of behavior from them. Throughout

history, men have generally been the dominant sex and women have been subordinate to them. Both men and women have customarily taken this social arrangement for granted, passing it down from generation to generation as part of the culture (Hsu, 1987).

Chinese culture has traditionally stressed gender-linked personality traits. Despite gender-role changes of recent years, there is still some consensus about the way men and women interpret their own roles, and it is possible to outline the characteristics in a very general way (Yi, 1988). The Chinese woman is typically supposed to be passive, conformist, affectionate, sensitive, intuitive, dependent, self-sacrificing for her family, and primarily concerned with domestic life. She is not supposed to be too knowledgeable about sports, politics, economics, and similar masculine topics, but deeply concerned about her routine domestic duties. She should not appear ambitious or she risks being regarded as unfeminine. In her relationships with men, she should not take the initiative, but should be tender, expressive, and appreciative. The Chinese man, on the other hand, is traditionally supposed to be active, aggressive, self-reliant, logical, tough, fearless, and independent. He is supposed to be ignorant of cooking, doing the laundry, and similar domestic duties. He should have definite opinions on the major issues of the day, should be capable of making authoritative decisions in the home, and should take care of economics for his family. His self-image comes from his achievements in the outside world, and work is the major focus of his life.

Chinese politics has generally been viewed as a male activity. Men are elected and appointed to the majority of policy-making positions at all levels of government (Hsu, 1987; Yi, 1988). According to the Council for Economic Planning and Development (1988), women represent 47% of the population, but we find out most of the role models that politics has to offer are male. Women are rarely seen in any positions of power in any realm on Taiwan. The imbalance is obvious--women are underrepresented at the elite level proportional to their numbers in the population.

Why do women occupy few positions of political power? Why are they underrepresented in formal political participation on Taiwan? The next chapter examines these questions by analyzing the contents of elementary school textbooks. The rationale underlying this attempt is that we assume that school as a socializing agent attempts to reflect the dominant culture and, therefore, channel young women into lowered expectations and an unwillingness to play active roles in the political aspect of society.

CHAPTER III

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The principal objective of this research is to investigate if elementary school textbooks of Taiwan present sex-typed images of adult behavior. The theoretical foundation underlying this attempt is based upon the incorporated model of political life. In the proposed model, we assume that through socialization process, people have learned cultural norms and values and formed their personalities with which they perceive and participate in the political system. Therefore, if the political culture of Taiwan discourages female participation in the political arena, we might expect the content of political socialization to reflect and reinforce this tendency; consequently, women have learned to be politically passive and are rarely seen in any positions of authority on Taiwan.

Data Collection

In order to develop this study, three sets of elementary textbooks are sampled to be analyzed. The first set is Social Studies (Republic of China, 1988d). Another set is Life and Human Relationships (Republic of China, 1988c). The last set is Chinese Language (Republic of China, 1988b). They have to meet three criteria in order to be eligible to participate in the study. Textbooks have to be: (1) required of all students in elementary

schools on Taiwan; (2) offering role models, social norms, and patterns of life styles; and (3) engaging in political indoctrination of values.

There are nine sets of textbooks required of all students in elementary schools on Taiwan. They are Arts, Chinese Language, Common Sense, Health Education, Life and Human Relationships, Mathematics, Music, Natural Science, and Social Studies.

Among nine required textbooks, only Chinese Language, Life and Social Relationships, and Social Studies offer role models, social norms, and patterns of life styles. Through these three sets of textbooks, children can learn about courtroom lawyers, norms on the relationship with others, and a typical Chinese family in which all contribute to how they perceive and perform in the world around them.

Again, only Chinese Language, Life and Human Relationships, and Social Studies engage in political indoctrination of values. The purposes of education in all nations include not only instructing children in particular skills that they need to perform useful roles in society, but also engaging in political indoctrination of values. By analyzing the contents of school textbooks, we may understand official values and beliefs about political reality. What can be gained from an examination of school texts is as Martin (1975) argued, "a picture of what the government would like the content of children's socialization to be" (p. 243).

The common characteristic of these three sets of textbooks (see Table 3) is that they are all published by government printing

Table 3
 Characteristics of the Sampled Textbooks

Characteristic	<u>Chinese Language</u>	<u>Life and Human Relationships</u>	<u>Social Studies</u>
Publisher	Provincial Government, Office of Education	Provincial Government, Office of Education	Provincial Government, Office of Education
Extent of use	All schools in the nation	All schools in the nation	All schools in the nation
Grade level	1st grade-6th grade	4th grade-6th grade	1st grade-6th grade
Age level	7-12	10-12	7-12
Volumes of use	13	6	12

houses and circulated through all the nation's elementary schools. The first set, containing 12 volumes, is Social Studies used from the first grade to sixth grade. Another set, consisting of 6 volumes, is Life and Human Relationships used from fourth grade to sixth grade. The last set, including 13 volumes, is Chinese Language used from first grade to sixth grade.

Hypotheses

In this study, we assume Taiwanese society categorizes its members according to sex, treating men and women differently and expecting various patterns of behavior from them. From time to time, Chinese men have generally been the dominant sex and Chinese women have been subordinate to them. Both men and women have usually taken this inequality for granted as a social norm, passing it down from generation to generation as part of the culture.

The Taiwanese woman we assume is typically expected to be sensitive, caring, and affectionate, but also relatively dependent, passive, and conformist. She is supposed to be ignorant of politics, sports, and economics, but deeply concerned about routine domestic duties. She should not appear ambitious or obviously intelligent, or she risks being regarded as unfeminine. In her relationships with men, she does not take the initiative, but instead allows the male to set the pace.

The Taiwanese man we assume, on the other hand, is traditionally expected to be self-reliant, tough, independent, competitive, and aggressive. He is not supposed to be too knowledgeable about

baby care, dishwashing, and similar "feminine" topics. He should have definite opinions on the major issues of the day and should be capable of making authoritative decisions in the home and outside the family. In his relationships with women, he is expected to take the initiative.

If the dominant culture of Taiwan stresses sex-linked personality characteristics, according to the incorporated model of political life, we might anticipate school textbooks are laden with messages expecting different patterns of behavior between sexes. Therefore, we propose two hypotheses:

1. In school textbooks, male characters outnumber female characters.

2. The contents of textbooks offer many more diverse and significant role models to males than to females.

Data Analysis

In the process of data analysis, we adopt different statistics to test Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2, respectively.

To test Hypothesis 1 (male characters outnumber female characters in school textbooks), we will first calculate the frequency of characters textbooks have referred to by gender in Social Studies (12 volumes), Life and Human Relationships (6 volumes), and Chinese Language (13 volumes) textbooks; and then present a table of frequency distribution for each set of textbooks, followed by a pie chart. Finally, we use chi-square goodness-of-fit test to determine how "good a fit" the actual distribution is to the

hypothetical distribution. To further test Hypothesis 2 (textbooks offer many more diverse and significant role models to males than females), we will present a table to show what role models, personality traits, and social norms textbooks expect boys and girls to adopt.

To test Hypothesis 2, textbooks offer many more diverse and significant role models to males than to females, we will first compute the frequency of role models portrayed by gender in Chinese Language, and present a table of proportion distribution to show the ratio of stories featuring males and females. The second area of investigation covers the virtues Life and Human Relationships textbooks expect boys and girls to adopt. Content analysis of these textbooks was done on the basis of 17 virtues. The appearance of a virtue was coded both quantitatively and qualitatively, giving each virtue a statistical measure of its occurrence and a content description. So long as the main character of each virtue-oriented story is portrayed by a male, we take it as a story textbooks offer for males; and the reverse is the same.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

The purpose of this case study of political socialization is to investigate if elementary school textbooks of Taiwan present sex-typed images of adult behavior. Two hypotheses have been formulated to be tested: (1) Male characters outnumber female characters in school textbooks, and (2) the contents of textbooks offer many more diverse and significant role models to male than female characters. After examining the textbooks, we have found that males and "masculine" activities are emphasized more than females and "feminine" activities. The findings of the data analysis are organized and presented in the following tables and figures.

Social Studies

The data in Table 4 represent test of Hypothesis 1 at the .05 level of significance.

Table 4
Frequency of Characters by Gender in Social Studies
(12 Volumes)

	Male	Female	Chi square
Observed frequency	173	5	158.562
Expected frequency	89	89	

Step 1. Hypothesis 1: We predict that male characters outnumber female characters in Social Studies.

H1: $P > .5$

H0: $P < .5$

Step 2. Distribution: We have two categories in the population.

The chi-square distribution is appropriate.

Step 3. Level of significance: .05.

Step 4. Critical value: We have the chi-square distribution, the .05 level of significance, and one degree of freedom. The critical value will be 3.841.

Step 5. Decision: The test is $\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O - E)^2}{E} = 158.562$. The obtained value of 158.562 is beyond the critical value of 3.841. The decision is to reject the null hypothesis.

Step 6. Conclusion: We conclude that male characters outnumber female characters in Social Studies by the percentage of 97.2% to 2.8% (see Figure 4) at the .05 level of significance.

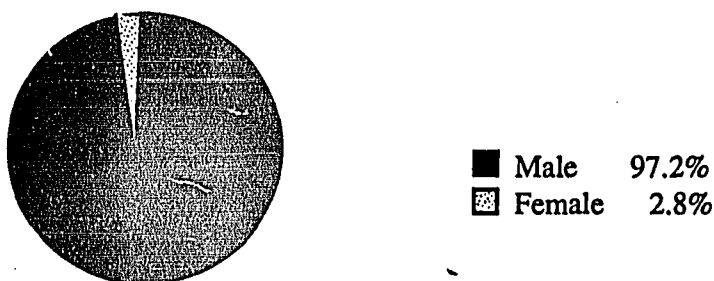


Figure 4. Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Characters by Gender in Social Studies.

Life and Human Relationships

The data in Table 5 represent the test of the first hypothesis at the .05 level of significance.

Table 5
Frequency of Characters by Gender in Life and Human Relationships (6 Volumes)

	Male	Female	Chi square
Observed frequency	92	8	70.56
Expected frequency	50	50	

Step 1. Hypothesis 1: We predict that male characters outnumber female characters in Life and Human Relationships.

$$H_1: P > .5$$

$$H_0: P < .5$$

Step 2. Distribution: We have two categories in the population.

The chi-square distribution is appropriate.

Step 3. Level of significance: .05.

Step 4. Critical value: We have the chi-square distribution, the .05 level of significance, and one degree of freedom. The critical value will be 3.841.

Step 5. Decision: The test is $\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O - E)^2}{E} = 70.56$. The obtained value of 70.56 is beyond the critical value of 3.841. The decision is to reject the null hypothesis.

Step 6. Conclusion: We conclude that male characters outnumber female characters in Life and Human Relationships by the percentage of 92% to 8% (see Figure 5) at the .05 level of significance.



Figure 5. Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Characters by Gender in Life and Human Relationships.

Chinese Language

The data in Table 6 represent the test of Hypothesis 1 at the .05 level of significance.

Table 6.

Frequency of Characters by Gender in Chinese Language (13 volumes)

	Male	Female	Chi square
Observed frequency	103	11	74.246
Expected frequency	57	57	

Step 1. Hypothesis 1: We predict that male characters outnumber female characters in Chinese Language.

H1: $P > .5$

H0: $P < .5$

Step 2. Distribution: We have two categories in the population.

The chi-square distribution is appropriate.

Step 3. Level of significance: .05.

Step 4. Critical value: We have the chi-square distribution, the .05 level of significance, and one degree of freedom. The critical value will be 3.841.

Step 5. Decision: The test is $\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O - E)^2}{E} = 74.246$. The obtained value of 70.56 is beyond the critical value of 3.841. The decision is to reject the null hypothesis.

Step 6. Conclusion: We conclude that male characters outnumber female characters in Chinese Language by the percentage of 90.4% to 9.6% (see Figure 6) at the .05 level of significance.

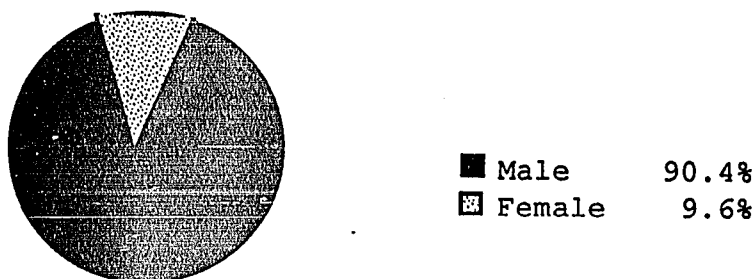


Figure 6. Percentage Distribution of the Frequency of Characters by Gender in Chinese Language.

Role models by gender pervade Chinese Language. A total of 72 role models are portrayed in the textbooks. Men are portrayed in 63 diverse roles. Women are portrayed in 9 roles, one-seventh of

the number for men. Table 7 lists the role models by gender in Chinese Language to show the textbooks offer many more diverse and significant role models to males than to females.

Table 7
Role Models in Chinese Language by Gender

Male	Female
Father, Son, Student, Professor, Principle, Teacher, Statesman, Scientist, Businessman, Monitor, Farmer, Actor, Miner, Firefighter, Poet, Traffic policeman, Doctor, Writer, Soldier, Painter, Carpenter, Driver, Worker, Captain, Tailor, Mason, Expert, Archer, Hunter, Plumber, Hermit, Adventurer, Architect, Magician, Abbot, Monk, Engineer, Emperor, Lord, Giant, Governor, Customer, Waiter, Beggar, Astronaut, Ambassador, Police officer, King, Prime minister, Counselor, Rich man, Bandit, Prince, Revolutionist, Genius, Assassin, Foreign student, Thinker, Scholar, Trainmaster, Inventor, Lawyer, Sociologist (63)	Mother, Daughter, Student, Grandmother, Teacher, Writer, Revolutionist, President, Queen (9)

Virtues by gender can be found in Life and Human Relationships. The ratio of virtues featuring males and females is 37 to 1. Looking at Table 8, the data show that there is an overemphasis of virtues in the textbooks on men, and an underemphasis on women.

Table 8

Virtues by Gender in Life and Human Relationships

Male	Female
Diligent study (3)	Justice (1)
Filial piety (3)	
Cooperation (2)	
Frugality (2)	
Patriotism (3)	
Benevolence (2)	
Responsibility (3)	
Peace (3)	
Honesty (2)	
Justice (2)	
Sense of shame (3)	
Civic virtue (1)	
Etiquette (2)	
Forgiveness (2)	
Bravery (2)	
Perseverance (2)	

The results of data analyses in this chapter indicate that the proposed hypotheses are strongly supported. We can conclude that three sets of textbooks--Social Studies, Life and Human Relationships, and Chinese Language contain clear sex-typed images of adult behavior; and male characters are emphasized more than female characters. Since women on Taiwan represent 47% of the population, the imbalance of representation in textbooks is obvious. Male characters outnumber female characters in school textbooks, and the contents of textbooks offer many more diverse and significant role models to males than females.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusions

This thesis contains both theoretical and applied research. In the theoretical part, we are primarily concerned with the process of political socialization. In so doing, we have studied the historical development of research on political socialization, clarified the concept, described various approaches to studying political socialization, and proposed a descriptive model of political life and examined how political socialization can be viewed in this model.

Based on the previous review of literature, we conclude that political socialization is a crucial link between the individual and the political system. Political socialization enables the individual to receive the norms, values, and other patterns of thought and action that are essential for political living. Political socialization, on the other hand, enables the political system to reproduce itself, thus ensuring its continuity from generation to generation.

In the applied part, this research attempts to analyze the learning of gender roles in elementary school textbooks on Taiwan. After examining sampled textbooks, we have accepted two proposed hypotheses: male characters outnumber female characters in school

textbooks; and the contents of school textbooks offer many more diverse and significant role models to males than females. According to the incorporated model, we rest our interpretation of findings on the following conclusions:

1. Taiwanese society categorizes its members according to sex, treating males and females in different ways and expecting different patterns of behavior from them. Furthermore, men have been the dominant sex and women have been subordinate to them. In the proposed model, it is assumed that the contents of political socialization reflect and reinforce political culture. Therefore, if there is a male oriented culture in the society, we might anticipate that school textbooks would present sex-typed images of adult behavior and emphasize males and masculine activities more than females and feminine activities.

2. The confirmation of the proposed hypotheses may contribute to the understanding of why most of the role models politics have to offer are male, and women are rarely seen in any positions of power or authority in any realm on Taiwan. Based on the incorporated model, political socialization is the process of social interaction through which people internalize political norms and values of their culture and acquire their political personalities. If today's school textbooks have messages expecting different patterns of behavior between sexes, these images may significantly help bring about children's sense of their own identity and potential. Through earlier school textbooks, women have been socialized to stay away from politics simply because it is a "masculine"

activity; and therefore, they are discouraged or are unwilling to actively participate in the political arena.

Recommendations

Political socialization, helping us better understand political life, deserves further attention, and closer scrutiny.

The incorporated model of political life presented in Chapter II suggests a number of future directions for both the research and practice of political socialization. We note, for instance, that individuals have different psychological orientations and may interpret cues and make sense of the environment in various ways. As researchers, we might not be satisfied with just knowing how powerful political socialization is, but we also need to assess individual difference as we study political behavior.

To what extent does the message of school textbooks correspond to reality for a given society? How effective are the textbooks in instilling females and males with attitudes and behaviors deemed "appropriate" for each gender? It is obvious that the influences of the various agents are not always complementary and are often in outright conflict. Parents may tell us one thing, schools something else, and friends something else again. The individual is pushed this way and that and somehow has to make personal judgments in a given situation. Every socializing agent has its own potential to exert influences on the individual, but which agent is the most influential in determining his or her attitudes and behavior? This is a tempting question so long as we want to better predict

political behavior of the individual.

In order to gain a better understanding of the socialization process, political scientists should conduct more longitudinal research where individuals can be observed as they grow up. There is no doubt that longitudinal analyses are difficult and costly to conduct, but the benefits seem obvious. First, research over a period of time will allow us to verify and refine the various models of political socialization. Second, such an analysis will allow us to evaluate the importance of socializing agents for the individual at different points in time. Third, longitudinal analysis will provide the chance to observe changes in individual attitudes and values.

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