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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CERTAIN POLITICAL ATTITUDES
OF SCOTTISH AND TAIWAN STUDENTS

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Submitted for the Degree of M. Litt. at the
University of Glasgow
August, 1974

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	viii
Summary	ix
Chapter 1: Aim of Study; Use of the Terms Attitudes, Political Attitudes, and the Relation of Socialisation to Political Attitudes	1
Chapter 2: The Development of Hypotheses and Design of Investigation	14
Chapter 3: Connotations of Particular Political Concepts: Results of the Semantic Differential	31
Chapter 4: Attitudes to Certain Political Practices: Results of the Questionnaire for Mea- suring Degree of Approval	69
Chapter 5: Influences on the Development of Politi- cal Attitudes: Results of Self-Report Check List	86
Chapter 6: The Beginning of Interest in Politics: Results of Self-Report	121
Chapter 7: Further Discussion and Conclusions	124
Bibliography	143
Appendix	
1. Semantic Differential Scales (English & Chinese)	150
2. Questionnaire on Particular Politi- cal Practices (English & Chinese)	
3. Self-Report Check List of Political Influences and Age of Beginning to be Interested in Politics (English & Chinese)	

List of Tables and Figures

Figure 3-1: Profile of Mean Ratings of "My Ideal Political Leader"	33
Figure 3-2: Profile of Mean Ratings of "Totalitarianism"	35
Figure 3-3: Profile of Mean Ratings of "Democracy"	37
Figure 3-4: Profile of Mean Ratings of "Joseph Stalin"	39
Figure 3-5: Profile of Mean Ratings of "John Kennedy"	41
Table 2-1: The Degree Courses and Sex Distribution of Students Tested in the Present Study	22
Tables 3-1 to 3-5: Comparison of the General Results of the Semantic Differential for Five Concepts	32,34,36,38,40
Tables 3-6 to 3-10: Comparison of the Results of the Semantic Differential between the Education Students	42-46
Tables 3-11 to 3-15: Comparison of the Results of the Semantic Differential between the Politics/ Political Economy Students	47-51
Tables 3-16 to 3-20: Comparison of the Results of the Semantic Differential between the Accountancy Students	52-56
Tables 3-21 to 3-25: Comparison of the Results of the Semantic Differential between the Scottish	

Education and Politics/Political Economy Students	57-61
Tables 3-26 to 3-30: Comparison of the Results of the Semantic Differential between the Chinese Education and Politics Students	62-66
Tables 4-1 to 4-8: Comparison of the General Results of the Questionnaire for Measuring Degree of Approval	69-75
Tables 4-9 to 4-16: Comparison of the Results of the Questionnaire for Measuring Degree of Approval between the Education Students	76-78
Tables 4-17 to 4-24: Comparison of the Results of the Questionnaire for Measuring Degree of Approval between the Politics/Political Economy Students	79-82
Tables 4-25 to 4-32: Comparison of the Results of the Questionnaire for Measuring Degree of Approval between the Accountancy Students	82-85
Tables 5-1 to 5-8: Comparison of the Results of Self-report Check List of Influence Rated as First Choice	86-92
Tables 5-9 to 5-16: Comparison of the Results of Self-report Check List of Influence Rated as Second Choice	93-98
Tables 5-17 to 5-24: Comparison of the Results of Self-report Check List of Influence Rated as Third Choice	99-104

Tables 5-25 to 5-32:	Comparison of the Results of Self-report Check List of Influence Rated as Fourth Choice	105-109
Tables 5-33 to 5-40:	Comparison of the Results of Self-report Check List of Influence Rated as Fifth Choice	110-114
Tables 5-41 to 5-48:	Comparison of the Cumulative Results of Self-report Check List of Influence	115-120
Table 6-1:	Comparison of the Numbers & Percentages in Terms of the Approximate Age Stated as the Time of Beginning to Care about Politics	121
Table 6-2:	Comparison of the Numbers & Percentages in Terms of the Longer Age-period Stated as the Time of Beginning to Care about Politics	122
Table 7-1:	Comparison of Licensed T.V. Sets in Proportion to the Population in the U.K. & in Taiwan in the Year 1973-74	137

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SUMMARY

The subjects who took part in this study were over 300 students of Education, Accountancy, and Politics / Political Economy at Glasgow (Scotland) and at Taipei (Taiwan). The objective of this research was to make a comparative study of certain political attitudes of these two cultural groups.

Three instruments were adopted. They were: the Semantic Differential Technique as used in attitude measurement; a questionnaire for measuring degree of approval of certain political and government practices; and a self-reported ranking of influences on the development of political attitudes, with the addition of a question about the age when interest in politics first arose.

Three hypotheses had been developed as follows:

- (1) The two groups' attitudes towards political systems, political leaders, and political practices are different.
- (2) The political attitudes of Scottish students reflect their interests in individual rights as against the common interest emphasised on the part of Chinese students.
- (3) The Chinese teachers and lecturers are relatively more significant in influencing students' political attitudes than the Scottish teachers and lecturers.

The results of these tests were analysed, and inter-group comparisons were made between different kinds of students within the same country as well as between the two countries.

Results of this investigation reveal some differences existing between the Scottish and the Chinese students. These include:

(1) They differ in attitudes toward Totalitarianism and a political leader who represents certain values of it (this partly supports the first hypothesis).

(2) Their attitudes toward separation of public interest and individual rights are different (this also partly supports the second hypothesis).

(3) The Chinese lecturers and teachers were reported to be more influential on students' attitudes toward politics than their Scottish counterparts (the third hypothesis has thus been supported).

(4) The Scottish students began to care about politics earlier than did the Chinese students.

(5) The two groups differ in the attitudes toward strikes.

(6) They differ also in treatment of minority opinions.

(7) The influence of family on the political attitudes of Scottish students is more significant.

(8) The influence of television on the political attitudes of Scottish students is more significant.

The Scottish and Chinese students, on the other hand, are similar in some aspects:

(1) They retain similar attitudes toward Democracy, and a political figure associated with it.

(2) They show similar sceptical attitudes toward the introducing of Utopian ideas in government policy; and toward nationalisation of industry.

(3) Both groups reported being less influenced by peer groups in their political attitudes.

CHAPTER 1 : AIM OF STUDY; USE OF THE TERMS ATTITUDES,
POLITICAL ATTITUDES, AND THE RELATION OF
SOCIALISATION TO POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Aim of Study

The aim of this comparative study of political attitudes of Scottish and Taiwan students can be understood best by an introductory discussion of the thinking and reading that went into the choice of this research.

It seems quite true, taking into account the accumulated literatures on attitudes and group affiliation, attitudes and personality, attitudes and socialisation, attitude measurement and the prevailing theories of attitude change through communication or other social process, that attitude has been for decades a comprehensive and distinctive concept incomparable to any other subject in social psychology. Nevertheless, a parallel truth is that, despite its popularity among social psychologists studying men's activities in a single society, few efforts have been made to carry out comparative studies of attitudes among different peoples in the world. Furthermore, to the best of the author's knowledge, interdisciplinary study making use of attitude theory in conducting comparisons of culturally differentiated people is still an under-developed field in the exploration of human behaviour.

As every social scientist knows, social interaction takes place within a cultural setting. The culture of a group of people means their whole way of life which is revealed by their own civilisation. There is a culture which is generally shared by Western people. While the people of Scotland grow within the sphere of their unique culture this, in turn, is a sub-culture of Western culture compared with that of the East in general, and so Scottish culture is obviously different from Chinese culture. But

so far as they have been inheriting the cultural heritages of all mankind, there may be more homogeneity in each cultural element. Therefore, it would be very interesting, through cross-cultural study, to bring two cultural groups --Scottish and Chinese, together, and try to find out how great are the differences existing and whether there are also some similarities. In addition, there is infinite scope for misunderstanding and confusion often in interpersonal or inter-group relations, and much misinterpreting of other's attitudes. Therefore, how to avoid those problems is worth serious consideration as a practical endeavour. Human differences in attitudes may never be abolished completely, but most of ^{us} may agree that the more patient we become in understanding one another's attitudes, the less may human conflicts become.

It has been suggested that the characteristic values of a culture have a quite pervasive effect as orientations for individual judgements in an adaptation level sense (Hollander, 1971). The author will try to find what is affecting attitudes within these two cultural groups.

Apart from the realisation of the importance of attitude study, the choice of writing this thesis was made for the following reasons by which the author was stimulated.

First, while he has been studying social psychology, his main interest has been largely contained in the field of "attitudes". Needless to say he hoped to enlarge his knowledge and to be further trained in this subject.

Second, as his previous academic background has been in political science, he is understandably in a position of wishing to contribute his previous training to the present study. Hence, an interdisciplinary research covering social psychology and politics seemed to be one of his best alternatives.

Third, while growing up in the social climate which is culturally Chinese, he has also been admiring some ways of Western life. He thus believes such characteristics of training and interests may enable him to carry^{out} a meaningful study in comparing two cultural groups.

Contribution of Cross-cultural Study to Improving One's Methods

According to Jacobson et al. (1960), cross-cultural study of attitudes is desirable due to its contributions to advances in research design. These include:

(1) Since cross-cultural design requires and encourages a focus on replication, the research is concerned with ways in^{which} hypotheses tested in one context may have to be altered in other contexts. The researcher is inevitably having to experience his work being repeated by others; this re-examination itself is a good thing for confirmation or modification.

(2) When research is attempted cross-culturally, a conscientious researcher, while testing his hypotheses in a new context, often responds to the need for being more clear.

(3) The greatest gain is that of trying out newly invented methods or improving methods to meet culturally specific conditions.

(4) Besides, when the data are in, some theoretical alternatives, which might not have been so evident in a one-culture setting, are revealed.

Sears endorsed wholly the above merits by indicating that cross-cultural research can expand the range of study of variation in the natural setting, because not only does it provide "a population sample, for testing hypotheses, that offers greater extremes on relevant variables, and broader^a variation among irrelevant variables than can be

obtained within a single culture", but also it provides "appropriate conditions for the systematic variation of factors that cannot be varied within a single culture" (Sears, 1961).

But, for students of psychology, another striking comment made by Frey should not be neglected, though Frey himself is basically a political scientist. He points out that psychological instruments have most often been developed and validated in the context of Western culture. A question is thus raised as to what extent can the conclusion based on these instruments be extended to all mankind in general. The only way to solve this problem should be to ask the researchers concerned to make further efforts by applying the instruments to a subject population with non-Western cultural backgrounds (Frey, 1970).

Definition of Attitude

Before going on to define "Political Attitude", it seems necessary first to review some conceptual definitions of "attitude" in general.

While attitude as a subject has been part of the study of social psychology for many decades, still, this concept is plagued with ambiguity. The following statements may indicate some aspects of the difficulty.

"An attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness, organised through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related" (G.W.Allport, 1935).

"Attitude is ---an implicit, drive-producing response considered socially significant in the individual's society" (Doob, 1947).

"An attitude is a predisposition to experience, to be

motivated by, and to act toward, a class of objects in a predictable manner" (Smith, Bruner, & White, 1956).

"Attitude is the predisposition of the individual to evaluate some symbol or object or aspect of his world in a favorable or unfavorable manner" (Daniel Katz, 1960).

"Attitudes are predispositions to respond, but are distinguished from other such states of readiness in that they predispose toward an evaluative response" (Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957).

"Attitude is an enduring system of three components centering about a single object: the beliefs about the object--the cognitive component; the affect connected with the object --the feeling component; and the disposition to take action with respect to the object --the action tendency component" (Krech, Crutchfield, & Ballachey, 1962).

"An attitude is a relatively enduring organization of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner" (Rokeach, 1968).

"An attitude is an idea charged with emotion which predisposes a class of actions to a particular class of social situations" (Triandis, 1971).

Among the above definitions, Allport's is the oldest but still enjoys some popularity because of the merit of its inclusiveness (Smith, 1966; Triandis, 1971; Hwang, 1973). However, this author prefers to adopt Katz's definition (given above) simply on account of its suitability for this study of attitudes towards political objects, where it seems possible to measure the evaluative tendencies, but not to observe the action tendencies, because of limitations of time and difficulty in carrying out this study. Thus, to repeat Katz's definition: "Attitude is the predisposition of the individual to evaluate some symbol or object or aspect of his world in a favorable or unfavorable manner".

Political Attitude

Having discussed definitions of "attitude", it is now necessary to define "political attitude". The term "political attitude" has been used frequently in the recent past. Many social scientists have been dedicating themselves to this relatively new field of behavioural science (Robinson et al., 1968). The major aim of their efforts has been to provide a psychological framework for the systematic consideration of the dynamics of political attitudes. As Hyman (1959) points out, psychological tools of analysis and modes of research have today become the common equipment of investigators of diverse formal backgrounds trying to understand politics. And attitude is certainly one of the favourite psychological concepts used to analyse and explain some aspects of political behaviour.

Even so, surprisingly, nearly every author can freely discuss "political attitude" in his articles or books without giving an appropriate definition. The comprehensive "International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences" has also made no mention of this concept so far. This author eventually managed to find out that Farber's remark about political attitude is a distinctive and useful one. Farber says that "political attitudes are embedded^d in motivational-perceptual-cognitive systems, playing different roles in these systems in different individuals" (Farber, 1960).

Meanwhile McClintock and Turner use the term "political attitude" interchangeably with "political ideology". This seems arguable. Though ideology relates to the content of systems of attitudes, its meaning to psychologists has been primarily in relation to questions of the acquisition, maintenance and structure of these attitudes, and to the behavioural processes that are their effects. We are going to discuss in detail the distinction between political attitude and political ideology.

Political Attitude and Political Ideology

Rokeach (1968) has made efforts to distinguish attitude from other related concepts. He defines ideology as "an organisation of beliefs and attitudes--religious, political or philosophical in nature--that is more or less institutionalised or shared with others, deriving from external authority". This definition is largely applicable to every type of ideology. But, in referring to a political ideology, a more exclusive definition is needed. This author inclines to agree with the definition made by Christenson et al.(1971). By them political ideology is defined as "a belief system that explains and justifies a preferred political order for society, either existing or proposed, and offers a strategy (Processes, institutional arrangements, programs) for its attainment" (p.5). Hence, as Knutson points out, "A person may hold an elaborate system of beliefs --- that government has no place in the private lives of its citizens --- , while recognizing public health as a governmental institution. This ideology may foster negative attitudes toward public health programs concerning smoking, air pollution, immunisation clinics, and so forth. Or certain religious beliefs may lead to negative attitudes and opposition to family planning" (Knutson, 1965). The distinction between ideologies and attitudes, hence, according to L.B.Brown (1973), is that "Ideologies have been abstrated from statements of public policy, from doctrines about political issues, religious ideas, moral positions, aesthetic judgements and even from specific social practices. When ideological thought impinges on behaviour, it is expressed so that it can be recognised in attitudes". However, Brown also concedes that these two concepts have not been well drawn and are often used loosely. We would rather agree with his comment that the elements in these two concepts differ only in their centrality and generality as well. The concept "ideology" connects generalised beliefs towards definite

contemporary^{ar} issues which most people appear not to operate at this level of consistency. On the other hand, people do hold attitudes concerning the political world in which they live. It is frequently noted that government policy is shaped by the opinions of the political communities involved. Therefore, people who hold^a relatively stable cluster of opinions are supposed to have their own "attitudes" (Dowse, & Hughes, 1972).

Political Attitude and Political Opinion

Another concept which has also been confused commonly with political attitude is political opinion. It is necessary here to attempt to differentiate them.

Thurstone and Chave define opinion as "a verbal expression of attitude ---. An opinion symbolises an attitude ---. We shall use opinions as the means for measuring attitudes" (Thurstone and Chave, 1929). Rokeach (1968) enlarges this definition by including "a belief or value". He regards an opinion as "a possible expression of a belief or value as well as an attitude", and "a possible manifestation of an attitude of altogether different content" (p. 125). Hence, we may assume that the relationship between political attitude and political opinion is that the verbally expressed opinion towards political objects appears to be one manifestation of an underlying attitude about political objects. For example, one may be asked whether President Nixon should resign as a result of the scandal of the "Watergate Affair". He may say "yes". And such expression may be the manifestation of his underlying attitude towards the principle of "rule of law" or just that he thinks Nixon's resignation is necessary to maintain "national solidarity" in the United States. That is to say one can have an attitude to the "rule of law" or one

can have an attitude to "national solidarity". And this difference can not be traced from the simple expression of opinion--yes or no. Sometimes, a person may be hesitant to speak out what are his real beliefs or attitudes. This may cause inconsistency between his opinion expressed and his real underlying attitude. These two concepts are often used loosely because the distinctions have not always been well drawn. However, the distinctions should be clearly maintained between the very complex concept "attitude" and the simpler concept "opinion", which is a verbal statement (unless it is unexpressed), from which an attitude may be inferred. Besides, "opinion" is simpler also because it can be mainly cognitive without necessarily having the additional affective or action-tendency of attitude (Sherif, & Sherif, 1969).

Political Attitude and Socialisation

After having reviewed some concepts relating to attitudes, we are able here to give a working definition to the term "political attitude" for further discussion : --

Political attitude is the predisposition which has been organised through experience and is exerting influence on the individual to evaluate political objects or situations in a favourable or unfavourable manner .

It is generally believed that attitudes are acquired (Hollander, 1971). Attitudes may, on the one hand, be assumed to be psychological representations in the individual of the influence of society. Hence, they are "inseparable from the social context which produces, sustains, and elicits them under appropriate circumstances". Attitudes, on the other hand, also retain "the flavour of unique individual experience" as well (Ibid.). Attitudes, then, are here related to the learning process of the indi-

vidual -- "socialisation".

According to Zigler and Child (1973), socialisation is "a broad term for the whole process by which an individual develops, through transactions with other people, his specific patterns of socially relevant behaviour and experience". As "politics" is also regarded as "a consequence of socialisation" (Hyman, 1959), some account of political socialisation seem to be a prerequisite to understanding the formation of political attitudes.

The term "political socialisation" is well defined by Rush & Althoff. They refer to "the process by which an individual becomes acquainted with the political system and which determines his perceptions of politics and his reactions to political phenomena" (Rush, & Althoff, 1971). By this process political attitudes are "inculcated as children become adults and as adults are recruited into roles" (Almond, & Powell, 1966).

During the last two decades, the study of political socialisation by sociologists, political scientists and social psychologists has been becoming popular. Many articles written by different authors viewing from different fields have enriched the content of this actually interdisciplinary subject. Among them, Hyman is one of the most important pioneers. His earlier work "Political Socialisation: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behaviour" (1959) is still a useful reference.

Levin (1961) has assessed the extent to which the political climates of opinion in the various social sub-systems of which the adolescent is a member contribute to his political socialisation and his choice of a political party. He reveals that the nuclear family, the high school community, and the larger society each play a part in influencing the adolescent's choice of political party.

Hess and Torney (1967) suggest four models which may be used in describing in different ways the acquisition, change, and stabilising of political attitudes. These are:

(1) The accumulation model--It assumes that the acquisition of political role expectation proceeds by the addition of knowledge, information, attitudes, and activities. But there is not necessarily ^{any} logical connection between the attitudes and information acquired.

(2) The interpersonal transfer model--This assumes that the child approaches explicit political socialisation by means of his experience in interpersonal relationships and gratification.

(3) The identification model--This model emphasises that the child forms his attitudes by imitation of the behaviour of some significant persons (usually parents or teachers) when the adult has not attempted to advise the child of his viewpoint.

(4) The cognitive-developmental model--This model stresses ^{es} the limitations of the child's capacity for the understanding of political phenomena, thus his conceptions need to be modified by his growing cognitive structure.

Gallatin and Adelson (1971), after confirming that the pre-adolescent youngster is broadly unable to comprehend political principles, compare adolescents (11-18 years) in three Western countries--U.S.A., Great Britain, and West Germany, about the conceptualisation of individual freedom. One of their findings is that the British have a tradition of tolerance for speech which is more impressive than that of the United States.

Other topics, within the sphere of political socialisation, are more specifically related to political attitudes. The following are some interesting examples:

Froman (1962) tends to have a multi-step solution for the problems of political socialisation, i.e. how do chil-

dren learn political attitudes and behaviours. He sets down several hypotheses, among them the final one that, as children increase in age, attitudes about political figures will increase in intensity, be more resistant to change, and be more likely to result in political behaviour. He claims this hypothesis has been previously supported by Hess and Easton (1960), and by Greenstein (1960). Hess and Easton find that the positive attitude of American children towards the President decreases as grade in school increases. Greenstein reveals that the beliefs about the benevolence of the President decrease as school grade increases. The percentage of school children who could give "reasonably accurate" descriptions of the President's role increases as school grade increases.

Hess and Torney (1967), in addition to establishing the four "models" mentioned above, have also attempted to answer a series of questions, namely:

(1) What is the content of attitudes which children develop during the primary school years?

(2) From which sources or agents are political attitudes and behaviour acquired and what experiences influence this process?

(3) What is the pattern (rate and sequence) of change and growth in attitudes and through what processes are they acquired?

As mentioned above, the previous studies of political socialisation have been largely confined to childhood life. But even those who like to emphasise early experience as an important factor of political socialisation also tend to agree that the political attitudes of young children are fragmented and vague due to their limited knowledge about political phenomena.

Lisager (1949) finds more than half (55%) of his Danish subjects had formed their political attitudes between the ages of 15-18. Still, nearly a quarter (24%) did not do so

Until they were nineteen years of age or over.

It has been generally agreed that the political attitudes of children become increasingly consistent as they get older. The knowledge and attitudes they acquired during childhood will be reinforced, undermined or modified by their later experiences. Therefore, as Rush and Althoff (1971) point out, the change from adolescent to adult life marks another important stage in political socialisation. The present study which, as its title suggests, is concerned with the political attitudes of young adults, will try hopefully to understand some aspects of this change.

CHAPTER 2 : THE DEVELOPMENT OF HYPOTHESES AND DESIGN OF INVESTIGATION

(A) The Development of Hypotheses

As was mentioned in the first chapter, the aim of this study is a comparison of differences and also similarities in political attitudes between Scottish students in Glasgow and Chinese students in Taipei. Most previous cross-cultural work had looked mainly for differences. But, as Chien-Hou Hwang points out, similarities may also exist and are to be expected in view of the impacts of mass media and other forms of communications. Chinese students in Taiwan, for instance, have become increasingly interested in Western ideas. The fact that about two thousand university or college graduates go abroad to make further study every year may serve as evidence.

This study began in session 1972-73. The first year was spent in building up, apart from other research requirements, knowledge of the Scottish culture, e.g. understanding the whole educational system, examining curricula of schools, particularly as regards political education, reviewing literature of cross-cultural work, and gaining practice with psychological techniques such as Kelly's repertory Grid, Osgood's Semantic Differential, Guttman's Scales, Wilson's Conservatism Scale, etc., which seemed possibilities for testing hypotheses of differences between students of the two cultures.

Consideration was also given to the stereotype, which might have some truth in it, that both Chinese and Scottish people are conservative, and to the association of this with dogmatism (Direnzo, 1968; Kietley and Harkness, 1969). Earle (1969), however, found that the mean Dogmatism Score of Chinese students at the University of Hong Kong was significantly higher than that of Scottish students at the University of Aberdeen.

Nevertheless, for the convenience of conducting this study, the hypotheses presented here still emphasise the dimension of the groups' differences though, as Hwang's experience showed, certain similarities may emerge from the final results.

Introduction to Hypothesis I

Britain has been generally regarded as one of the original countries where modern concepts of democracy (referring to political and other social systems as well) developed. It seems to be true that the British people have long inherited and experienced deeper beliefs and more practice in democracy than Chinese people who have been ruled under authoritarian monarchy for several thousand years. Thus, until 1912 when the first Republic was established, the great majority of Chinese people were unaware of what democracy means and how it should be operated. However, recently, particularly for the last two decades, the Chinese people living in Taiwan have been getting acquaintance with democratic ways of life. In fact, to some extent, they are indoctrinated with the concepts and values of the democratic system as their continuing confrontation with Communists requires democratic ideology to be their political weapon. But in view of the relative lack of training (whether within family, school, or engaging in other social activities) in addition to the deep-rooted authoritarian personality (Singh et al., 1962; Li, & Yang, 1972), the different meanings of democracy, and the different political situations within each country, may all result in attitudinal differences towards the concept and reality of democracy. Hence, it is assumed that the two groups' attitudes towards political objects in terms of systems, practices, or political leaders will be different.

Hypothesis I

Thus, hypothesis I is that the two groups' attitudes

towards political systems, political leaders, and political practices will be different, as a result of different socialisation influences, but not completely different because of the impact of Western ideas on the Chinese group.

Introduction to Hypothesis II

A finding revealed by Chien-Hou Hwang in his recent study of social attitudes indicated that the Scottish adolescents "give greater emphasis to independence and individual freedom with little concern for the social order and respect for authority, whereas the Chinese pupils tend to pay more attention to self control and discipline, with greater preference for the regularity and order of society" (Hwang, 1973, p.192). To make it clear, this author is to present two examples: Firstly, "Strikes" while they have been frequently resorted to in Britain as a necessary bargaining power to cope with industrial disputes, they have been discredited and even declared illegal in Taiwan and some other Chinese societies. The Chinese claim that strikes can only increase the conflicts between employers and employees and thus damage the order of the society as a whole. To solve this kind of industrial problem, most Chinese people would prefer to have the government's intervention to bring both sides together and request them to restrain and sacrifice the 'little self' (individual interest) in order to fulfil the 'big self' (national interest). Surprisingly, this formula has been proved a workable guideline in almost every case. Another instance, in party politics, while Britain's minorities in the House of Commons are referred to as the "Opposition Party", the two minor parties * in Nationalist China's legislative body have been called 'Friendly Parties' by the ruling KMT Party. The latter usually retains 'co-operation' in making policies from these minor parties which

* There are three parties active in Taiwan, Republic of China: The ruling Nationalist Party (Kuomintang or briefly KMT), China Democratic Socialist Party, and China Youth Party.

should be in "Opposition" according to custom in Western Democracies.

Hypothesis II

Deriving from the above viewpoints, our second hypothesis is that the political attitudes of Scottish students will reflect their interest in the rights of individuals above all as against the common interest emphasised on the part of Chinese students.

Introduction to Hypothesis III

It is generally believed that the principal determinants of political attitudes include: (1) the family; (2) the schools and other educational institutions; (3) peer groups; (4) the mass media; and (5) political climates and practices (Morrison & McIntyre, 1971; Ball, 1971). In the present study, the author would try to examine which agent is more important in shaping the students' political attitudes. In particular, the author believes that the influences of teachers and lecturers on the two groups may vary in degrees as a result of the two countries' different educational systems (e.g. the intensity of political education in Chinese schools) and general climate in school and university. It seems to the author that the Scottish teachers maintain more intimate relationship between them and their children than do the Chinese teachers. But the latter may enjoy more respect (at least formally) from their children, and exert more influence on the children beyond school curricula.

Hypothesis III

Thus, the third hypothesis is that the influence of the Chinese teachers and lecturers is relatively more significant in shaping their students' attitudes towards politics than the Scottish teachers and lecturers.

(B) Design Of Investigation

Selection of Subjects

The subjects who took part in this study were Glasgow University Students (including degree students at Jordanhill College of Education) and University Students in Taiwan. They were second or third year students with an age range of 18-23 years except for a few mature students in the Education Courses of both Countries.

The Glasgow (Scotland) Sample

These were chosen from students of Politics, Political Economy, and Accountancy, all at the University of Glasgow, and students of Education at Jordanhill College and at the University of Glasgow. The criteria of choice were:

It was hoped to avoid the danger of asking subjects to rate attitudes towards something in which they are not interested or knowledgeable, i.e. towards which they do not really have an attitude. Glasgow students on the whole are believed to be less active in "student politics" than students in many other universities. For example, the Student Union of Glasgow University is so far the only union of a British university which refused to affiliate itself with the National Union of Students (NUS) which is the headquarters of British "student politics". Besides, less than one-fifth of the students turned out to elect this session's President of the Student Union, and also some faculties such as Medicine and Dentistry had no candidates for Union seats. A student newspaper described this event and said "largely unnoticed by the majority of the student body" due to "traditional lack of interest" (Glasgow University Guardian, Nov. 15, 1973). Under such circumstances, one could not expect that students chosen at random from any department would likely be invited to join this investigation. Therefore, a selection of subjects according to their probable political interest seemed necessary.

The students of Politics were the first choice simply because their academic backgrounds could be assumed to con-

tain some political attitudes, or at least some interest in, and knowledge of, the concepts of this research.

In the process of arranging for testing, an unexpected problem arose with the Politics students at Glasgow. The Politics Professors of the large classes said that time could not be spared for their students to answer the questionnaires, even when the battery was reduced to an answering time of 20 minutes. However, by January, 1974, a lecturer was found who was willing to give up the beginning of his lecture hour, for testing a second year class with 30 students present. In order to match the number of Taiwan subjects, a class of second year Political Economy students was tested as an alternative to more Politics students. Taking into account the similarity of their interests in public affairs, the author decided to regard all subjects of Politics and Political Economy as a single unit in comparing with Taiwan's Politics students.

B.Acc.(Accountancy) students were chosen for similar reasons, on the view that they might care about the economic aspect of different kinds of governments, and would be interested in law and order under different regimes. They were taking their degrees in the Faculty of Law which also made them comparable with an Accountancy group in Taiwan, where the department of Accountancy is also affiliated with the Faculty of Law. The third year B.Acc. students were tested in mid-term when they were attending a course of Psychology. This might ensure that they would be interested in responding to psychological tests concerning their attitudes.

Education students were chosen for two reasons: Firstly, this author believed in the importance of school teachers in fostering or maintaining particular political attitudes. Actually, the third hypothesis refers to the school teacher as an agent in shaping student's political attitudes. Secondly, the fact that this author himself had an easy access to Education subjects in Taiwan also contributed to this

choice. Two kinds of Education students were tested: those taking the B.Ed. degree at Jordanhill College of Education, where teaching practice was concurrent with college studies, and undergraduates attending Glasgow University who were taking Education as one of the subjects for their Arts degree. Combⁱⁿg these two seemed to be comparable to the Taiwan situation where students were taking their B.Ed. as at Jordanhill, Glasgow, but were attending the University. The B.Ed. degree at Glasgow is also a university degree, but most of the teaching is given at the College, and so it seemed desirable to include a sample of Arts degree students who had chosen Education as one of their courses at the University, which they were attending daily, like the Taiwan students.

The Taipei (Taiwan) Sample

For each of the above groups it was necessary to have a similar comparison group in Taipei, Taiwan.

In that country, the Politics subjects were second year students at the National Taiwan University where they were working for the B.A. degree in the Faculty of Law.

The B.Ed. (Education) subjects were second year students at the National Normal University where they were concurrently receiving teacher training and taking degree courses as well.

The B.Acc.(Accountancy) subjects were second year students at the National Cheng-Chi University.

All campuses of these three Universities are within the administrative district of Taipei city. The National Taiwan University is the oldest and most famous higher institution in Taiwan. It has six Faculties -- Arts, Science, Law, Medi-

cine, Engineering, and Agriculture. The total numbers of undergraduate and postgraduate students as a whole are about 11,000 (1972-73). The National Normal University is mainly a training institution for those who are interested in teaching at secondary schools. It has three Faculties -- Education, Arts, and Science, with student numbers about 6,000. The National Cheng-Chi University was formally established in the Chinese Mainland. After Communists took over there, a new campus was built in Taipei in 1953. This University has been producing a significant number of civil officials. Many of them are now occupying important government positions. It consists of three Faculties -- Arts and Science, Law, and Commerce, with 5,500 students.

Comparing with the University of Glasgow, all Taiwan's universities are indeed "newborn babies" (where the oldest is only 50 years of age). Glasgow University was founded in 1451 and is the fourth oldest (second in Scotland) in the United Kingdom. It has been the home of Adam Smith and other distinguished eighteenth-century thinkers. The University has seven Faculties: Arts, Divinity, Law, Medicine, Science, Engineering, and Veterinary Medicine, with student numbers about 10,000.

Sampling

All students available in each of the chosen classes were tested, so that there would not be the problem of random selection. The data from Education, Politics with Political Economy, and Accountancy students were kept separately because of comparisons that might be important between the different kinds of students within the same country as well as between the two countries.

In each country, in the above-mentioned classes all students present at lectures were tested. The Arts students

of Education at Glasgow University combined with B.Ed. Students at Jordanhill College of Education were regarded as a group unit of Education, just as the Politics and Political Economy Students were regarded as one group.

The Scottish subjects were tested before and after the Christmas Vacation (Mid-December, 1973 to Mid-February, 1974), while the data from Chinese group were collected exclusively in December, 1973. The extension of dates to February in Glasgow was due to the difficulty mentioned before of getting permission to test Politics Students.

The author handled the actual testing sessions in Glasgow, and was helped either by his supervisor or the lecturer who was to give his lecture to the class before or after the test. My wife, who was teaching in the Department of Education, The National Normal University, Taipei, conducted the testing in Taipei under the supervision of Dr. Chien-Hou Hwang who had recently completed a three-year period of research in the Department of Psychology, University of Glasgow, and is an experienced user of psychological tests. All questionnaires collected in Taipei were posted by air mail to this author immediately after the testing finished. The composition of the comparative groups of Glasgow and Taipei students is given below:

Table 2-1: The Degree Course and Sex Distribution of Students Tested in the Present Study

Course	Scottish Subjects			Chinese Subjects		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Education	15(J) 8(G) 23	11(J) 27(G) 38	61	28	31	59
Politics/ Political Economy	16(P) 29(E) 45	14(P) 5(E) 19	64	27(P)	28(P)	55
Accountancy	34	5	39	28	7	35
Total	102	62	164	83	66	149

Note: G=Glasgow University
J=Jordanhill College of Education
P=Politics
E=Political Economy

Choice of Test

In examining a number of instruments as to their possible applicability to this study, three requirements were fixed as basic criteria:

(1) The instruments should be psychologically equivalent for the two groups. This means that the verbal content of the instrument has to be reasonably clear without being misinterpreted or distorted. A faithful translation should be possible in preparing the questionnaire for non-English speaking subjects. Some measures favoured by this author, for instance, Wilson's Conservatism Scale, had to be discarded because of difficulty in translation (e.g. Chaperons, Straitjackets, and Pyjama Parties).

(2) Suitable for group administration. The expected number of 300 subjects and the inability of this author to conduct the testing session himself outside Britain precluded the adoption of individual tests (e.g. interview). Hence, a selection of group-oriented measurements was necessary. For example, the idea of using Kelly's Repertory Test was given up because of the difficulty of comparing groups when the constructs are derived individually.

(3) Suitable for measuring political attitudes. Some attitudinal measurements may be extensively used by researchers of different disciplines; but it seems that most measurements of attitudes were designed for more specific uses. Besides, few existing measures of political attitudes can be adapted for cross-cultural study. A comprehensive handbook compiled by Robinson et al. (1968) provides a list of instruments for measuring political attitudes (except for the intentional omission of the Semantic Differential Technique in order to avoid overlapping with another bibliographical book edited by Snider & Osgood (1968)). However, this author believed a researcher interested in cross-cultural study could not benefit much from it, because of the above-mentioned specificity, and lack of relevance to cross-cultural study.

Three kinds of instruments were finally adopted. They were the Semantic Differential Technique as used in attitude measurement; a Questionnaire for measuring degree of approval of certain political and government practices, and self-reported ranking of influences on the development of political attitudes.

1. The Semantic Differential Technique

As a way of stimulating the respondents to express their attitudes unconsciously, the Semantic Differential Technique has been widely used since Osgood et al. developed it two decades ago. Apart from its validity confirmed by innumerable researchers, its advantages also rest on the convenience in administration and the freedom which allows the researcher to choose the concepts and scales suitable to his specific purpose.

The application of the Semantic Differential in cross-cultural studies has been one of its best merits. Heise (1969) has pointed out that "there is probably no social psychological principle that has received such resounding cross-group and cross-cultural verification as the EPA (Evaluative, Potency, and Activity) structure of Semantic Differential ratings" (p.412).

Although this technique has now been adopted widely in the study of attitudes (e.g. Kumata and Schramm, 1969; Weksel and Hennes, 1965; Schuh and Quesada, 1963; and Hwang, 1973), yet, it seems that relatively few efforts have been made to use it in the study of political attitudes. One of the reasons may be that such work requires an interdisciplinary approach and not so many researchers, whether they are political scientists or social psychologists, would consider they are qualified to do it. Nevertheless, the original literature of the Semantic Differential has itself contributed to establishing a model for studying political

attitudes with the technique. Osgood et al. (1957) have analysed American voters' attitudes in the 1952 Presidential Election. Three groups of voters (Stevenson voters, Eisenhower Republican, and Taft Republicans) were asked to judge some political, attitudinal concepts. these included:

(i) Person Concepts: Robert Taft, Adlai Stevenson, Winston Churchill, General MacArthur, Estes Kefauver, Joseph Stalin, Harry Truman, General Eisenhower, Franklin Roosevelt, and Senator McCarthy.

(ii) Issue Concepts: University Military Training, U.S. Policy in China, Federal Spending, Socialism, Government Employees, Government Price Controls, European Aid, Labour Unionism, Use of Atomic Bomb, and United Nations.

The concepts were judged against a 10-scale differential, i.e., wise-foolish, dirty-clean, fair-unfair, safe-dangerous, strong-weak, deep-shallow, active-passive, cool-warm, relaxed-tense, and idealistic-realistic.

By matching the profiles of the undecided voters with profiles of Stevenson and Eisenhower Supporters, Osgood et al. were able to predict how 18 out of 19 undecided individuals actually voted in the Election.

A similar procedure was taken by Striker (1963) who successfully predicted the voting behaviour for 90 per cent of his samples at the time of the 1960 Presidential Election.

Later, Rosenbaum and McGinnies (1969) also reported they had applied the Semantic Differential, employing six politically relevant concepts and eleven rating scales, to administer to Johnson supporters, Goldwater supporters, and non-partisan students before and after the 1964 American Presidential Election. They found that this technique was

"an effective procedure for the indirect measurement of attitudes in situations where a direct approach through attitude scales might be inadvisable"(p.234).

In the present study, thirty concepts including ten names of leaders were used in a pilot trial,--namely: Reading Newspapers, Most Teachers, Compromise, National Anthem, My Role in the Family, Law and Order, Use of Violence, Political Neutrality, Policemen, Utopia, Patriotism, Meeting, Political Moralism, Individual Freedom, My School's History Curriculum, Bribery, Political Opportunism, Minority Opinions, My Friends, T.V./Radio News, Abraham Lincoln, Julius Caesar, Richard Nixon, Allende, Pope Paul VI, Joseph Stalin, Adolf Hitler, Franklin Roosevelt, Nehru, John Kennedy.

The above choice was made after having considered the following prerequisites:

- (i) Concepts must be equally known to both Scottish and Chinese.
- (ii) Avoiding those which might be misleading due to patriotic bias, e.g. if a leader were included of either of the countries being compared.

However, the adopting of two other instruments made it possible to reduce the numbers of concepts in the Semantic Differential, for the following considerations: subjects' greater familiarity with some political figures rather than others, and the time available for conducting and analysing its results, which made it desirable to use a smaller number of political figures. Thus, the author has employed only five concepts in the final form of the Semantic Differential. Nine bi-polar scales were decided upon being those which Osgood had found in factorial studies to hold most widely in cross-cultural studies, since in the scope of this study it was not possible to spend time on carrying out an independent factorial study.

The five concepts to be rated in the Semantic Differential in the main study were:

My Ideal Political Leader
 Totalitarianism
 Democracy
 Joseph Stalin
 John Kennedy.

The reasons for choosing Stalin and Kennedy were that these leaders were neither Chinese nor Scottish, and so attitudes towards what these men symbolised would not be confused by feelings of patriotism. Secondly, these leaders might be supposed to reflect or represent certain values of other two concepts, Totalitarianism and Democracy, as would the concept "My Ideal Political Leader", and so give reinforcing data for a meaningful answer in spite of the small number of concepts. Thus the Semantic Differential was the part of the battery which was expected to contribute information for hypothesis I, namely, that the two groups' attitudes towards political systems or political leaders would be different. The remaining part of this hypothesis, namely, that the difference would be due to each country's different process of political socialisation, required a separate method of study, to be described later (p.29).

The bi-polar scales used were:

Evaluative: Fair-Unfair
 Useful-Useless
 Important-Unimportant
 Good-Bad
 Honest-Dishonest

Potency : Strong-Weak
 Severe-Lenient

Activity : Active-Passive
 Fast-Slow

As will be seen, it was decided, as against common practice, to group the Evaluative, Potency and Activity

scales together. This was to aid speed of analysis, with time being short. Also, the custom of alternating the positive and negative poles of the adjective pairs was avoided, because experience had shown that the greater danger of the experimenter becoming confused in the computation of results outweighs the tendency of "set" in biasing responses. Besides, if positional set is maintained by some individuals unthinkingly, the results are more invalid by alternating the positions of positive and negative, since they may produce in a careless subject the opposite result from that which he intended.

2. Questionnaire for Measuring Degree of Approval of Certain Political and Governmental Practices

Certain of the pilot study's concepts not included in the final version of the Semantic Differential were presented in the form of a three-point scale for measuring the degree of approval or disapproval of some political and Governmental practices. The items of the questionnaire were: (see Appendix P.151 for form as presented to the students)

1. Dismissing members of government departments who are not strictly moral in their private lives.
2. Dismissing anyone connected with political life who gives or receives bribes.
3. Taking serious account of minority opinions in coming to a government decision.
4. Utopian ideas in the aims of government.
5. Singing one's national anthem in international situations such as the Olympic games.
6. The right to strike for better working conditions.
7. State control of industry.
8. Promoting international cooperation by means of inter-government organisations such as the United Nations.

It was hoped that items 1 and 2 could trace out the subject's attitudes towards political morality;

Item 3 might reflect the degree of respondent's belief in democratic principles;

Item 4 refers to the belief in the dimensions of idealism/realism in governing;

Item 5 and 8 help to distinguish the attitudes between nationalism and internationalism;

Item 6 makes clear the attitudes towards the concept of civic obedience which might reveal the subject's preference -- for individual interest or national interest?

Item 7 reflects attitudes towards one of the main principles of Socialism.

Evidence gathered from this questionnaire was intended to test hypothesis II which stated "the political attitudes of Scottish students will reflect their relative emphasis on the rights of individuals as against the common interest emphasised by Chinese students". Among the above items, 3 and 6 were in particular designed to test this hypothesis.

3. Self Check-list of Developmental Influences on Political Attitudes

The third instrument of the battery was a check list of 25 possible influences on the development of political attitudes, for which subjects were asked to tick five which they considered had influenced their attitudes, and to number these in order of importance. This part of the battery was expected mainly to contribute to hypothesis III, namely, that the influence of Chinese teachers and lecturers is relatively more important in shaping students' attitudes towards politics than their Scottish counterparts.

The list was devised to study other possible agents of political socialisation, e.g. the family, the mass media (for

complete list see Appendix p.(53). It is realised that this is a self-report of perceived influences, and it could be argued that influences may be unconscious. Within the necessary practical limitations of this research, however, the self-report method was the only possible one, since it was not possible to contact informants who might have insight into the students' longitudinal development, or to interview the students in depth for examples of events in their socialisation, as one might do with "the critical incident technique" for instance.

Fourth, students were asked to indicate the approximate age at which they developed an interest in political matters. They were asked to circle the appropriate time from the following choice:

5-11; 12-13; 14-15; 16-17; 18-19; 20 or more; not at all

The above final battery was planned so that it could be completed in twenty minutes at the most, including time for instructions. A longer time than this would have made it even more difficult than it was to get subjects, and it was hoped that the modest aims of this study could be achieved with such a battery.

CHAPTER 3 : CONNOTATIONS OF PARTICULAR POLITICAL CONCEPTS:
RESULTS OF THE SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the first part of the battery included five political concepts (3 Issue Concepts and 2 Person Concepts) which were judged against 9 rating scales of the Semantic Differential. This information coming from this device was expected to test the first hypothesis which was that the two groups are different from each other in their attitudes towards political systems and political leaders.

The subject's responses on the Semantic Differential were scored from 1 to 7 depending on what position he or she ticked on a scale. Specifically, a response made at the most extreme position on the favourable end of a scale (e.g. fair, strong, active, etc.) was scored 7, while that at the other extreme (e.g. unfair, weak, passive, etc.) was scored 1. If a response was made in the middle/neutral position, then, it received a score of 4.

In order to decide the central tendency of the scores of a group on a scale, the mean values were calculated in accordance with most of the previous studies on the Semantic Differential Technique (Osgood and Suci, 1955; Jenkins, 1958; Tanaka and Osgood, 1965).

The formula used to test the difference between means for the two groups is as follows:

$$t = \frac{\bar{X}_1 - \bar{X}_2}{\sqrt{\left[\frac{(N_1 - 1)S_1^2 + (N_2 - 1)S_2^2}{N_1 + N_2 - 2} \right] \left(\frac{1}{N_1} + \frac{1}{N_2} \right)}}$$

in which

\bar{X}_1, \bar{X}_2 = the mean of rating for each group,
 S_1^2, S_2^2 = the variance for each group
 $N_1 = 164$ (Scottish Subjects)
 $N_2 = 149$ (Chinese Subjects)

The following tables and figures (profiles) give the mean values of each concept for the two groups. The convention has been adopted of giving each table and the figure number of the chapter, thus, table 3-1 refers to the first table of chapter 3.

Table 3-1: Mean Rating by Scottish and Chinese Students of the Concept "My Ideal Political Leader"

Scale *	\bar{X}	Scottish S^2	\bar{X}	Chinese S^2	t	p
Fair-Unfair	6.49	0.932	6.59	0.624	0.995	N.S.
Useful-Useless	6.40	0.670	6.73	0.384	4.000	0.001
Important-Unimportant	5.40	1.783	6.39	0.896	7.506	0.001
Good-Bad	5.95	1.251	6.51	0.693	4.583	0.001
Honest-Dishonest	6.40	1.015	6.27	1.335	1.065	N.S.
Strong-weak	5.91	1.536	6.39	0.801	3.893	0.001
Severe-Lenient	4.62	1.505	4.16	3.741	2.536	0.05
Active-Passive	6.37	0.680	6.35	1.019	0.193	N.S.
Fast-Slow	5.19	1.258	6.26	0.922	9.014	0.001

Table 3-1 shows that the ideal political leader in the minds of the students of both groups appears to be equally very fair, very honest, and very active. While both groups prefer their ideal political leader to be only moderately severe, this is especially the general attitude among the Chinese students. Besides, the group differences in five other scales are significant. The ideal political leader viewed by the Chinese students seems to be more useful, more important, in any event very good, stronger, and faster than he is viewed by the Scottish students. The difference in attitudes between the two groups is also depicted in profile in Figure 3-1.

* The five scales in the first column are, as a whole, called the Evaluation Dimension. The scales in the second and third column are called the Potency Dimension and the Activity Dimension respectively.

Figure 3-1: Profile of Mean Ratings of "My Ideal Political Leader"

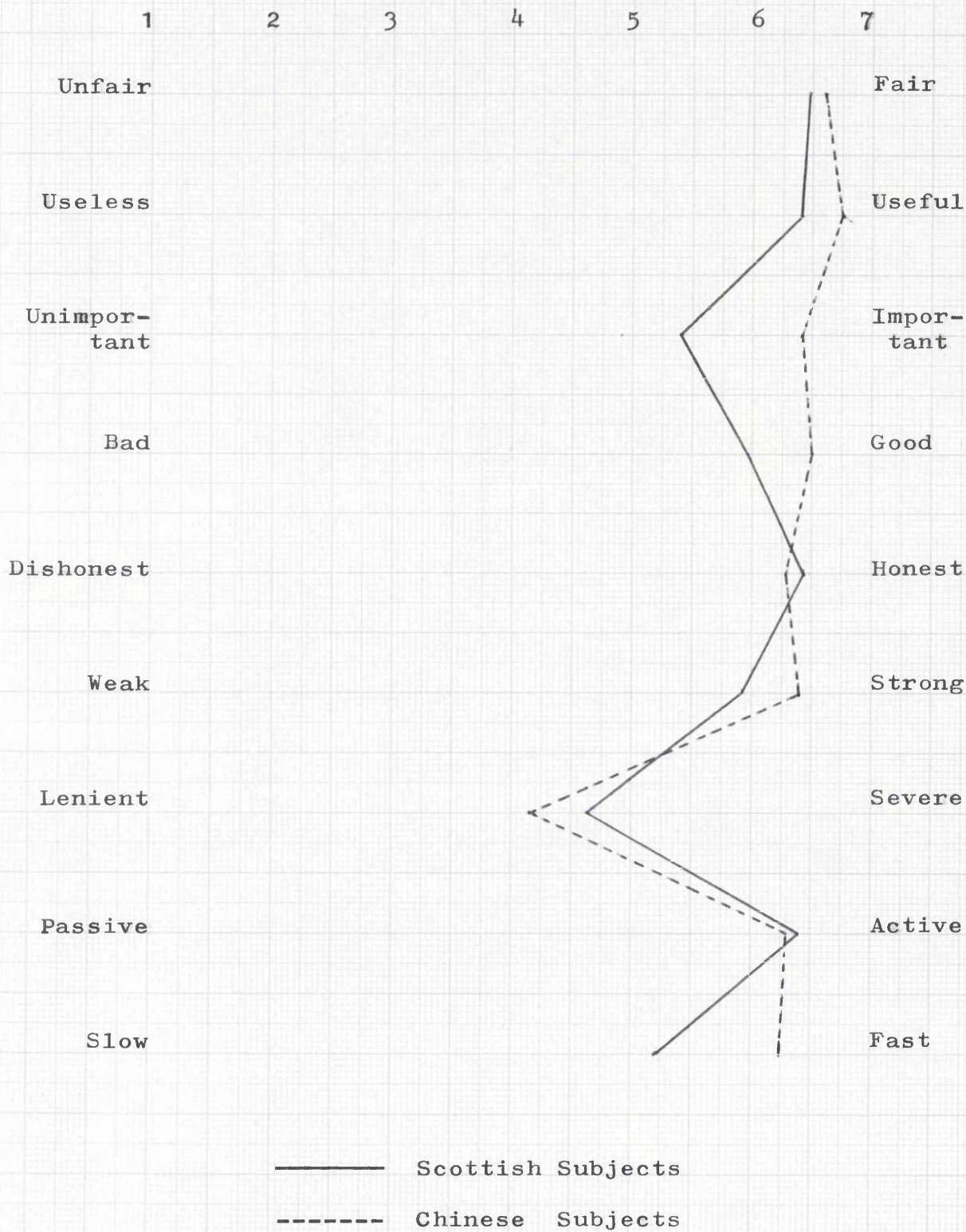


Table 3-2; Mean Rating by Scottish and Chinese Students of the Concept "Totalitarianism"

Scale	Scottish		Chinese		t	p
	\bar{X}	S^2	\bar{X}	S^2		
Fair-Unfair	2.47	2.859	2.09	1.395	2.284	0.05
Useful-Useless	4.02	2.768	4.36	2.500	1.850	N.S.
Important-Unimportant	4.51	2.335	3.54	2.047	5.788	0.001
Good-Bad	2.65	1.655	2.84	1.876	1.256	N.S.
Honest-Dishonest	3.34	2.087	2.68	1.816	4.645	0.001
Strong-Weak	5.44	2.490	4.93	2.573	2.833	0.01
Severe-Lenient	5.97	1.859	6.33	0.839	2.713	0.01
Active-Passive	5.44	1.919	4.03	5.650	6.483	0.001
Fast-Slow	4.68	2.633	5.54	2.168	4.900	0.001

Table 3-2 shows that neither group rated "Totalitarianism" favourably. Both groups tended to see totalitarianism as a "bad" system, though it might not be completely "useless". Apart from these, differences in other scales between the two groups are significant. The Scottish students felt this system to be less unfair, more important, less dishonest, stronger, more active than did the Chinese. The latter, instead, regarded it as a very severe and quite fast system. In general, the attitudes of Chinese students towards totalitarianism are even more negative than those of Scottish students.

Figure 3-2: Profile of Mean Ratings of
"Totalitarianism"

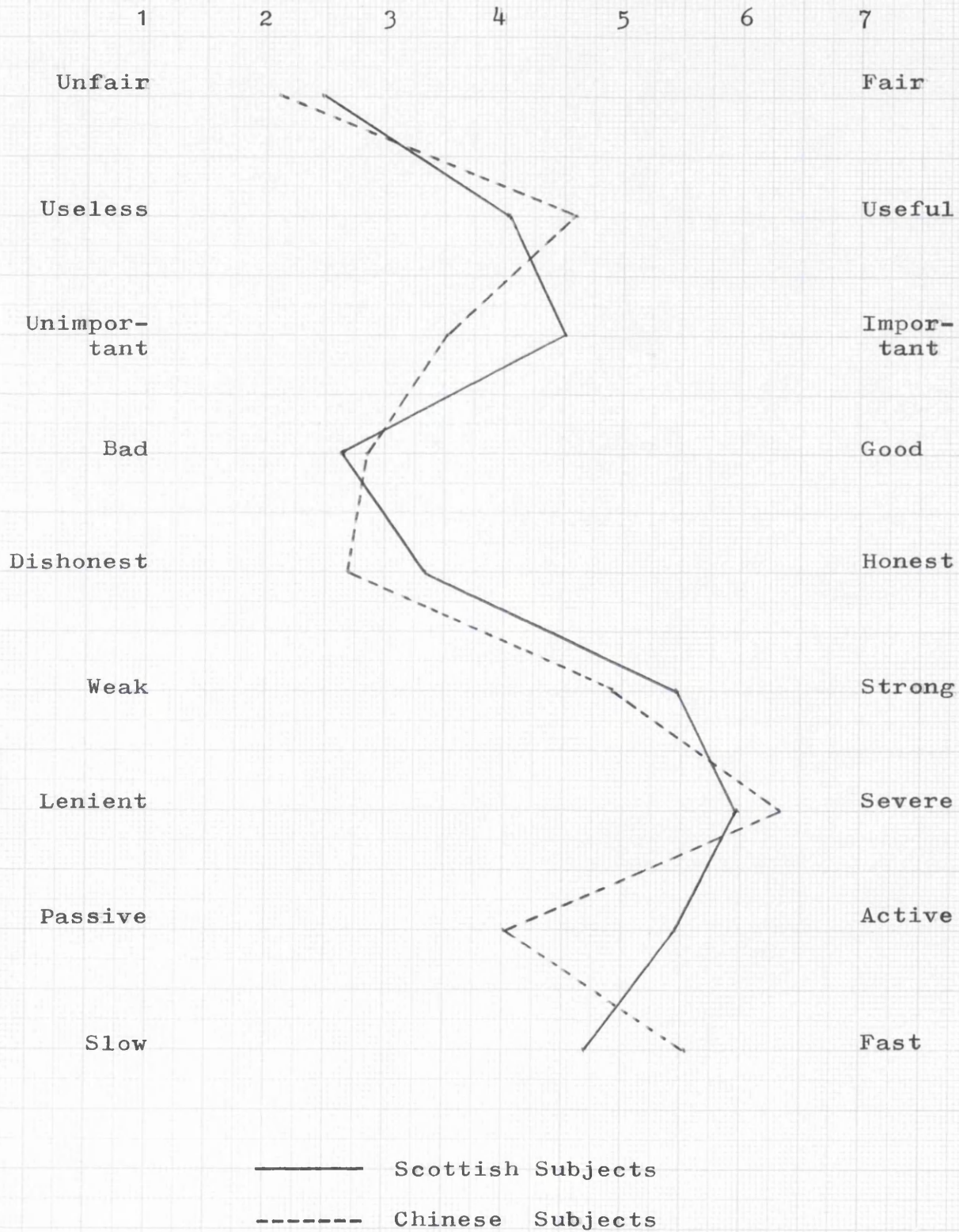


Table 3-3: Mean Rating by Scottish and Chinese Students of
The Concept "Democracy"

Scale	Scottish		Chinese		t	p
	\bar{X}	S^2	\bar{X}	S^2		
Fair-Unfair	5.92	1.559	5.63	1.615	2.035	0.05
Useful-Useless	5.78	1.567	5.76	1.015	0.155	N.S.
Important- Unimportant	6.07	1.218	6.28	0.847	1.821	N.S.
Good-Bad	5.77	1.373	5.92	0.987	1.217	N.S.
Honest-Dishonest	5.24	1.371	5.72	2.186	3.200	0.01
Strong-Weak	4.61	2.140	4.82	2.382	1.235	N.S.
Severe-Lenient	3.63	1.567	2.84	1.852	5.352	0.001
Active-Passive	4.80	2.627	4.96	3.112	0.836	N.S.
Fast-Slow	3.89	1.842	3.66	2.840	1.735	N.S.

Table 3-3 suggests that the attitudes of the Scottish and Chinese students towards "Democracy" are quite similar, as six out of nine scales reveal no significant differences. All five evaluative scales were rated favourable or very favourable by both groups. "Democracy" was equally seen as a useful, very important, good, moderately strong, moderately active, slightly slow system by the two groups. The Scottish students regarded it as more fair than did the Chinese students who, on the other hand, felt it to be more honest than did the Scottish students. In contrast to "Totalitarianism", "Democracy" was regarded by both groups as a less severe system, particularly on the part of the Chinese students. Nevertheless, generally speaking, the attitudes of the two groups towards "Democracy" are quite similar, as can be seen from the profile (Fig. 3).

Figure 3-3: Profile of Mean Ratings of "Democracy"

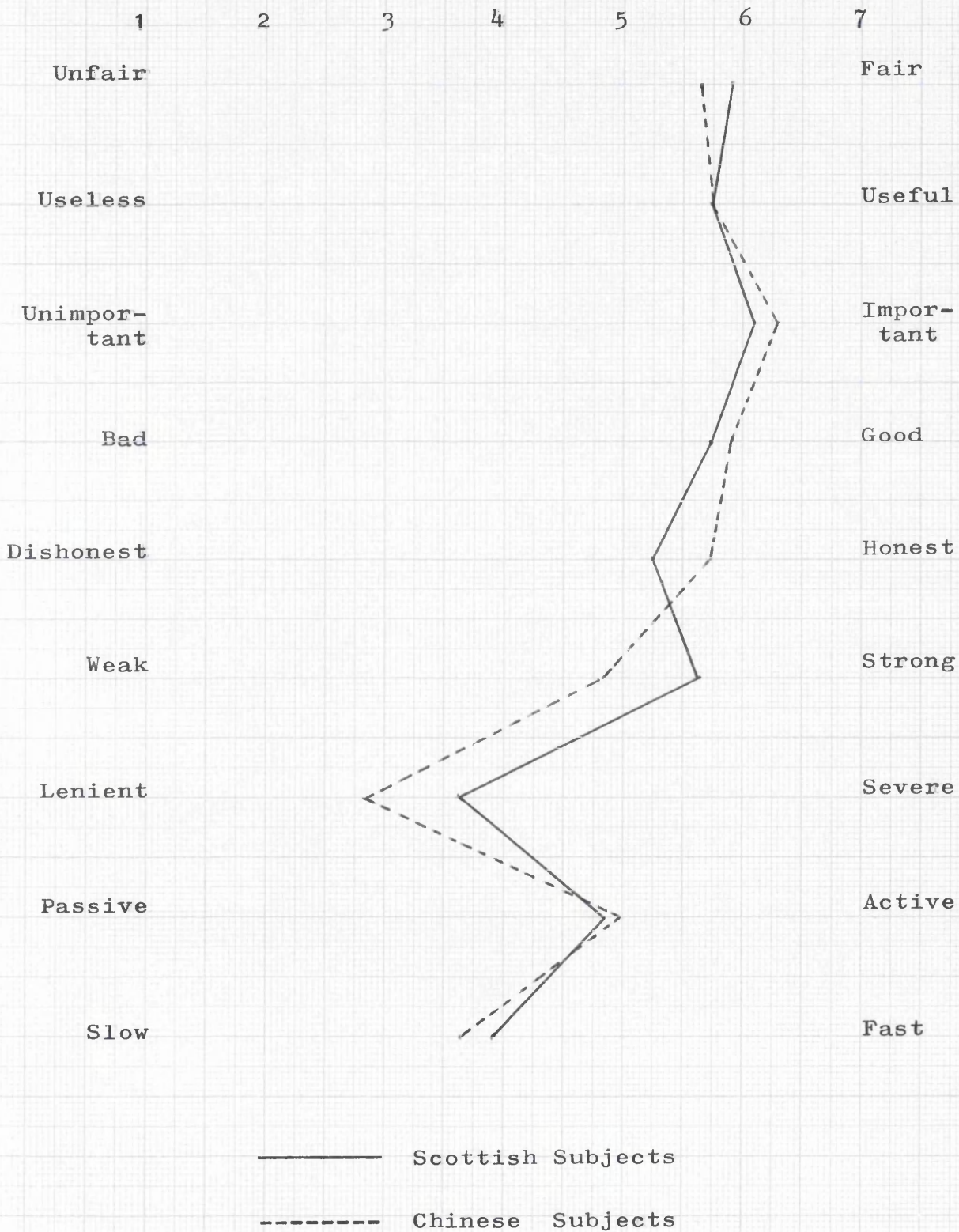
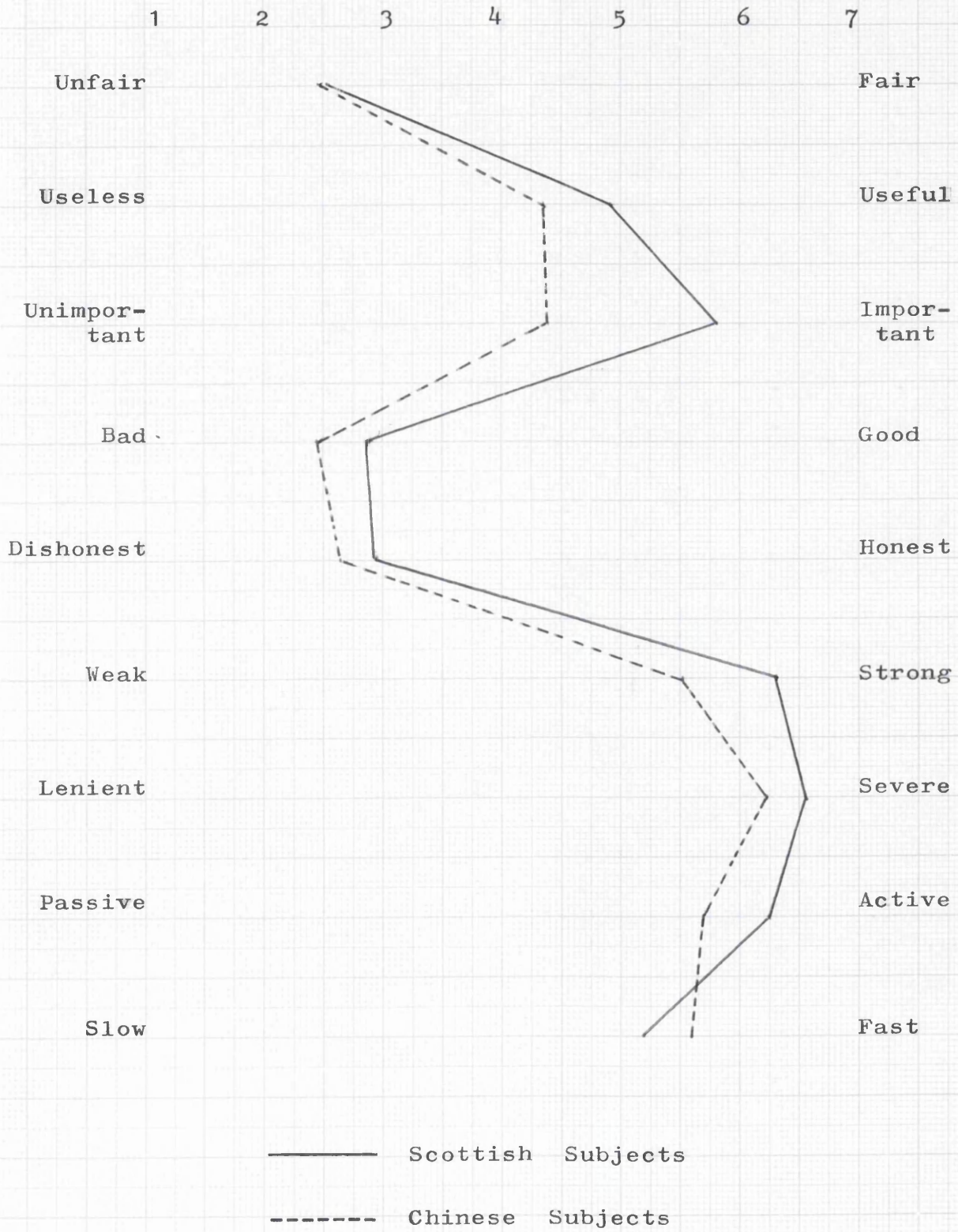


Table 3-4: Mean Rating by Scottish and Chinese Students of the Concept "Joseph Stalin"

Scale	Scottish		Chinese		t	p
	\bar{X}	S ²	\bar{X}	S ²		
Fair-Unfair	2.52	2.5911	2.43	2.648	0.492	N.S.
Useful-Useless	4.87	2.531	4.34	3.028	2.818	0.01
Important-Unimportant	5.80	1.955	4.39	3.030	7.930	0.001
Good-Bad	2.85	2.263	2.48	2.021	2.232	0.05
Honest-Dishonest	2.95	2.537	2.66	1.923	1.712	N.S.
Strong-Weak	6.29	1.253	5.52	2.035	5.340	0.001
Severe-Lenient	6.55	0.540	6.22	1.246	3.119	0.01
Active-Passive	6.25	1.172	5.68	2.272	3.870	0.001
Fast-Slow	5.21	2.117	5.60	1.714	2.487	0.05

When it came to the person concept "Joseph Stalin", the two groups^s seemed to^{be} less congruent in their judgments. Table 3-4 shows that the Chinese tended to rate Stalin on all five evaluative scales comparatively lower than did the Scottish, although the differences in two of these scales were not significant. Both groups saw Stalin as an unfair, bad, dishonest, but moderately useful and moderately (from the viewpoint of the Chinese) or quite (from the viewpoint of the Scottish) important political figure. The Scottish students also tended to rate him as a stronger, more severe, more active, but less fast figure compared with the ratings made by the Chinese. An overall impression in regard to this concept seemed to be that the Chinese students appeared to demean, whether deliberately or unconsciously, the personal character of Stalin and his historical role.

Figure 3-4: Profile of Mean Ratings of "Joseph Stalin"



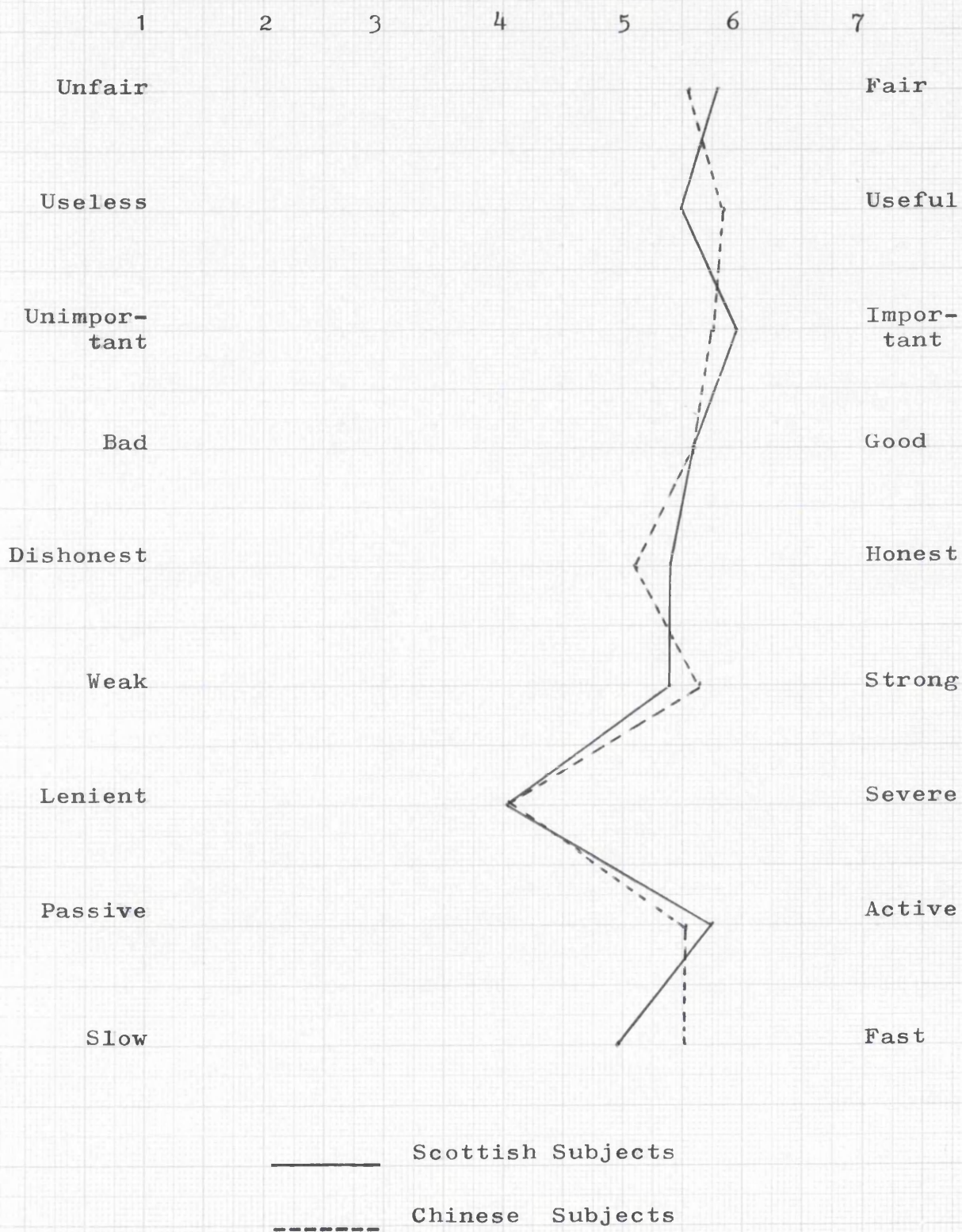
— Scottish Subjects
 - - - Chinese Subjects

Table 3-5: Mean Rating by Scottish and Chinese Students of the Concept "John Kennedy"

Scale	Scottish \bar{X}	Scottish S^2	Chinese \bar{X}	Chinese S^2	t	p
Fair-Unfair	5.79	1.717	5.56	1.023	1.730	N.S.
Useful-Useless	5.49	2.262	5.86	1.101	2.500	0.05
Important- Unimportant	5.95	1.787	5.76	1.133	1.382	N.S.
Good-Bad	5.61	1.762	5.62	1.068	0.008	N.S.
Honest-Dishonest	5.40	1.977	5.09	1.167	2.171	0.05
Strong-Weak	5.37	2.220	5.64	1.479	1.746	N.S.
Severe-Lenient	4.18	1.283	4.14	2.583	0.257	N.S.
Active-Passive	5.73	1.367	5.52	2.048	1.429	N.S.
Fast-Slow	4.94	1.411	5.50	1.834	3.902	0.001

Table 3-5 shows that the two groups' attitudes towards John Kennedy were, in general, equally favourable. Both groups regarded him as a fair, useful, important, and honest political figure. The Chinese students rated him as more useful but less honest than did the Scottish. The Scottish students rated him as only slightly fast, while the Chinese students rated him as fast. Other scales reveal no group difference. Both saw him as strong, neither severe nor lenient, and active. It seems congruent with their rating of the concept "Democracy" that both groups reveal more similarities than differences in their attitudes towards this political leader.

Figure 3-5: Profile of Mean Ratings of "John Kennedy"



After having given the general results of the Semantic Differential, we are able here to go further and to present the separate comparison in relation to the different courses of study. First come the Education students of both countries.

Results of the Rating by Education Students

Table 3-6: Mean Rating by Education Students of the Concept "My Ideal Political Leader"

Scale	Scottish		Chinese		t	p
	\bar{X}	S^2	\bar{X}	S^2		
Fair-Unfair	6.69	0.378	6.76	0.215	0.223	N.S.
Useful-Useless	6.62	0.399	6.73	0.435	0.926	N.S.
Important-Unimportant	5.77	1.458	6.49	0.691	5.367	0.001
Good-Bad	6.21	0.725	6.58	0.549	2.542	0.05
Honest-Dishonest	6.62	0.497	6.22	1.358	2.290	0.05
Strong-Weak	6.10	1.400	6.63	0.437	3.023	0.01
Severe-Lenient	4.75	1.464	4.15	3.926	2.299	0.05
Active-Passive	6.49	0.545	6.31	1.248	1.047	N.S.
Fast-Slow	5.31	0.901	6.02	1.611	3.487	0.001

Table 3-6 shows that "My Ideal Political Leader" for the Education students of both cultures is very fair, very useful, and very active. The Chinese Education students tended to rate higher some other aspects, namely "important", "good", "strong", and "fast", while the Scottish Education students rated rather more highly the traits "honest", and "severe".

Table 3-7: Mean rating by Education Students of the
Concept "Totalitarianism"

Scale	Scottish		Chinese		t	p
	\bar{X}	S^2	\bar{X}	S^2		
Fair-Unfair	2.59	2.930	2.02	1.237	2.161	0.05
Useful-Useless	3.70	1.972	4.20	2.813	1.778	N.S.
Important- Unimportant	4.39	1.884	3.47	1.910	3.668	0.001
Good-Bad	2.62	2.038	2.76	1.603	0.577	N.S.
Honest-Dishonest	3.49	1.921	2.86	1.744	2.554	0.05
Strong-Weak	5.34	3.083	4.80	2.332	1.800	N.S.
Severe-Lenient	5.90	1.630	6.32	0.693	2.133	0.05
Active-Passive	5.54	2.284	3.88	5.562	5.220	0.001
Fast-Slow	5.07	2.488	5.86	1.473	3.076	0.01

Table 3-7 shows that the two groups of Education students are quite similar in their ratings of two of the evaluative scales, namely "useful-useless", and "good-bad". However the Scottish Education students saw Totalitarianism as less unfair, more important and less dishonest than did the Chinese Education students. As regards the potency dimension, both groups of Education students are fairly similar in their ratings on the scale "strong-weak", but the Scottish Education students saw Totalitarianism as less severe than did their Chinese counterparts. In the potency dimension, the Scottish Education Students saw Totalitarianism as more active but less fast than did the Chinese Education students.

Table 3-8: Mean Rating by Education Students of the
Concept "Democracy"

Scale	Scottish		Chinese		t	p
	\bar{X}	S^2	\bar{X}	S^2		
Fair-Unfair	5.82	1.295	5.76	1.232	0.293	N.S.
Useful-Useless	5.93	1.148	5.88	0.952	0.268	N.S.
Important- Unimportant	5.85	1.350	6.34	0.733	2.630	0.05
Good-Bad	5.64	1.090	6.00	0.915	1.974	N.S.
Honest-Dishonest	5.41	1.186	5.22	1.426	0.914	N.S.
Strong-Weak	5.18	1.604	4.75	1.885	1.789	N.S.
Severe-Lenient	4.10	1.689	2.58	1.498	6.607	0.001
Active-Passive	5.38	2.121	4.97	2.982	1.411	N.S.
Fast-Slow	4.38	1.752	3.37	2.369	3.868	0.001

Table 3-8 shows that, as ^{compared} with the previous overall results, attitudes of both Education groups towards Democracy are favourable. Also their ratings on most of the scales (six out of nine) reveal no significant difference. The Chinese Education students saw Democracy as more important, less severe, and slower than did the Scottish Education students. One might be especially interested in the finding that the difference between their ratings on "severe-lenient" scale is remarkably large, i.e. 1.52 points in the seven point scale (significant at the 0.001 level). This seems to suggest some of the two groups' attitudinal differences resulting from their own daily experience. The Chinese students may feel they could enjoy ^amore lenient way of life if their present democratic system was improved. Whereas the Scottish students, living in one of the most developed democratic states, may fairly realise that even in a democratic society there are still some unavoidable limitations on individual freedom.

Table 3-9: Mean Rating by Education Students of the
Concept "Joseph Stalin"

Scale	Scottish		Chinese		t	p
	\bar{X}	S^2	\bar{X}	S^2		
Fair-Unfair	2.77	2.207	2.31	1.805	1.782	N.S.
Useful-Useless	4.92	1.879	4.63	2.471	1.081	N.S.
Important- Unimportant	5.77	1.322	4.54	2.621	4.823	0.001
Good-Bad	3.02	1.483	2.56	1.908	1.942	N.S.
Honest-Dishonest	3.03	1.966	2.64	1.968	1.527	N.S.
Strong-Weak	6.44	0.706	5.53	2.182	4.176	0.001
Severe-Lenient	6.48	0.577	6.27	1.113	1.258	N.S.
Active-Passive	6.31	0.766	6.03	1.660	1.400	N.S.
Fast-Slow	5.54	1.593	5.95	1.167	1.914	N.S.

Table 3-9 shows that no significant difference between the two groups exists in any of the scales except "important-unimportant", and "strong-weak". In both these scales, the Chinese Education students' ratings are lower. Compared with the general result, where the group differences in the two activity scales were both significant, the Chinese Education students' ratings taken by themselves, were higher, and approximately match with the ratings of their Scottish counterparts, and thus the group difference has been significantly reduced. It is interesting that the attitudes of Education students of both countries should be closer than is the case with other students.

Table 3-10: Mean Ratings by Education Students of the
Concept "John Kennedy"

Scale	Scottish		Chinese		t	p
	\bar{X}	S ²	\bar{X}	S ²		
Fair-Unfair	6.23	1.101	5.90	0.803	1.855	N.S.
Useful-Useless	6.03	1.210	6.07	1.085	0.205	N.S.
Important- Unimportant	6.36	0.722	6.10	0.634	1.733	N.S.
Good-Bad	6.11	0.987	5.80	0.806	1.796	N.S.
Honest-Dishonest	5.87	0.984	5.22	1.053	3.538	0.001
Strong-Weak	5.92	1.314	5.97	1.050	0.252	N.S.
Severe-Lenient	4.34	1.472	4.02	3.054	1.174	N.S.
Active-Passive	6.15	0.978	5.69	1.805	2.147	0.05
Fast-Slow	5.21	1.057	5.66	1.885	2.042	0.05

Table 3-10 shows that, though the differences in the two activity scales are significant at the level of 0.05, the two groups of Education students are quite similar in their ratings on all other scales except one of the evaluative scales "honest-dishonest" where the Scottish Education students rated John Kennedy as more honest than did the Chinese Education students. However, despite these minor differences, we still can safely say that the Education students in both countries hold similar, favourable attitudes towards Kennedy.

Results of the Rating by Politics/Political Economy Students

The following are a series of comparisons between Chinese Politics students, and Scottish Politics and Political Economy students as a whole.

Table 3-11: Mean Rating by politics/Political Economy students of the Concept "My Ideal Political Leader"

Scale	Scottish		Chinese		t	p
	\bar{X}	S ²	\bar{X}	S ²		
Fair-Unfair	6.33	1.189	6.53	2.170	0.849	N.S.
Useful-Useless	6.25	0.703	6.78	0.207	4.187	0.001
Important-Unimportant	5.22	1.796	6.25	0.844	4.810	0.001
Good-Bad	5.78	1.345	6.40	0.749	3.260	0.01
Honest-Dishonest	6.30	0.990	6.27	0.817	0.171	N.S.
Strong-Weak	5.84	1.257	6.15	0.997	1.581	N.S.
Severe-Lenient	4.42	1.588	3.78	3.009	2.324	0.05
Active-Passive	6.44	0.586	6.31	0.868	0.836	N.S.
Fast-Slow	5.13	1.266	6.18	0.658	5.753	0.001

Table 3-11 shows that the Chinese Politics students tended to evaluate their "Ideal Political Leader" in a stricter way as compared with their Scottish counterparts. The former rated higher the Ideal Leader's traits "useful", "important", and "good". As regards the potency and activity dimensions, the ideal leader for the Chinese Politics students is rated as slightly lenient and very fast, whereas the Scottish students saw him as moderately severe and fast.

Table 3-12: Mean Rating by Politics/Political Economy Students on the Concept "Totalitarianism"

Scale	Scottish		Chinese		t	p
	\bar{X}	S^2	\bar{X}	S^2		
Fair-Unfair	2.39	2.426	1.95	0.924	1.818	N.S.
Useful-Useless	4.28	2.515	4.49	1.668	0.784	N.S.
Important-Unimportant	4.66	2.351	3.64	1.722	3.864	0.001
Good-Bad	2.55	2.154	2.67	1.275	0.494	N.S.
Honest-Dishonest	3.11	2.254	2.42	1.225	2.814	0.01
Strong-Weak	5.59	1.989	5.22	1.952	0.728	N.S.
Severe-Lenient	6.03	1.655	6.55	0.358	2.646	0.05
Active-Passive	5.53	1.718	4.20	4.706	4.111	0.001
Fast-Slow	4.52	2.249	5.42	1.552	3.526	0.001

Table 3-12 shows that the two groups of Politics/Political Economy students are significantly different in two of the first evaluative scales, as well as three other scales. The Chinese Politics students regarded "Totalitarianism" as slightly unimportant and dishonest, while the Scottish Political Economy and Politics students rated it as moderately important and moderately dishonest. The Chinese also saw it as more severe, faster, but less active than did the Scottish students.

Table 3-13: Mean Rating by Politics/Political Economy
Students of the Concept "Democracy"

Scale	Scottish		Chinese		t	p
	\bar{X}	S^2	\bar{X}	S^2		
Fair-Unfair	5.88	1.828	5.84	0.682	0.191	N.S.
Useful-Useless	5.50	2.375	5.93	0.722	1.835	N.S.
Important- Unimportant	6.25	1.203	6.26	0.917	0.053	N.S.
Good-Bad	5.77	1.713	5.95	0.888	0.848	N.S.
Honest-Dishonest	4.97	1.979	5.22	1.204	1.068	N.S.
Strong-Weak	4.09	2.447	4.84	2.064	2.708	0.01
Severe-Lenient	3.25	1.211	2.82	1.822	1.914	N.S.
Active-Passive	4.34	2.944	5.02	3.145	2.127	0.05
Fast-Slow	3.50	1.938	3.95	2.779	1.605	N.S.

Table 3-13 shows that only two out of nine scales reveal significant differences in the two groups' ratings on "Democracy". None of these is in the evaluative scale. This suggests that the Politics/Political Economy students in both countries evaluate "Democracy" from a similar viewpoint. Equally favourable attitudes towards democracy in each country should be welcomed by those dedicated to democracy as an exceptional encouragement, since they come from the minds of Politics /Political Economy students who in the future may well serve as government's leading officials .

Table 3-14: Mean Rating by Politics/Political Economy
Students of the Concept "Joseph Stalin"

Scale	Scottish		Chinese		t	p
	\bar{X}	S^2	\bar{X}	S^2		
Fair-Unfair	1.97	1.437	2.49	2.105	2.141	0.05
Useful-Useless	4.69	2.840	4.33	3.238	1.126	N.S.
Important- Unimportant	5.70	2.428	4.55	3.121	3.774	0.001
Good-Bad	2.38	1.609	2.29	2.061	0.363	N.S.
Honest-Dishonest	2.59	2.273	2.36	1.493	0.905	N.S.
Strong-Weak	6.17	1.695	5.76	1.344	1.801	N.S.
Severe-Lenient	6.67	0.171	6.36	0.886	2.382	0.05
Active-Passive	6.30	1.453	5.67	1.865	2.673	0.01
Fast-Slow	5.14	2.462	5.51	1.559	1.407	N.S.

While they both saw Joseph Stalin, without many differences, as moderately important, bad, and dishonest, Table 3-14 shows that there are still some significant differences between the two groups' ratings of him. The Scottish Politics/Political Economy students saw him as particularly unfair, more important, more severe and more active than did the Chinese students. Generally speaking, both groups' ratings on this concept match their ratings of "Totalitarianism".

Table 3-15: Mean Rating by Politics/Political Economy
Students of the Concept "John Kennedy"

Scale	Scottish		Chinese		t	p
	\bar{X}	S ²	\bar{X}	S ²		
Fair-Unfair	5.25	2.000	5.38	0.901	0.579	N.S.
Useful-Useless	4.86	2.933	5.82	0.840	3.723	0.001
Important- Unimportant	5.56	2.465	5.58	0.913	0.082	N.S.
Good-Bad	5.02	2.172	5.49	1.123	1.968	N.S.
Honest-Dishonest	4.89	2.485	5.13	1.129	0.957	N.S.
Strong-Weak	4.77	2.367	5.55	1.157	3.155	0.01
Severe-Lenient	3.95	1.003	4.18	2.112	1.017	N.S.
Active-Passive	5.48	1.594	5.69	1.195	0.962	N.S.
Fast-Slow	4.78	1.640	5.62	1.109	3.869	0.001

The rating of ^{the} two groups of Politics/Political Economy students are quite similar. Table 3-15 shows that only one evaluative scale plus two scales of the other dimensions reveal group differences significantly. The Chinese Politics students regarded John Kennedy as more useful, stronger and faster than did the Scottish students. If we compare the rating of both the Chinese and Scottish Politics/Political Economy students on Democracy we find that Democracy is given a higher evaluation than Kennedy, but Kennedy is rated more highly on the dimensions of activity and potency.

Results of the Rating by Accountancy Students

The final course by course comparison is here being made between the Scottish and the Chinese Accountancy students.

Table 3-16: Mean Rating by Accountancy Students of the Concept "My Ideal Political Leader"

Scale	Scottish		Chinese		t	p
	\bar{X}	S^2	\bar{X}	S^2		
Fair-Unfair	6.46	1.069	6.40	1.554	0.226	N.S.
Useful-Useless	6.31	1.255	6.66	0.568	1.558	N.S.
Important-Unimportant	5.10	2.041	6.46	0.991	4.699	0.001
Good-Bad	5.79	1.445	6.57	0.816	3.127	0.01
Honest-Dishonest	6.23	1.767	6.37	2.132	0.489	N.S.
Strong-Weak	5.72	2.203	6.37	0.919	2.209	0.05
Severe-Lenient	4.72	1.331	4.57	4.131	0.396	N.S.
Active-Passive	6.05	0.920	6.51	0.816	2.117	0.05
Fast-Slow	5.10	1.723	6.51	0.420	5.754	0.001

Table 3-16 shows that the two Accountancy groups are significantly different in their ratings of "My Ideal Political Leader" on two evaluative scales, namely "important-unimportant" and "good-bad", and both the activity scales. All these scales which were consistently rated higher by the Chinese students than by the Scottish students seem to reveal that the Chinese maintained a stricter view on some characteristics, e.g. importance and goodness, of their ideal political leader.

Table 3-17: Mean Rating by Accountancy Students of the Concept "Totalitarianism"

Scale	Scottish		Chinese		t	p
	\bar{X}	S^2	\bar{X}	S^2		
Fair-Unfair	2.41	3.426	2.43	2.245	0.051	N.S.
Useful-Useless	4.08	2.635	4.43	3.159	0.885	N.S.
Important-Unimportant	4.46	2.864	3.51	2.764	2.431	0.05
Good-Bad	2.85	3.017	3.26	3.220	0.998	N.S.
Honest-Dishonest	3.46	1.941	2.77	2.691	1.941	N.S.
Strong-Weak	5.33	3.812	4.71	3.764	1.368	N.S.
Severe-Lenient	5.97	2.538	6.03	1.685	0.176	N.S.
Active-Passive	5.13	2.317	4.00	4.343	2.682	0.01
Fast-Slow	4.36	3.095	5.20	3.989	1.924	N.S.

Table 3-17 shows that the ratings of the two groups on "Totalitarianism" are quite similar. They differ only in two scales "Important-Unimportant" and "Active-Passive". The Scottish ratings on these two scales are significantly higher. They saw Totalitarianism as moderately important and active, whereas the Chinese Accountancy students regarded it as moderately unimportant and midway on the active-passive scale, although on the second scale of the activity dimension, (Fast-Slow), the Chinese rated the concept as quite fast. This seems a slight contradiction; however the difference is not statistically significant.

Table 3-18: Mean Rating by Accountancy Students of the
Concept "Democracy"

Scale	Scottish		Chinese		t	p
	\bar{X}	S^2	\bar{X}	S^2		
Fair-Unfair	6.15	1.515	5.09	3.336	2.954	0.01
Useful-Useless	6.00	0.513	5.29	1.605	3.007	0.01
Important- Unimportant	6.10	1.272	6.23	0.919	0.535	N.S.
Good-Bad	6.00	1.333	5.74	1.220	0.987	N.S.
Honest-Dishonest	5.44	1.784	4.51	2.650	2.697	0.01
Strong-Weak	4.56	2.224	4.34	3.483	0.563	N.S.
Severe-Lenient	3.51	1.452	3.31	2.158	0.643	N.S.
Active-Passive	4.64	2.128	4.86	2.477	0.624	N.S.
Fast-Slow	3.77	1.842	3.71	3.461	0.160	N.S.

Table 3-18 shows that, unlike the similarity of the rating by Scottish and Chinese students when students of all courses were combined, the attitudes of the Accountancy students of the two groups towards "Democracy" are significantly different in some of the evaluative scales, namely "fair-unfair", "useful-useless", and "honest-dishonest". On all these scales, the rating given by the Chinese Accountancy students is lower than by the Scottish students. But in the dimensions of Potency and Activity, no significant difference had emerged in any scale.

Table 3-19: Mean Rating by Accountancy Students of the
Concept "Joseph Stalin"

Scale	Scottish		Chinese		t	p
	\bar{X}	S ²	\bar{X}	S ²		
Fair-Unfair	3.03	4.230	2.54	2.020	1.179	N.S.
Useful-Useless	5.08	2.943	3.86	3.265	2.978	0.01
Important- Unimportant	6.00	2.128	3.89	3.244	5.562	0.001
Good-Bad	3.36	3.410	2.63	2.062	1.883	N.S.
Honest-Dishonest	3.41	3.337	3.14	2.237	0.691	N.S.
Strong-Weak	6.26	1.319	5.14	2.246	3.629	0.001
Severe-Lenient	6.49	0.763	5.91	1.908	2.182	0.05
Active-Passive	6.08	1.353	5.09	3.393	2.794	0.01
Fast-Slow	4.79	2.009	5.17	2.504	1.090	N.S.

Table 3-19 shows that the two Accountancy groups are significantly different in their ratings on five scales (including two evaluative scales). The Chinese Accountancy students evaluated Stalin in a more unfavourable manner than did their Scottish counterparts. The former saw him as slightly useless, and slightly unimportant, while the Scottish Accountancy students rated him useful and quite important. The other differences also reveal the Chinese lower rating.

Table 3-20: Mean Rating by Accountancy Students of the
Concept "John Kennedy"

Scale	Scottish		Chinese		t	p
	\bar{X}	S^2	\bar{X}	S^2		
Fair-Unfair	5.97	1.717	5.29	1.176	2.416	0.05
Useful-Useless	5.67	1.607	5.57	1.678	0.335	N.S.
Important- Unimportant	5.92	2.014	5.46	1.508	1.483	N.S.
Good-Bad	5.79	1.291	5.51	1.336	1.050	N.S.
Honest- Dishonest	5.51	1.892	4.80	1.303	2.400	0.05
Strong-Weak	5.49	1.840	5.23	2.317	0.777	N.S.
Severe-Lenient	4.28	1.012	4.29	2.598	0.032	N.S.
Active-Passive	5.49	1.276	4.94	3.368	1.570	N.S.
Fast-Slow	4.77	1.470	5.06	2.854	0.527	N.S.

Table 3-20 shows that, like the previous general result, the two Accountancy groups' attitudes towards John Kennedy are also quite similar. Only two evaluative scales reveal significant differences. The Scottish Accountancy students saw Kennedy as a more fair, more honest figure than did the Chinese students. Unlike the ratings of Stalin, the two Accountancy groups' attitudes towards Kennedy are in general favourable.

In the second chapter, it was mentioned that the Education students were chosen for this study because the author believed in the particular roles of school and university teachers in influencing young people's political attitudes. Hence, in order to make sure whether or not the Education students hold some attitudes different from the other kind of students within their own country, a further comparison is thus made. It should be noted that the intra-group comparison within each country is made only between the students of two courses, Education and Politics, taking into account limitation of space, in balance with that of the earlier part of the chapter, and the fact that these two groups are well matched in terms of numbers. For convenience the term "Politics students" will now be used to mean the combined Politics and Political Economy students (since the latter were tested as the nearest approximation to Politics students available).

Comparison between Scottish Education and Politics students

Table 3-21: Mean Rating by Scottish Education and Politics Students of the Concept "My Ideal Political Leader"

Scale	Education		Politics		t	p
	\bar{X}	S^2	\bar{X}	S^2		
Fair-Unfair	6.69	0.378	6.33	1.189	2.278	0.05
Useful-Useless	6.62	0.399	6.25	0.703	2.761	0.01
Important-Unimportant	5.77	1.458	5.22	1.796	2.412	0.05
Good-Bad	6.21	0.725	5.78	1.345	2.363	0.05
Honest-Dishonest	6.62	0.497	6.30	0.990	2.065	0.05
Strong-Weak	6.10	1.400	5.84	1.257	1.268	N.S.
Severe-Lenient	4.75	1.464	4.42	1.588	1.493	N.S.
Active-Passive	6.49	0.545	6.44	0.586	0.373	N.S.
Fast-Slow	5.31	0.901	5.13	1.266	0.963	N.S.

Table 3-21 shows that the Scottish Education and Politics students are significantly different in their ratings on all five Evaluative scales.. The ratings of Education students are higher than those of Politics students throughout every scale of the three dimensions, though the differences in Potency and Activity scales are not significant. It appears that the Scottish Education students expected more perfection in the traits of their ideal political leader, while the Politics students tended to be more aware of the inability of such performance.

Table 3-22: Mean Rating by Scottish Education and Politics Students of the Concept "Totalitarianism"

Scale	Education		Politics		t	p
	\bar{X}	S ²	\bar{X}	S ²		
Fair-Unfair	2.59	2.930	2.39	2.426	0.683	N.S.
Useful-Useless	3.70	1.972	4.28	2.515	2.164	0.05
Important-Unimportant	4.39	1.884	4.66	2.351	1.034	N.S.
Good-Bad	2.62	2.921	2.55	2.154	0.246	N.S.
Honest-Dishonest	3.49	1.921	3.11	2.254	1.467	N.S.
Strong-Weak	5.34	3.083	5.59	1.898	0.890	N.S.
Severe-Lenient	5.90	1.630	6.03	1.655	0.565	N.S.
Active-Passive	5.54	2.284	5.53	1.718	0.040	N.S.
Fast-Slow	5.07	2.488	4.52	2.249	1.993	0.05

Table 3-22 shows that Education and Politics students in Scotland maintain a very similar political view on "Totalitarianism". Only two scales reveal significant differences at the level of .05. The Education students rated Totalitarianism on the scale "useful-useless" slightly under the average, while the Politics students rated it slightly above the average. In addition, the Education students saw "Totalitarianism" as faster than did their counterparts.

Table 3-23: Mean Rating by Scottish Education and Politics Students on the Concept "Democracy"

Scale	Education		Politics		t	p
	\bar{X}	S ²	\bar{X}	S ²		
Fair-Unfair	5.82	1.295	5.88	1.828	0.268	N.S.
Useful-Useless	5.93	1.148	5.50	2.375	1.799	N.S.
Important- Unimportant	5.85	1.350	6.25	1.203	1.980	0.05
Good-Bad	5.64	1.090	5.27	1.713	1.745	N.S.
Honest-Dishonest	5.41	1.186	4.97	1.979	1.947	N.S.
Strong-Weak	5.18	1.604	4.09	2.447	3.490	0.001
Severe-Lenient	4.10	1.689	3.25	1.211	3.972	0.001
Active-Passive	5.38	2.121	4.34	2.944	3.649	0.001
Fast-Slow	4.38	1.752	3.50	1.938	3.621	0.001

Table 3-23 shows that the Scottish students of Education and Politics are similar in their ratings of Democracy on evaluative scales, but significantly different (at the level of .001) in those of the Potency and Activity scales. One evaluative scale "important-unimportant" reveals the difference only at the minimum critical value of the level of .05. The Scottish Politics students saw "Democracy" as neutrally strong and active, and slightly lenient and slow, while the Education students regarded it as rather strong and active, and neutrally severe and slightly fast.

Table 3-24: Mean Rating by Scottish Education and Politics Students of the Concept "Joseph Stalin"

Scale	Education		Politics		t	p
	\bar{X}	S^2	\bar{X}	S^2		
Fair-Unfair	2.77	2.207	1.97	1.437	3.320	0.01
Useful-Useless	4.92	1.879	4.69	2.840	0.833	N.S.
Important-Unimportant	5.77	1.322	5.70	2.428	0.286	N.S.
Good-Bad	3.02	1.483	2.38	1.609	2.857	0.01
Honest-Dishonest	3.03	1.966	2.59	2.273	1.686	N.S.
Strong-Weak	6.44	0.706	6.17	1.695	1.371	N.S.
Severe-Lenient	6.48	0.577	6.67	0.171	1.727	N.S.
Active-Passive	6.31	0.766	6.30	1.453	0.053	N.S.
Fast-Slow	5.54	1.593	5.14	2.462	1.569	N.S.

Table 3-29 shows that only two scales (both are evaluative) reveal significant differences at the level of .01. While both these groups of Scottish students tended to evaluate Joseph Stalin in an unfavourable manner, it was the Politics students who rated him as very unfair and bad. Apart from these differences, however, Stalin^{was} viewed by both groups as undisputably and indistinguishably a very strong, very severe, very active, as well as an important, fast, and rather useful leader.

Table 3-25: Mean Rating by Scottish Education and Politics Students of the Concept "John Kennedy"

Scale	Education		Politics		t	p
	\bar{X}	S ²	\bar{X}	S ²		
Fair-Unfair	6.23	1.101	5.25	2.000	4.475	0.001
Useful-Useless	6.03	1.210	4.86	2.933	4.517	0.001
Important-Unimportant	6.36	0.722	5.56	2.465	4.000	0.001
Good-Bad	6.11	0.987	5.02	2.172	4.823	0.001
Honest-Dishonest	5.87	0.984	4.89	2.485	4.100	0.001
Strong-Weak	5.92	1.314	4.77	2.367	4.733	0.001
Severe-Lenient	4.34	1.472	3.95	1.003	1.980	0.05
Active-Passive	6.15	0.978	5.48	1.594	3.317	0.01
Fast-Slow	6.21	1.057	4.78	1.640	6.908	0.001

Table 3-25 shows that the two Scottish groups are significantly different in their ratings of John Kennedy. The Education students rated him on all scales of the three dimensions higher than did the Politics students, though, in the same direction. The students of both Education and Politics gave him positive ratings on all evaluative scales, however, the Education students tended to wholeheartedly admire this American political leader, whereas the Politics students were in favour of him with some reservations.

Comparison between Chinese Education and Politics Students

With reference to the Chinese Students in Taiwan, comparisons are also made between the Education and the Politics students.

Table 3-26: Mean Rating by Chinese Education and Politics Students on the Concept "My Ideal Political Leader"

Scale	Education		Politics		t	p
	\bar{X}	S ²	\bar{X}	S ²		
Fair-Unfair	6.76	0.215	6.53	2.170	1.200	N.S.
Useful-Useless	6.73	0.435	6.78	0.207	0.468	N.S.
Important-Unimportant	6.49	0.691	6.25	0.844	1.464	N.S.
Good-Bad	6.58	0.549	6.40	0.749	1.195	N.S.
Honest-Dishonest	6.22	1.358	6.27	0.817	0.255	N.S.
Strong-Weak	6.63	0.437	6.15	0.997	3.045	0.01
Severe-Lenient	4.15	3.926	3.78	3.009	1.058	N.S.
Active-Passive	6.31	1.248	6.31	0.868	0	N.S.
Fast-Slow	6.02	1.611	6.18	0.658	0.795	N.S.

Table 3-26 shows that only the scale "strong-weak" reveals a significant difference in the ratings of Chinese Education and Politics students. The Education ^{students} rated their ideal Political leader as stronger than did their Politics counterparts. Apart from this minor difference, the two kinds of students, despite studying different courses, were indeed quite similar in their judgments.

Table 3-27: Mean Rating by Chinese Education and Politics Students of the Concept "Totalitarianism"

Scale	Education		Politics		t	p
	\bar{X}	S ²	\bar{X}	S ²		
Fair-Unfair	2.02	1.237	1.95	0.924	0.358	N.S.
Useful-Useless	4.20	2.813	4.49	1.668	1.029	N.S.
Important-Unimportant	3.47	1.910	3.64	1.722	0.672	N.S.
Good-Bad	2.76	1.503	2.67	1.275	0.280	N.S.
Honest-Dishonest	2.86	1.744	2.42	1.225	1.921	N.S.
Strong-Weak	4.80	2.332	5.22	1.952	1.529	N.S.
Severe-Lenient	6.32	0.693	6.53	0.358	1.537	N.S.
Active-Passive	3.88	5.562	4.20	4.706	0.752	N.S.
Fast-Slow	5.86	1.473	5.42	1.552	1.910	N.S.

Table 3-27 shows that not a single scale reveals any significant difference in the ratings of the two groups on "Totalitarianism". Two scales "honest-dishonest" and "fast-slow" appear to imply some viable group differences, but still slightly below the minimum critical value of the .05 level. All but one of the five evaluative scales rated Totalitarianism below the average, while the exception is just above the average. In general, the attitudes of Chinese Education and Politics students towards Totalitarianism are equally unfavourable.

Table 3-28: Mean Rating by Chinese Education and Politics Students of the Concept "Democracy"

Scale	Education		Politics		t	p
	\bar{X}	S^2	\bar{X}	S^2		
Fair-Unfair	5.76	1.232	5.84	0.682	0.434	N.S.
Useful-Useless	5.88	0.952	5.93	0.722	0.291	N.S.
Important-Unimportant	6.34	0.733	6.26	0.917	0.471	N.S.
Good-Bad	6.00	0.915	5.95	0.888	0.281	N.S.
Honest-Dishonest	5.22	1.426	5.22	1.203	0	N.S.
Strong-Weak	4.75	1.885	4.84	2.064	0.356	N.S.
Severe-Lenient	2.58	1.498	2.82	1.822	0.996	N.S.
Active-Passive	4.97	2.982	5.02	3.145	0.465	N.S.
Fast-Slow	3.37	2.369	3.95	2.779	1.932	N.S.

Table 3-28 shows, once again, that the Chinese students in the two courses held similar attitudes towards "Democracy" as their ratings on all scales reveal no significant difference. In contrast to the results in Table 3-27, all five evaluative scales here were equally rated favourably. In the other two dimensions, the biggest difference seems to be on the scale "fast-slow", but the difference revealed is still not significant enough.

Table 3-29: Mean Rating by Chinese Education and Politics Students of the Concept "Joseph Stalin"

Scale	Education		Politics		t	p
	\bar{X}	S^2	\bar{X}	S^2		
Fair-Unfair	2.31	1.805	2.49	2.105	0.688	N.S.
Useful-Useless	4.63	2.471	4.33	3.238	0.950	N.S.
Important-Unimportant	4.54	2.621	4.55	3.121	0.032	N.S.
Good-Bad	2.56	1.908	2.29	2.061	1.023	N.S.
Honest-Dishonest	2.64	1.968	2.36	1.493	1.133	N.S.
Strong-Weak	5.53	2.182	5.76	1.344	0.920	N.S.
Severe-Lenient	6.27	1.113	6.36	0.886	0.479	N.S.
Active-Passive	6.03	1.660	5.67	1.865	1.448	N.S.
Fast-Slow	5.95	1.167	5.51	1.559	2.016	0.05

Table 3-29 shows that only one out of nine scales was rated significantly different. The personal traits of Stalin were seen by Chinese students without major discrimination as unfair, bad, dishonest, slightly important and useful as the evaluative scores reveal. In the other dimensions, Stalin also was regarded similarly as a strong, very severe and active figure by Education and Politics students in Taiwan. However, the Education students saw him as faster than did the Politics students.

Table 3-30: Mean Rating by Chinese Education and Politics Students of the Concept "John Kennedy"

Scale	Education		Politics		t	p
	\bar{X}	S ²	\bar{X}	S ²		
Fair-Unfair	5.90	0.803	5.38	0.901	3.009	0.01
Useful-Useless	6.07	1.085	5.82	0.840	1.356	N.S.
Important-Unimportant	6.10	0.634	5.58	0.913	3.165	0.01
Good-Bad	5.80	0.806	5.49	1.123	1.689	N.S.
Honest-Dishonest	5.22	1.053	5.13	1.129	0.460	N.S.
Strong-Weak	5.97	1.050	5.55	1.157	2.135	0.05
Severe-Lenient	4.02	3.034	4.18	2.112	0.530	N.S.
Active-Passive	5.69	1.805	5.69	1.195	0	N.S.
Fast-Slow	5.66	1.885	5.62	1.109	0.174	N.S.

Table 3-30 shows that, more than any other concept, the Chinese Education and Politics students are significantly different from each other in their rating on two evaluative scales and one potency scale. As a whole, though both groups' attitudes toward Kennedy are in the same direction, i.e. favourable, the Chinese Education students, following the pattern of their Scottish counterparts, rated him higher on all five evaluative scales than did the Chinese Politics students. The Education students were especially impressed by Kennedy's two characteristics -- fairness and importance. In addition, the Education students also saw Kennedy as a stronger political leader than did the Politics students.

A Summary Review of Chapter 3

In this chapter, three kinds of comparisons of the results of the Semantic Differential have been covered. These include:

- (1) A general comparison between the Scottish and the Chinese groups.
- (2) A detailed comparison between Scottish and Chinese students taking the same course of study.
- (3) Also, a detailed comparison between the two sub-groups of students who were studying different courses, i.e. Education and Politics within each country.

The above third comparison suggests that, in general, for the Chinese students, no matter what their subjects of study are, their political attitudes tend to be homogeneous. On the other hand, the Scottish students' political attitudes, so far as the courses concerned, appear to be heterogenous, or at least significantly different from each other in their evaluation. The present author's view on this point is that the phenomena may be due to the differentiation of attitudinal consensus existing in these two countries. In Taiwan, the relatively limited source of political information, accompanied by the emphasis on intensive political education for both school children and university students, made it easy to form "unimodal" political attitudes among their young people (Key, 1961). In regard to the Scottish situation, as Mercer (1973) points out, the effectiveness of the school's political education in Scotland has been far more doubtful. This together with the wider access to every kind of political information, enriched by higher development of individual interests, should result in greater variation in their students' political attitudes. A further discussion as to this aspect will be included in the final chapter.

Next, with reference to the above first, and second comparisons, both the Scottish and the Chinese students here in the main reveal little significant differences in their

attitudes towards one political system, "Democracy", and towards the political leader of a democratic state, "John Kennedy". But, on the other hand, their attitudes towards "Totalitarianism" and the late political leader of a totalitarian state, "Joseph Stalin", are clearly different from each other. The Chinese students, in particular expressed either their tendency to alienate themselves from tolerating or sympathising with the totalitarian system, or their readiness to demean any personal traits or the historical role of a political leader who is related to Totalitarianism.

Since the national policy of the Republic of China in Taiwan has been for decades "Anti-Communist", the climate there has been utterly to encourage the ideology of democracy, and to refute the ideology of Communism. The Chinese people living in Taiwan may be allowed to talk freely about democracy but certainly are prohibited from circulating any idea of Communism. It might be this ideological censorship which contributes more or less to the similarities and differences in the attitudes of the two groups towards these political concepts.

Hence, our first hypothesis which assumes the existence of attitudinal differences in the two groups towards political systems and political leaders seems to be only partly supported. Specifically, it ^{is} supported where a totalitarianism or the authoritarian political leader is concerned.

CHAPTER 4 : ATTITUDES TO CERTAIN POLITICAL PRACTICES:
RESULTS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MEASURING
DEGREE OF APPROVAL OF THESE

The second part of the battery, as noted previously, was devised to trace out the subject's attitudes toward certain political or governmental practices. The second hypothesis assumed that the political attitudes of the Scottish students tend to reflect their individuality; on the other hand, the Chinese student's attitudes are relatively attached to the sense of common interest. To test this hypothesis the short questionnaire of eight items (outlined in chapter 2) was devised, students being asked to state their degree of approval (very much, moderately, or not at all) for each of these items. To discover if any difference between the Scottish and Chinese students was significant, the versatile statistic called "Chi Square" was adopted.

The General Results

Table 4-1: Numbers of Scottish and Chinese Students who responded "very much", "moderately", and "not at all" to the question (1) "Dismissing members of government departments who are not strictly moral in their private lives".

Response	* Scottish				Chinese				Total
	M	F	O	E	M	F	O	E	
VERY MUCH	11	8	19	31.44	26	15	41	28.56	60
MODERATELY	46	36	82	80.16	29	42	71	72.84	153
NOT AT ALL	45	18	63	52.40	28	9	37	47.60	100
TOTAL	102	62	164	164	83	66	149	149	313

$$\chi^2 = 14.39$$

$$P < 0.001$$

- * M = Male Students
F = Female Students
O = Observed Frequencies
E = Expected Frequencies

Table 4-1 shows that more Chinese students were in favour of dismissing government officials if the latter were not strictly moral in their private lives. But in view of the fact that nearly half of the students in each group endorsed this item only in moderation, the responses seem to be a little ambiguous in sense. The group difference is supposed to reflect the degree of their belief in the inseparable nature of the ways of life --whether the private or the public one. The emphasis of the Chinese students on the moral life of government officials is probably attributable to the influence of Confucianism --"benevolent government" and "king of virtue". The government officials are usually requested to keep more strict morality than the average people. Nevertheless, the influence of democracy, e.g. respect for individual rights, has resulted in the decreasing of such a discriminative moral standard in the present days.

Table 4-2: Comparison of the Responses to the Item (2)

"Dismissing anyone connected with political life who gives or receives bribes".

Response	Scottish				Chinese				Total
	M	F	O	E	M	F	O	E	
VERY MUCH	92	58	150	144.61	71	55	126	131.39	276
MODERATELY	6	4	10	14.14	9	8	17	12.86	27
NOT AT ALL	4	0	4	5.25	3	3	6	4.75	10
TOTAL	102	62	164	164	83	66	149	149	313

$$X^2 = 3.60$$

$$P > 0.05 \text{ (N.S.)}$$

The above table shows that no significant difference exists between the two groups. Both Scottish and Chinese

students expressed their attitudes strongly in favour of dismissing corrupt civil officials.

Table 4-3: Comparison of the Responses to the Item (3)
"Taking serious account of minority opinions
in coming to a government decision."

Response	Scottish				Chinese				Total
	M	F	O	E	M	F	O	E	
VERY MUCH	40	21	61	67.59	39	29	68	61.41	129
MODERATELY	52	41	93	78.07	30	26	56	70.93	149
NOT AT ALL	10	0	10	18.34	14	11	25	16.66	35
TOTAL	102	62	164	164	83	66	149	149	313

$$X^2 = 14.52$$

$$P < 0.001$$

The above table shows that a significant difference exists between the two groups. As the frequencies in the response "very much" are visibly less significant, it appears that the difference is due to more Scottish students responding "moderately", and more Chinese students responding "not at all". This reveals that although the majority of Scottish students felt only moderately that it is necessary to take serious account of minority opinions in coming to a government decision, on the other hand, more Chinese students tended to ignore minority opinions. This seems to suggest that the Scottish students are more likely to respect individual rights than are the Chinese. The Chinese, instead, would like to pay more attention to the whole interest, and if necessary, to overrule individual or minority interests. It was understood that hypothesis II could not be wholly and satisfactorily supported by the evidence of this single item. Other supplements will be discussed later.

Table 4-4: Comparison of the Responses to the Item(4)
 " Utopian ideas in the aims of government".

Response	Scottish				Chinese				Total
	M	F	O	E	M	F	O	E	
VERY MUCH	15	8	23	25.15	16	9	25	22.85	48
MODERATELY	47	37	84	83.83	36	40	76	76.17	160
NOT AT ALL	40	17	57	55.02	31	17	48	49.98	105
TOTAL	102	62	164	164	83	66	149	149	313

$$\chi^2 = 0.54$$

$$P > 0.05 \text{ (N.S.)}$$

The above table shows that no significant difference exists between the two groups. More students in both countries would be opposing, rather than agreeing to the adoption of utopian ideas as the aims of government. Nevertheless, still about half of each country's students appear to be in favour of introducing some selected ideas of that kind.

Table 4-5: Comparison of the Responses to the Item (5)
 "Singing one's national anthem in international
 as
 situations such as the Olympic games."

Response	Scottish				Chinese				Total
	M	F	O	E	M	F	O	E	
VERY MUCH	25	11	36	73.36	56	48	104	66.64	140
MODERATELY	43	22	65	52.39	20	15	35	47.61	100
NOT AT ALL	34	29	63	38.25	7	3	10	34.75	73
TOTAL	102	62	164	164	83	66	149	149	313

$$\chi^2 = 79.96$$

$$P < 0.001$$

The above table shows that the Chinese students were very significantly in favour of singing their national

anthem in international situations. Chinese students are believed to sing more frequently than Scottish students their national anthem (as earlier when they were school children, every day during the term they attended morning and afternoon meeting where the national anthem was sung and the national flag saluted. The principal or other teacher usually took this occasion to encourage children's "national spirit"). Other means of political education in Taiwan, e.g. National Day's mass meeting and parade, the teaching of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen's "Three Principles of the People" (Nationalism, Democracy, and Livelihood), might also contribute to such group difference.

Table 4-6 : Comparison of the Responses to the Item (6)
"The right to strike for better working conditions!"

Response	Scottish				Chinese				Total
	M	F	O	E	M	F	O	E	
VERY MUCH	54	34	88	76.5	32	26	58	69.5	146
MODERATELY	39	21	60	68.64	38	33	71	62.36	131
NOT AT ALL	9	7	16	18.86	13	7	20	17.14	36
TOTAL	102	62	164	164	83	66	149	149	313

$$\chi^2 = 6.82$$

$$P < 0.05$$

The above table shows that the group difference in responses to this item is significant. More Scottish students would endorse the adoption of industrial action to improve working conditions than would the Chinese students. The explanations might be, firstly, that the Scottish were more familiar with the practice of strikes (For over two hundred years, strikes have been a constant feature of the industrial scene in Britain) than their Chinese counterparts because the latter's country still declares strikes as illegal. Secondly, while a strike in Britain is defined as "the temporary refusal of an employee or of a group of employees to continue to work

for their employer, with the object of obtain^{ing} for themselves an improvement in their terms of employment (Acton, 1972), it sometimes has to the Chinese students a far more serious implication. It might be considered as precursive action for political subversion, and this results in a cognitive difference in the two countries. Furthermore, since it emphasises the individual right rather than social interest, or common good, the Chinese students may not accept it in the first instance.

Table 4-7 : Comparison of the Responses to the Item (7)
" State control of industry "

Responses	Scottish				Chinese				Total
	M	F	O	E	M	F	O	E	
VERY MUCH	27	14	41	41.39	23	15	38	37.61	79
MODERATELY	41	38	79	84.36	41	41	82	76.64	161
NOT AT ALL	34	10	44	38.25	19	10	29	34.75	73
TOTAL	102	62	164	164	83	66	149	149	313

$$\chi^2 = 2.54$$

$$P > 0.05 \text{ (N.S.)}$$

The above table shows that no significant difference exists between the two groups in their responses. The policy of nationalisation of industry has still been a controversial subject in both countries. Results from this item's responses reveal that, apart from those who responded "moderately", the other students in each group divided themselves almost equally in their attitudes of strong approval or disapproval toward nationalisation. It appears that students of these two countries are both somewhat divided about this particular aspect of Socialist policy.

Table 4-8 : Comparison of the Responses to the Item (8)
 "Promoting international cooperation by means
 of inter-government organisations such as
 the United Nations."

Responses	Scottish				Chinese				Total
	M	F	O	E	M	F	O	E	
VERY MUCH	72	46	118	97.45	38	30	68	88.55	186
MODERATELY	26	15	41	52.40	33	26	59	47.60	100
NOT AT ALL	4	1	5	14.15	12	10	22	12.85	27
TOTAL	102	62	164	164	83	66	149	149	313

$$\chi^2 = 26.29$$

$$P < 0.001$$

The above table shows that the group difference in this item is very significant. More Scottish students were in favour of international cooperation by means of inter-government organisations than were the Chinese students. For the last two decades, students in Taiwan have been attending a term of lectures on "International Organisations and Situations" in their second year of university life. Moreover, the Constitution of the Republic of China includes the unusual provision that she will respect the Charter of the United Nations in order to promote international cooperation Article 141). Even so, the vital difference in respect to this item obviously reflects recent Taiwan students' frustrated emotions after their setback in fighting the seat in the United Nations in 1971.

Comparison of Education Students

For the purpose of detailed understanding into the real distribution of the responses of each course's students, the following comparisons are thus presented. First come the Education students.

Table 4-9 : Comparison of the Responses of Education Students to Item (1) "Dismissing members of government departments who are not strictly moral in their private lives."

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both
	O	E	O	E	
Very much	8	15.25	22	14.75	30
Moderately	30	30.50	30	29.50	60
Not at all	23	15.25	7	14.75	30
Total	61		59		120

$$X^2 = 14.12$$

$$P < 0.001$$

* Chinese students of Education are much more in favour of this item.

Table 4-10 : Comparison of the Responses of Education Students to Item (2) "Dismissing anyone connected with political life who gives or receives bribes."

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both
	O	E	O	E	
Very much	56	55.92	54	54.08	110
Moderately	5	4.57	4	4.43	9
Not at all	0	0.51	1	0.49	1
Total	61		59		120

$$X^2 = 1.123$$

$$P > 0.05$$

* No difference.

Table 4-11: Comparison of the Responses of Education Students to Item (3) "Taking serious account of minority opinions in coming to a government decision."

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both	
	O	E	O	E		
Very much	25	21.86	18	21.14	43	$X^2 = 19.14$
Moderately	35	31.52	27	30.48	62	$P < 0.001$
Not at all	1	7.62	14	7.38	15	* Scottish students of Education are more in favour of this item.
Total	61		59		120	

Table 4-12: Comparison of the Responses of Education Students to item (4) "Utopian ideas in the aims of government."

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both	
	O	E	O	E		
Very much	6	5.59	5	5.41	11	$X^2 = 0.08$
Moderately	34	34.57	34	33.43	68	$P > 0.05$
Not at all	21	20.84	20	20.16	41	* No difference.
Total	61		59		120	

Table 4-13: Comparison of the Responses of Education Students to Item (5) "Singing one's national anthem in international situations such as the Olympic Games"

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both	
	O	E	O	E		
Very much	17	27.96	38	27.04	55	$X^2 = 18.14$
Moderately	25	20.84	16	20.16	41	$P < 0.001$
Not at all	19	12.20	5	11.80	24	* Chinese Education students are more in favor of this item.
Total	61		59		120	

Table 4-14: Comparison of the Responses of Education Students to Item (6) "The right to strike for better working conditions."

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both	
	O	E	O	E		
Very much	29	22.88	16	22.12	45	$\chi^2 = 5.33$ $P > 0.05$ * No difference.
Moderately	24	28.47	32	27.53	56	
Not at all	8	9.65	11	9.35	19	
Total	61		59		120	

Table 4-15: Comparison of the Responses of Education Students to Item (7) "State control of Industry."

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both	
	O	E	O	E		
Very much	13	11.69	10	11.31	23	$\chi^2 = 0.37$ $P > 0.05$ * No difference.
Moderately	32	33.04	33	31.96	65	
Not at all	16	16.27	16	15.73	32	
Total	61		59		120	

Table 4-16: Comparison of the Responses of Education Students to Item (8) "Promoting international cooperation by means of inter-government organisation such as the United Nations."

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both	
	O	E	O	E		
Very much	48	37.11	25	35.89	73	$\chi^2 = 17.11$ $P < 0.001$ * Scottish Education students are much more in favour of this item.
Moderately	11	18.30	25	17.70	36	
Not at all	2	5.59	9	5.41	11	
Total	61		59		120	

Summary of Comparison of Education Students in both Countries

The above tables (from 4-9 to 4-16) show that the responses of the Scottish and the Chinese Education students are significantly different in items (1), (3), (5), and (8), as noted in each case. These are largely consistent with the general results. The only exception is that of item (6); unlike the general result which shows a significant group difference, the Education students of both the countries reveal their similar attitudes toward the question, "the right to strike for better working conditions." Very few of them opposed this principle. Most of them either wholly supported or moderately supported this proposition.

Comparison of Politics Students

Table 4-17: Comparison of the Responses of Politics Students to Item (1) "Dismissing members of government departments who are not strictly moral in their private lives."

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both
	O	E	O	E	
Very much	7	5.92	4	5.08	11
Moderately	30	31.73	29	27.27	59
Not at all	27	26.35	22	22.65	49
Total	64		55		119

$$\chi^2 = 0.67$$

$$P > 0.05$$

* No difference.

Table 4-18: Comparison of the Responses of Politics Students to Item (2) "Dismissing anyone connected with political life who gives or receives bribes."

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both	
	O	E	O	E		
Very much	59	54.85	43	47.15	102	$\chi^2 = 6.34$
Moderately	2	5.92	9	5.08	11	$P < 0.05$
Not at all	3	3.23	3	2.77	6	* Scottish Politics students are more in favour of this item.
Total	64		55		119	

Table 4-19: Comparison of the Responses of Politics Students to Item (3) "Taking serious account of minority opinions in coming to a government decision."

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both	
	O	E	O	E		
Very much	27	31.20	31	26.80	58	$\chi^2 = 1.42$
Moderately	37	29.04	17	24.96	54	$P > 0.05$
Not at all	0	3.76	7	3.24	7	* No difference.
Total	64		55		119	

Table 4-20: Comparison of the Responses of Politics Students to Item (4) "Utopian ideas in the aims of government."

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both	
	O	E	O	E		
Very much	15	13.45	10	11.55	25	$\chi^2 = 1.42$
Moderately	32	30.66	25	26.34	57	$P > 0.05$
Not at all	17	19.89	20	17.11	37	* No difference.
Total	64		55		119	

Table 4-21: Comparison of the Responses of Politics Students to Item (5) "Singing one's national anthem in international situations such as the Olympic Games!"

Responses	Scottish		Chinese		Both	
	O	E	O	E		
Very much	6	26.35	43	22.65	49	$X^2 = 63.80$
Moderately	19	15.60	10	13.40	29	$P < 0.001$
Not at all	39	22.05	2	18.95	41	* Chinese politics students are much more in favour of this item.
Total	64		55		119	

Table 4-22: Comparison of the Responses of Politics Students to Item (6) "The right to strike for better working conditions."

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both	
	O	E	O	E		
Very much	44	37.65	26	32.35	70	$X^2 = 5.63$
Moderately	16	20.97	23	18.03	39	$P > 0.05$
Not at all	4	5.38	6	4.62	10	* No difference.
Total	64		55		119	

Table 4-23: Comparison of the Responses of Politics Students to Item (7) "State control of industry."

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both	
	O	E	O	E		
Very much	25	18.82	10	16.18	35	$X^2 = 7.52$
Moderately	28	34.96	37	30.04	65	$P < 0.05$
Not at all	11	10.22	8	8.78	19	* Scottish Politics students are more in favour of this item.
Total	64		55		119	

Table 4-24: Comparison of the Responses of Politics Students to Item (8) "Promoting international cooperation by means of inter-government organisation such as the United Nations."

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both	
	O	E	O	E		
Very much	43	34.96	22	30.04	65	$X^2 = 10.01$
Moderately	18	22.59	24	19.41	42	$P < 0.01$
Not at all	3	6.45	9	5.55	12	* Scottish Politics students are more in favour of this item.
Total	64		55		119	

Summary of Comparison of Politics Students in both Countries.

The above tables (from 4-17 to 4-24) show that four items, namely (2), (5), (7), and (8), reveal group difference significantly between the Scottish and the Chinese Politics students. Unlike the general result for item (7) where no significant difference occurs between the Scots and Chinese, the Chinese Politics students overwhelmingly opposed the Socialist policy, "state control of industry," as compared with the divided attitudes among Scottish Politics students.

Comparison of Accountancy Students

Table 4-25: Comparison of the Responses of Accountancy Students to Items (1) "Dismissing members of government departments who are not strictly moral in their private lives."

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both	
	O	E	O	E		
Very much	4	10.01	15	8.99	19	$X^2 = 10.48$
Moderately	22	17.92	12	16.08	34	$P < 0.01$
Not at all	13	11.07	8	9.93	21	* Chinese Accountancy students are more in favour of this item.
Total	39		35		74	

Table 4-26: Comparison of the Responses of Accountancy Students to Item (2) "Dismissing anyone connected with political life who gives or receives bribes."

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both
	O	E	O	E	
Very much	35	33.73	29	30.27	64
Moderately	3	3.69	4	3.31	7
Not at all	1	1.58	2	1.42	3
Total	39		35		74

$X^2 = 0.824$
 $P > 0.05$
 * No difference.

Table 4-27: Comparison of the Responses of Accountancy Students to Item (3) "Taking serious account of minority opinions in coming to a government decision."

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both
	O	E	O	E	
Very much	9	14.76	19	13.24	28
Moderately	21	17.39	12	15.61	33
Not at all	9	6.85	4	6.15	13
Total	39		35		74

$X^2 = 7.76$
 $P < 0.05$
 * Chinese Accountancy students are more in favour of this item.

Table 4-28: Comparison of the Responses of Accountancy Students to Item (4) "Utopian ideas in the aims of government."

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both
	O	E	O	E	
Very much	2	6.32	10	5.68	12
Moderately	18	18.45	17	16.55	35
Not at all	19	14.23	8	12.77	27
Total	39		35		74

$X^2 = 9.64$
 $P < 0.01$
 * Chinese Accountancy students are more in favour of this item.

Table 4-29: Comparison of the Responses of Accountancy Students to Item (5) "Singing one's national anthem in international situations such as the Olympic Games."

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both	
	O	E	O	E		
Very much	13	18.97	23	17.03	36	$X^2 = 7.87$
Moderately	21	15.81	9	14.19	30	$P < 0.05$
Not at all	5	4.22	3	3.78	8	* Chinese Accountancy students are slightly more in favour of this item.
Total	39		35		74	

Table 4-30: Comparison of the Responses of Accountancy Students to Item (6) "The right to strike for better working conditions."

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both	
	O	E	O	E		
Very much	15	16.34	16	14.66	31	$X^2 = 0.41$
Moderately	20	18.97	16	17.03	36	$P > 0.05$
Not at all	4	3.69	3	3.31	7	* No difference.
Total	39		35		74	

Table 4-31: Comparison of the Responses of Accountancy Students to Item (7) "State control of Industry."

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both	
	O	E	O	E		
Very much	3	11.07	18	9.93	21	$X^2 = 18.63$
Moderately	19	16.34	12	14.66	31	$P < 0.001$
Not at all	17	11.59	5	10.41	22	* Chinese Accountancy students are more in favour of this item.
Total	39		35		74	

Table 4-32: Comparison of the Responses of Accountancy Students to Item (8) "Promoting international cooperation by means of inter-government organisation such as the United Nations."

Response	Scottish		Chinese		Both	
	O	E	O	E		
Very much	27	25.30	21	22.70	48	$\chi^2 = 4.74$
Moderately	12	11.59	10	10.41	22	$P > 0.05$
Not at all	0	2.11	4	1.89	4	* No difference.
Total	39		35		74	

Summary of the Comparison of Accountancy Students in both Countries

The above tables (from 4-25 to 4-32) show that there are five items, namely (1), (3), (4), (5), and (7) which reveal significant differences between the Scottish and the Chinese Accountancy students, as noted in each case. Compared with the general results, the following variations are required to be specially noticed.

Firstly, a substantial number of Chinese Accountancy students tended to adopt Utopian ideas in the aims of government, and thus made the group difference here so significant as to overrule the similarity in the general results.

Secondly, as regards the responses of item (6), the Chinese Accountancy students shared similar attitudes with their Scottish counterparts towards this problem of industrial action.

Finally, the Chinese Accountancy students, unlike the Education and Politics students in their country, still overwhelmingly supported the idea of promoting international cooperation through the United Nations, just as the Scottish Accountancy students did.

CHAPTER 5 : INFLUENCES ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL
ATTITUDES:RESULTS OF SELF-REPORT CHECK LIST

The third part of the battery requested the subjects to rate in accordance with the order of importance five from among 25 possible factors which they considered the most important influences on their development of political attitudes. The followings are the results of all five choices; and each will be discussed separately.

(A) The First Choice

Table 5-1: The Frequencies of the Scottish & Chinese Students Reporting Various Factors as Their First Important Influence on Political Attitudes

Factors	Scottish			Chinese		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Father	21	14	35	14	10	24
Mother	5	8	13	2	1	3
Brother	0	0	0	1	1	2
Sister	0	2	2	0	0	0
Other relatives	1	2	3	1	0	1
Teachers of primary school	0	0	0	0	2	2
Teachers of secondary school	0	2	2	3	4	7
University lecturers	3	0	3	10	14	24
Television	18	8	26	2	0	2
Newspapers	16	5	21	16	16	32
Films	0	0	0	0	1	1
Radio news	1	1	2	0	0	0
School friends	1	1	2	0	1	1
University friends	6	3	9	4	1	5
Books	12	5	17	9	5	14
Biographies of political figures	0	2	2	3	1	4
School curricula of civics/history	3	1	4	3	1	4
Army officers	0	0	0	1	0	1
Parents' friends	0	0	0	0	0	0
Political speeches	2	0	2	3	1	4
Demonstrations	1	1	2	0	0	0
Statesmen	2	2	4	7	1	8
Elections	2	4	6	4	5	9
Religion	3	1	3	0	0	0
Others mentioned by individuals	5	1	6	0	1	1
Total	102	62	164	83	66	149

In order to test hypothesis III which assumes that the influences of school teachers and university lecturers on the two groups' political attitudes are different, all 25 factors have been grouped into 6 main categories as follows:

Categories	Sub-categories
(1) Family	Father, Mother, Brother, Sister, Other relatives.
(2) Teachers & Lecturers	Teachers of primary school, Teachers of secondary school, University lecturers.
(3) Mass media	Television, Newspapers, Films, Radio news.
(4) Peer groups	School friends, University friends
(5) Book-reading	Books, Biographies of political figures, School curricula of civics/history.
(6) Other relevant influences	Army officers, Parents' friends, Political speeches, Demonstrations, Statesmen, Elections, Religion, Others mentioned by individuals.

A t-test^{*} method was adopted in computation. The results of the above six categories are shown in Table 5-2.

* The formulas used to test the difference between proportions for the two groups are as follows:

$$p' = \frac{n_1 P_1 + n_2 P_2}{n_1 + n_2} \quad \left(\begin{array}{l} \text{weighted arithmetic mean} \\ \text{of the proportions of the} \\ \text{two groups} \end{array} \right)$$

$$t = \frac{P_1 - P_2}{\sqrt{p'(1-p')\left(\frac{1}{n_1} + \frac{1}{n_2}\right)}} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} n_1 = 164 \text{ (Scots)} \\ n_2 = 149 \text{ (Chinese)} \end{array} \right\}$$

Table 5-2: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving ^{one of} the 6 Categories as the First Important Influence on Their Political Attitudes

Category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Family	27	26	53	32.32	18	12	30	20.13	2.44	0.05
Teacher & lecturer	3	2	5	3.05	13	20	33	22.15	5.16	0.001
Mass media	35	14	49	29.88	18	17	35	23.50	1.28	N.S.
Peer groups	7	4	11	6.70	4	2	6	4.00	1.05	N.S.
Book-reading	15	8	23	14.02	15	7	22	14.77	0.19	N.S.
Other relevant influences	15	8	23	14.02	15	8	23	15.45	0.36	N.S.
Total	102	62	164	100.00	83	66	149	100.00		

Results in the above table reveal two tendencies: Firstly, the order of importance of influences, apart from the miscellaneous category termed "Other relevant influences" on the part of ^{the} Scottish group is : (1) Family, (2) Mass media, (3) Book-reading, (4) Peer groups, and (5) Teachers and lecturers; while that of the Chinese group is : (1) Mass media, (2) Teachers and lecturers, (3) Family, (4) Book-reading, and (5) Peer groups. Secondly, categories such as Mass media, Peer groups, and Book-reading show no significant difference existing between the two groups; on the other hand, the differences in Family, and Teachers and lecturers are quite obvious. Though both groups are strongly influenced by family, it seems that the Scottish family is a more important influence than that of Taiwan in developing children's political attitudes.

To make each category more clear in sense, we are going to examine further some of its sub-categories.

Table 5-3 : Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Family" as First Choice

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Father	21	14	35	21.34	14	10	24	16.11	1.18	N.S.
Mother	5	8	13	7.93	2	1	3	2.01	7.70	0.001
Brother	0	0	0	--*	1	1	2	--	--	--
Sister	0	2	2	--	0	0	0	--	--	--
Other relatives	1	2	3	--	1	0	1	--	--	--
Total	27	26	53	32.33	18	12	30	20.13	2.44	0.05

The above table shows that, in each group, Brother, Sister, and Other relatives were rarely regarded as influential factors in developing one's political attitudes. But the influence of parents is rather powerful and thus requires a special account.

It seems quite clear that the father in both groups is rated as far more important than the mother in influencing their children's political attitudes. The strength of the father's influence on each group is largely the same, while the influence of the mother on the Scottish group is much greater than on the Chinese counterpart.

* -- means being omitted as a result of too small range of frequency. Same will be applied to the following tables.

Table 5-4: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Teachers & lecturers" as First Choice

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Teachers of primary school	0	0	0	--	0	2	2	--	--	--
Teachers of secondary school	0	2	2	1.22	3	4	7	--	1.83	N.S.
University lecturers	3	0	3	1.83	10	14	24	16.11	4.50	0.001
Total	3	2	5	3.05	13	20	33	22.15	5.16	0.001

Results in Table 5-4 show that both primary and secondary teachers in each country are not a powerful influence on many students' political attitudes. Though Chinese teachers in secondary school may be more influential, still, the difference between the two groups is not significant. AS regards the university lecturers, the strengths of their influence are evidently varied. The Chinese students tended to feel that they were significantly more under the sphere of their lecturers' influence than the Scottish students.

Table 5-5: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-category of "Mass media" as First Choice

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Television	18	8	26	15.55	2	0	2	1.34	4.57	0.001
Newspapers	16	5	21	12.80	16	16	32	21.47	2.12	0.05
Films	0	0	0	--	0	1	1	--	--	--
Radio news	1	1	2	--	0	0	0	--	--	--
Total	35	14	49	29.88	18	17	35	23.50	1.28	N.S.

Table 5-5 shows that, while about a quarter of the students of each group regarded "Mass media" as the most important influence on attitudinal formation, their dimensions are not unitary. Television's influence on the Scottish group is slightly more important than newspapers, but newspapers are overwhelmingly more influential on the Chinese group than television.

Table 5-6: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Peer group" as First Choice

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
School friends	1	1	2	--	0	1	1	--	--	--
University friends	6	3	9	5.48	4	1	5	3.36	0.88	N.S.
Total	7	4	11	6.71	4	2	6	4.00	1.05	N.S.

The above table shows that peer groups are felt to be less important in influencing students' political attitudes. Relatively, university friends of both groups are more important than school friends. However, no significant difference exists between the two groups.

Table 5-7: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Book-reading" as First Choice

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Books	12	5	17	10.36	9	5	14	9.40	0.28	N.S.
Biographies of political figures	0	2	2	--	3	1	4	--	--	--
School curriculum of civics/history	3	1	4	--	3	1	4	--	--	--
Total	15	8	23	14.02	15	7	22	14.77	0.19	N.S.

Table 5-7 shows that the category "Book-reading" has been rated by nearly 15% of students in each group as the most important influence on their political attitudes. In view of the subjects' educational backgrounds, this result seems quite understandable. Group differences in all three sub-categories are nearly non-existent.

Table 5-8: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Other relevant influences" as First Choice

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Army officers	0	0	0	--	1	0	1	--	--	--
Parents' friends	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	--	--	--
Political speeches	2	0	2	--	3	1	4	--	--	--
Demonstrations	1	1	2	--	0	0	0	--	--	--
Statesmen	2	2	4	2.44	7	1	8	5.37	1.22	N.S.
Elections	2	4	6	3.66	4	5	9	6.00	0.97	N.S.
Religions	3	0	3	--	0	0	0	--	--	--
*Other individual responses	5	1	6	--	0	1	1	--	--	--
Total	15	8	23	14.02	15	8	23	15.45	0.36	N.S.

The above table shows that, although this category consisted of more items than in other categories, still, only 15% of each group's subjects acknowledged that any of these were most influential. Among these items, "Statesmen" and "Elections" have been rated relatively frequently by both groups. But there is no significant difference between the Scottish and Chinese students.

* e.g. "the record of political parties", "disenchantment with environment", "existing social conditions", "self interest".

(B) The Second Choice

Table 5-9: The Frequencies of the Scottish & Chinese Students Reporting Various Factors as Their Second Important Influence on Political Attitudes

Factors	Scottish			Chinese		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Father	10	9	19	5	6	11
Mother	3	5	8	2	1	3
Brother	1	0	1	3	0	3
Sister	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other relatives	1	1	2	2	1	3
Teachers of primary school	0	0	0	1	1	2
Teachers of secondary school	1	3	4	4	4	8
University lecturers	3	2	5	4	8	12
Television	15	7	22	2	1	3
Newspapers	23	14	37	13	9	22
Films	0	0	0	0	0	0
Radio news	4	2	6	3	6	9
School friends	5	1	6	3	1	4
University friends	7	2	9	5	4	9
Books	10	3	13	12	9	21
Biographies of political figures	1	1	2	6	3	9
School curricula of civics/history	4	2	6	4	4	8
Army officers	0	0	0	3	0	3
Parents' friends	0	0	0	0	0	0
Political speeches	2	2	4	6	2	0
Demonstrations	2	1	3	0	1	1
Statesmen	3	2	5	2	1	3
Elections	4	1	5	3	3	6
Religion	1	2	3	0	1	1
Others mentioned by individuals	2	2	4	0	0	0
Total	102	62	164	83	66	149

Drawing from Table 5-9, the responses to six categories are to be shown as follows: (The classification of these six categories is the same as given in previous section.)

Table 5-10: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving ^{one of the} Six Categories as the Second Importance Influence

Category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Family	15	15	30	18.30	12	8	20	13.42	1.19	N.S.
Teacher & lecturer	4	5	9	5.50	9	13	22	14.77	2.79	0.01
Mass media	42	23	65	39.63	18	16	34	22.82	3.20	0.01
Peer groups	12	3	15	9.14	8	5	13	8.72	0.12	N.S.
Book-reading	15	6	21	18.80	22	16	38	25.50	2.85	0.01
Other relevant influences	14	10	24	14.63	14	8	22	14.77	0.04	N.S.
Total	102	62	164	100.00	83	66	149	100.00		

Accordingly, the sequence of the categories in terms of importance as second choice are :--

- (a) the Scottish group: (1) Mass media, (2) Book-reading, (3) Family, (4) Peer groups, and (5) Teachers & lecturers.
- (b) the Chinese group: (1) Book-reading, (2) Mass media, (3) Teachers & lecturers, (4) Family, (5) Peer groups.

Comparing with the results of First Choice, an obvious difference is that "Book-reading" has been rated by both groups rather higher than any other category except "Mass media". The group differences are not significant in "Family", and "Peer group", but quite positive in "Teachers & lecturers", "Mass media", and "Book-reading". Evidently,

the influence of mass media is felt to be more important by the Scottish students than the Chinese students, while teachers & lecturers, and book-reading rank third and first for the Chinese and fifth and second with the Scottish students. This seems to further support the third hypothesis that teachers and lecturers are relatively more influential on the formation of political attitudes among Chinese students.

All six main categories are tabulated as follows in terms of their sub-categories.

Table 5-11: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Family" as Second Choice

Sub-categories	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Father	10	9	19	11.58	5	6	11	7.38	1.27	N.S.
Mother	3	5	8	4.88	2	1	3	2.00	1.39	N.S.
Brother	1	0	1	--	3	0	3	--	--	--
Sister	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	--	--	--
Other relatives	1	1	2	--	2	1	3	--	--	--
Total	15	15	30	18.30	12	8	20	13.42	1.19	N.S.

Again, we found that parents are more important than any other members of the family in influencing the students' attitudes. And, also, the father is more influential than the mother. But in all sub-categories, the differences between the Scottish and the Chinese groups are not significant.

Table 5-12: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Teachers & lecturers as Second Choice

Sub-categories	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Teachers of primary school	0	0	0	--	1	1	2	--	--	--
Teachers of secondary school	1	3	4	2.44	4	4	8	5.37	1.26	N.S.
University lecturers	3	2	5	3.05	4	8	12	8.05	1.96	0.05

Table 5-12 shows, like the First Choice, that primary and secondary school teachers are felt to exert a very limited influence on students' political attitudes, though the figures in the item of secondary school have improved slightly as compared with the result of First Choice. The Chinese lecturers have still been mentioned more often than their Scottish colleagues.

Table 5-13: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Mass media" as Second Choice

Sub-categories	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Television	15	7	22	13.40	2	1	3	2.00	3.71	0.001
Newspapers	23	14	37	22.57	0	9	22	14.78	1.76	N.S.
Films	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	--	--	--
Radio news	4	2	6	3.66	3	6	9	6.04	0.99	N.S.
Total	42	23	65	39.63	18	16	34	22.82	3.20	0.01

Unlike the first choice, "Newspapers" here rated consistently higher than "Television" for both groups. While the group difference in "newspapers" is not clear, the difference in "Television" has been confirmed once more. Apart

from this, a number of subjects in both groups reported they were influenced by "Radio news", but the group difference is far from being evident.

Table 5-14: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Peer groups" as Second Choice.

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
School friends	5	1	6	3.66	3	1	4	2.70	0.51	N.S.
University friends	7	2	9	5.48	5	4	9	6.02	0.19	N.S.
Total	12	3	15	9.14	8	5	13	8.72	0.12	N.S.

Table 5-14 shows that more subjects rated "University friends" as the second important influence on their attitudes than "School friends". As compared with the results of the same category in the First Choice, the table numbers of each group have increased concurrently. Nevertheless, no significant difference exists between the two groups in any sub-category.

Table 5-15: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Giving Sub-categories of "Book-reading" as Second Choice

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Books	10	3	13	8.04	12	9	21	14.09	1.71	N.S.
Biographies of political figures	1	1	2	1.22	6	3	9	6.00	2.31	0.05
School curricula of civics/history	4	2	6	3.66	4	4	8	5.37	0.68	N.S.
Total	15	6	21	12.92	22	16	38	25.46	2.83	0.01

Table 5-15 shows that "Book-reading" has been frequently regarded as a second important influence by both groups. In particular a quarter of the Chinese subjects have mentioned it. Though the group difference in this category is significant at the .01 level, two of all three sub-categories reveal nothing consistent with it. It is the other sub-category, namely "Biographies of political figures", which makes the difference.

Table 5-16: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Other relevant influences" as Second Choice

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Army officers	0	0	0	--	3	0	3	--	--	--
Parents' friends	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	--	--	--
Political speeches	2	2	4	2.44	6	2	8	5.37	1.22	N.S.
Demonstrations	2	1	3	--	0	1	1	--	--	--
Statesmen	3	2	5	--	2	1	3	--	--	--
Elections	4	1	5	3.05	3	3	6	4.00	0.45	N.S.
Religion	1	2	3	--	0	1	1	--	--	--
* Other individual responses	2	2	4	--	0	0	0	--	--	--
Total	14	10	24	14.63	14	8	22	14.77	0.04	N.S.

Results of the above table are quite similar to those of Table 5-8. Not a single sub-category reveals any group difference.

* "socialisation into Labour Party", "home area", "source of information", etc.

(C) The Third Choice

Table 5-17: The Frequencies of the Scottish & Chinese Students Reporting Various Factors as Their Third Important Influence on Political Attitudes

Factors	Scottish			Chinese		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Father	5	3	8	5	5	10
Mother	5	1	6	2	1	3
Brother	1	2	3	1	1	2
Sister	1	0	1	0	2	2
Other relatives	0	1	1	1	1	2
Teachers of primary school	1	0	1	1	0	1
Teachers of secondary school	1	1	2	6	3	9
University lecturers	1	2	3	8	6	14
Television	24	7	31	2	4	6
Newspapers	21	6	27	9	10	19
Films	0	0	0	2	0	2
Radio news	1	0	1	5	5	10
School friends	5	5	10	0	0	0
University friends	4	3	7	7	1	8
Books	6	10	16	5	7	12
Biographies of political figures	5	2	7	2	5	7
School curricula of civics/history	1	2	3	6	2	8
Army officers	0	0	0	2	2	4
Parents' friends	0	1	1	3	0	3
Political speeches	6	4	10	2	3	5
Demonstrations	2	3	5	1	0	1
Statesmen	4	4	8	1	2	3
Elections	5	4	9	11	6	17
Religions	1	1	2	1	0	1
Others mentioned by individuals	2	0	2	0	0	0
Total	102	62	164	83	66	149

The same procedure by which Tables 5-2 and 5-10 were devised has been applied here. And the results of the classified six categories are figured out as follows:

Table 5-18: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving ^{one of the} Six Categories as the Third Important Influence

Category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Family	12	7	19	11.59	9	10	19	12.75	0.32	N.S.
Teachers & lecturers	3	3	6	3.66	15	9	24	16.10	3.72	0.001
Mass media	46	13	59	35.98	18	19	37	24.83	2.15	0.05
Peer groups	9	8	17	10.37	7	1	8	5.37	1.63	N.S.
Book-reading	12	14	26	15.85	13	14	27	18.12	0.39	N.S.
Other relevant influences	20	17	37	22.56	21	13	34	22.82	0.05	N.S.
Total	102	62	164	100.00	83	66	149	100.00		

According to the above table, the sequence of the six categories in terms of their "importance" are:

- (a) the Scottish group : (1) Mass media, (2) Book-reading, (3) Family, (4) Peer groups, and (5) Teachers and lecturers.
- (b) the Chinese group: (1) Mass media, (2) Book-reading, (3) Teachers and lecturers, (4) Family, and (5) Peer groups.

It appears to be that the two groups overlap ⁱⁿ their first two categories. Besides, the group differences are significant only in two categories, namely "Teachers and lecturers", and "Mass media". Though the impact of mass media on each group's attitudes seems quite strong, it is particularly the Scottish students who were influenced more.

Table 5-19: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Family" as Third Choice

Sub-categories	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Father	5	3	8	4.88	5	5	10	6.71	0.60	N.S.
Mother	5	1	6	3.66	2	1	3	2.01	0.88	N.S.
Brother	1	2	3	--	1	1	2	--	--	--
Sister	1	0	1	--	0	2	2	--	--	--
Other relatives	0	1	1	--	1	1	2	--	--	--
Total	12	7	19	11.59	9	10	19	12.75	0.32	N.S.

It is evident that the frequency of "Family" considered as the third choice of importance has been decreased in consequence of having been First or Second Choice. There is no significant difference existing in any sub-category between the two groups.

Table 5-20: Comparison of the Number of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Teachers & lecturers" as Third Choice

Sub-categories	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Teachers of primary school	1	0	1	--	1	0	1	--	--	--
Teachers of secondary school	1	1	2	1.22	6	3	9	6.04	2.35	0.05
University lecturers	1	2	3	1.83	8	6	14	9.40	3.10	0.01
Total	3	3	6	3.66	15	9	24	16.10	3.72	0.001

Table 5-20 shows that both secondary school teachers and university lecturers in Taiwan are felt to be significantly more influential than the Scottish teachers and lecturers. While it is not easy to point out what stage of

education in Scotland is more influential, it is definite that, as seen throughout the first three choices, university lecturers in Taiwan have been the most eminent educators in influencing student's political attitudes.

Table 5-21: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Mass media" as Third Choice

Sub-categories	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Television	24	7	31	18.90	2	4	6	4.00	4.06	0.001
Newspapers	21	6	27	16.26	9	10	19	12.75	0.93	N.S.
Films	0	0	0	--	2	0	2	--	--	--
Radio news	1	0	1	0.61	5	5	10	6.71	2.45	0.05
Total	46	13	59	35.98	18	19	37	24.83	2.15	0.05

As with the previous results, the group difference in television's influence is very significant as the above table shows. The Scottish students appear particularly to be in the position of identifying themselves preferably with television than other media. On the other hand, the Chinese students tend to feel that they are influenced more by newspapers and radio news than television.

Table 5-22: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Peer groups" as Third Choice

Sub-categories	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
School friends	5	5	10	6.10	0	0	0	0	3.14	0.01
University friends	4	3	7	4.26	7	1	8	5.37	0.46	N.S.
Total	9	8	17	10.36	7	1	8	5.37	1.63	N.S.

Table 5-22 shows that the Scottish students are more likely to recall their school friends' influence on their attitudes than the Chinese students. However, the Chinese are influenced by university friends equally with their Scottish counterparts, Nevertheless, it is undeniable that, no matter what the peer group is, this category is scarcely an important influence.

Table 5-23: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Book-reading" as Third Choice

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Books	6	10	16	9.76	5	7	12	8.05	0.53	N.S.
Biographies of political figures	5	2	7	4.26	2	5	7	4.70	0.19	N.S.
School curricula of civics/history	1	2	3	1.83	6	2	8	5.37	1.70	N.S.
Total	12	14	26	15.85	13	14	27	18.12	0.39	N.S.

The above table shows that, though the category "Book-reading" has been reported by more than 15% of subjects in each group as the third important influence, there is no evidence reflecting any group difference in all sub-categories.

Table 5-24: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Other relevant influence" as Third Choice

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Army officers	0	0	0	--	2	2	4	--	--	--
Parents' friends	0	1	1	--	3	0	3	--	--	--
Political speeches	6	4	10	6.10	2	3	5	3.35	3.13	N.S.
Demonstrations	2	3	5	--	1	0	1	--	--	--
Statesmen	4	4	8	4.88	1	2	3	2.01	1.38	N.S.
Elections	5	4	9	5.49	11	6	17	11.41	1.91	N.S.
Religion	1	1	2	--	1	0	1	--	--	--
* Other individual responses	2	0	2	--	0	0	0	--	--	--
Total	20	17	37	22.56	21	13	34	22.82	0.05	N.S.

Comparing with the previous choices, a substantial increase in frequency appears in the above category and some sub-categories (for Scottish: Political speeches, Demonstrations, Statesmen, Elections; for Chinese: Army officers, Elections). More than one-fifth of subjects in each group considered ^{items of} this category an important influence. But the group differences in this category as well as its sub-categories are non-significant.

* i.e. "Education", "Whole environment".

(D) The Fourth Choices

Table 5-25: The Frequencies of the Scottish & Chinese Students Reporting Various Factors as Their Fourth Important Influence on Political Attitudes

Factors	Scottish			Chinese		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Father	5	6	11	2	4	6
Mother	1	1	2	0	2	2
Brother	0	0	0	1	2	3
Sister	0	0	0	0	0	0
Other relatives	2	0	2	1	4	5
Teachers of primary school	0	0	0	1	0	1
Teachers of secondary school	5	2	7	7	1	8
University lecturers	6	2	8	6	2	8
Television	7	8	15	5	5	10
Newspapers	16	11	27	18	5	23
Films	3	2	5	1	0	1
Radio news	5	2	7	4	8	12
School friends	2	3	5	0	0	0
University friends	5	2	7	2	11	13
Books	14	5	19	4	7	11
Biographies of political figures	3	0	3	3	3	6
School curricula of civics/history	3	0	3	6	1	7
Army officers	1	0	1	3	1	4
Parents' friends	2	2	4	2	0	2
Political speeches	4	7	11	2	5	7
Demonstrations	3	2	5	1	0	1
Statesmen	7	2	9	6	2	8
Elections	4	3	7	7	2	9
Religions	2	1	3	1	0	1
Others mentioned by individuals	2	1	3	1	0	1
Total	102	62	164	83	66	149

Grouping the data of Table 5-25 in six categories, as before, the results are as follows:

Table 5-26: Comparison of The Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving ^{one of the} Six Categories as the Fourth Important Influence

Category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Family	8	7	15	9.14	4	12	16	10.74	0.47	N.S.
Teachers & lecturers	11	4	15	9.14	14	3	17	11.41	0.67	N.S.
Mass media	31	23	54	32.93	28	18	46	30.39	0.39	N.S.
Peer groups	7	5	12	7.32	2	11	13	8.72	0.46	N.S.
Book-reading	20	5	25	15.25	13	11	24	16.10	0.23	N.S.
Other relevant influences	25	18	43	26.22	22	11	33	22.15	0.82	N.S.
Total	102	62	164	100.00	83	66	149	100.00		

By examining the above table, the sequence of the six categories in terms of their "importance" can be seen to have the following order:

- (a) the Scottish group: (1) Mass media, (2) Book-reading, (3) Family, and Teachers & lecturers, and (4) Peer groups.
- (b) the Chinese group: (1) Mass media, (2) Book-reading, (3) Teachers & lecturers, (4) Family, and (5) Peer groups.

Generally speaking, the two groups reported no difference in category sequence, despite the small disparity of the Chinese and the Scottish ratings between "Family" and "Teachers & Lecturers", with a Scottish overlap in both sub-categories. In contrast with the previous choices, all categories in this choice reveal no significant difference between the two groups.

Table 5-27: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Family" as Fourth Choice

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Father	5	6	11	6.71	2	4	6	4.02	1.05	N.S.
Mother	1	1	2	1.22	0	2	2	1.34	0.09	N.S.
Brother	0	0	0	--	1	2	3	--	--	--
Sister	0	0	0	--	0	0	0	--	--	--
Other relatives	2	0	2	--	1	4	5	--	--	--
Total	8	7	15	9.14	4	12	16	10.74	0.47	N.S.

As compared with the previous three choices, the frequency of "Family" has been continually decreasing, as a consequence of course of their prominence as earlier choices. The father, as compared with the mother, is still more often quoted as an influence. However, no significant difference exists in any sub-category between the two groups.

Table 5-28: Comparison of the Numbers of Students & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Teachers & Lecturers" as Fourth Choice

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Teachers of primary school	0	0	0	--	1	0	1	--	--	--
Teachers of secondary school	5	2	7	4.26	7	1	8	5.37	0.46	N.S.
University lecturers	6	2	8	4.88	6	2	8	5.37	0.19	N.S.
Total	11	4	15	9.14	14	3	17	11.41	0.67	N.S.

Table 5-28 shows, for the first time, there is no significant difference existing between the two groups, as regards the influence of school teachers and lecturers whether in the main category or its sub-categories.

Table 5-29: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Mass media" as Fourth Choice

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Television	7	8	15	9.14	5	5	10	6.71	0.79	N.S.
Newspapers	16	11	27	16.47	18	5	23	15.44	0.25	N.S.
Films	3	2	5	--	1	0	1	--	--	--
Radio news	5	2	7	4.27	4	8	12	8.05	1.40	--
Total	31	23	54	32.93	28	18	46	30.88	0.39	N.S.

Unlike the previous ones, in this Fourth Choice, the Scottish students also reported they were influenced mainly by newspapers rather than by television. But even so, there is still no significant difference in any sub-category between the two groups.

Table 5-30: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Peer groups" as Fourth Choice

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	P
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
School friends	2	3	5	--	0	0	0	--	--	--
University friends	5	2	7	4.27	2	11	13	8.72	1.65	N.S.
Total	7	5	12	7.32	2	11	13	8.72	0.46	N.S.

The above table shows that more Scottish students reported the influence of school friends than did the Chinese, and in turn, more Chinese students mentioned the influence of university friends than did the Scottish. But no group difference is significant in any sub-category.

Table 5-31: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Book-reading" as Fourth Choice

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Books	14	5	19	11.59	4	7	11	7.38	1.24	N.S.
Biographies of political figures	3	0	3	1.83	3	3	6	4.02	0.88	N.S.
School curricula of civics/history	3	0	3	1.83	6	1	7	4.70	1.44	N.S.
Total	20	5	25	15.25	13	11	24	16.10	0.23	N.S.

As with the results for the same category shown in the last section, the group differences in all sub-categories are also not significant.

Table 5-32: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Other relevant influences" as Fourth Choice

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Army officers	1	0	1	--	3	1	4	--	--	--
Parents' friends	2	2	4	--	2	0	2	--	--	--
Political speeches	4	7	11	6.71	2	5	7	4.70	0.91	N.S.
Demonstrations	3	2	5	--	1	0	1	--	--	--
Statesmen	7	2	9	5.49	6	2	8	5.37	0.05	N.S.
Elections	4	3	7	4.26	7	2	9	6.04	0.72	N.S.
Religions	2	1	3	--	0	1	1	--	--	--
* Other individual responses	2	1	3	--	1	0	1	--	--	--
Total	25	18	43	26.22	22	11	33	22.15	0.82	N.S.

* i.e. "summer jobs in industry", "philosophy", and "living abroad" mentioned by the Scots; "self judgement" mentioned by the Chinese.

Among the sub-categories of "Other relevant influences" three sub-categories, namely "Political speeches", "Statesmen", and "Election" are more frequently mentioned by both groups than the others. Nevertheless, as a whole, no difference can be regarded as significant.

(E) The Fifth Choice

Table 5-33: The Frequencies of the Scottish & Chinese Students Reporting Various Factors as Their Fifth Important Influence on Political Attitudes

Factors	Scottish			Chinese		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Father	6	2	8	3	1	4
Mother	4	3	7	1	1	2
Brother	1	0	1	3	4	7
Sister	0	0	0	2	0	2
Other relatives	0	1	1	1	2	3
Teachers of primary school	1	1	2	1	0	1
Teachers of secondary school	1	0	1	5	2	7
University lecturers	4	2	6	5	3	8
Television	13	5	18	3	3	6
Newspapers	5	8	13	9	8	17
Films	0	1	1	3	3	6
Radio news	2	3	5	8	4	12
School friends	6	2	8	1	1	2
University friends	8	2	10	5	8	13
Books	6	4	10	6	3	9
Biographies of political figures	3	1	4	11	4	15
School curricula of civics/history	3	2	5	2	1	3
Army officers	1	0	1	2	0	2
Parents' friends	0	1	1	0	1	1
Political speeches	9	3	12	3	4	7
Demonstrations	5	2	7	1	2	3
Statesmen	6	9	15	4	3	7
Elections	15	9	24	4	7	11
Religion	2	0	2	0	1	1
Others mentioned by individuals	1	1	2	0	0	0
Total	102	62	164	83	66	149

Based on Table 5-33, we are able to figure out the results of all six categories as follows:

Table 5-34: Comparison of The Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving ^{one of the} Six Categories as the Fifth Important Influence

Category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Family	11	6	17	10.36	10	8	18	12.08	0.48	N.S.
Teachers & lecturers	6	3	9	5.49	11	5	16	10.74	1.71	N.S.
Mass media	20	17	37	22.56	23	18	41	27.52	1.30	N.S.
Peer groups	14	4	18	10.98	6	9	15	10.06	0.27	N.S.
Book-reading	12	7	19	11.59	19	8	27	18.12	1.66	N.S.
Other relevant influences	39	25	64	39.02	14	18	32	21.48	3.38	0.001
Total	102	62	164	100.00	83	66	149	100.00		

According to the above table, the sequence of the six categories in terms of their "importance" for each groups are:

- (a) the Scottish group: (1) Mass media, (2) Book-reading, (3) Peer groups, (4) Family, and (5) Teachers & lecturers.
- (b) the Chinese group: (1) Mass media, (2) Book-reading, (3) Family, (4) Teachers & lecturers, and (5) Peer groups.

Although the sequences for each group are slightly different from each other, only one category " Other relevant influences" bears a significant group difference.

The following tables give the comparison of the sub-categories for each main category.

Table 5-35: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Family" as Fifth Choice

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Father	6	2	8	4.88	3	1	4	2.68	1.00	N.S.
Mother	4	3	7	4.27	1	1	2	1.34	1.55	N.S.
Brother	1	0	1	0.61	3	4	7	4.70	2.27	0.05
Sister	0	0	0	--	2	0	2	--	--	--
Other relatives	0	1	1	--	1	2	3	--	--	--
Total	11	6	17	10.36	10	8	18	12.08	0.48	N.S.

The above table shows that significantly more Chinese students than their Scottish counterparts rated "Brother" as an influence. Apart from this, no other significant difference exists between the two groups.

Table 5-36: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Teachers & lecturers" as Fifth Choice

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Teachers of primary school	1	1	2	--	1	0	1	--	--	--
Teachers of secondary school	1	0	1	0.61	5	2	7	4.70	2.27	0.05
University lecturers	4	2	6	3.66	5	3	8	5.37	0.73	N.S.
Total	6	3	9	5.49	11	5	16	10.74	1.71	N.S.

Although the frequency is still small, Table 5-36 shows that the group difference in the second sub-category (Teachers of secondary school) is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 5-37: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Mass media" as Fifth Choice

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Television	13	5	18	10.98	3	3	6	4.02	2.31	0.05
Newspapers	5	8	13	7.93	9	8	17	11.41	1.02	N.S.
Films	0	1	1	--	3	3	6	--	--	--
Radio news	2	3	5	3.05	8	4	12	8.05	1.97	0.05
Total	20	17	37	22.56	23	18	41	27.52	1.30	N.S.

The above table shows that group differences exist in two sub-categories. More Scottish students reported television's influence in their last choice than did the Chinese students. In turn, radio news appears to be more influential on the Chinese side than on the Scottish side.

Table 5-38: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Peer groups" as Fifth Choice

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
School friends	6	2	8	4.88	1	1	2	1.34	1.78	N.S.
University friends	8	2	10	6.10	5	8	13	8.72	0.89	N.S.
Total	14	4	18	10.98	6	9	15	10.06	0.27	N.S.

Again, as in the Fourth Choice, group differences in two stages of education are not significant.

Table 5-39: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Book-reading" as Fifth Choice

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Books	6	4	10	6.10	6	3	9	6.04	0.02	N.S.
Biographies of political figures	3	1	4	2.44	11	4	15	10.06	2.76	0.01
School curricula of civics/history	3	2	5	--	2	1	3	--	--	--
Total	12	7	19	11.59	19	8	27	18.12	1.66	N.S.

In the above table, "Biographies of political figures" appears to be rated more frequently by the Chinese subjects than by the Scottish. Apart from this, the other two sub-categories reveal no significant difference.

Table 5-40: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students Giving Sub-categories of "Other relevant influences" as Fifth Choice

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Army officers	1	0	1	--	2	0	2	--	--	--
Parents' friends	0	1	1	--	0	1	1	--	--	--
Political speeches	9	3	12	7.32	3	4	7	4.70	0.95	N.S.
Demonstrations	5	2	7	4.27	1	2	3	2.01	0.43	N.S.
Statesmen	6	9	15	9.14	4	3	7	4.70	1.54	N.S.
Elections	15	9	24	14.64	4	7	11	7.38	2.05	0.05
Religion	2	1	3	--	0	1	1	--	--	--
* Other individual responses	1	0	1	--	0	0	0	--	--	--
Total	39	25	64	39.02	14	18	32	21.48	3.38	0.001

The above table shows that only one sub-category (Election) suggests some difference between the two groups.

* "scientific discovery"

(F) A General Review

Since the respondents were at first requested to select five factors before they ranked them in orders of importance, thus, it seems advisable to gather all five choices together without taking into account their order. In concluding this chapter, the following cumulative results are presented:

Table 5-41 The Cumulative Frequencies of the Five Choices Reported as Influences on Political Attitudes

Factors	Scottish(164)			Chinese(149)		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Father	47	34	81	29	26	55
Mother	18	18	36	7	6	13
Brother	3	2	5	9	8	17
Sister	1	2	3	2	2	4
Other relatives	4	5	9	6	8	14
Teachers of primary school	2	1	3	4	3	7
Teachers of secondary school	8	8	16	25	14	39
University lecturers	17	8	25	33	33	66
Television	77	35	112	14	13	27
Newspapers	81	44	125	65	48	113
Films	3	3	6	6	4	10
Radio news	13	8	21	20	23	43
School friends	19	12	31	4	3	7
University friends	30	12	42	23	25	48
Books	48	27	75	36	31	67
Biographies of political figures	12	6	18	25	16	41
School curricula of civics/history	14	7	21	21	9	30
Army officers	2	0	2	11	3	14
Parents' friends	2	4	6	5	1	6
Political speeches	23	16	39	16	15	31
Demonstrations	13	9	22	3	3	6
Statesmen	22	19	41	20	9	29
Elections	30	21	51	29	23	52
Religion	9	4	13	2	2	4
Others mentioned by individuals	12	5	17	1	1	2
Total	510	310	820	416	329	745

Drawing from Table 5-41, we are able to figure out the results of all six categories as follows:

Table 5-42: Comparison of the Cumulative Frequencies of Choices of the Six Categories by Scottish & Chinese Students

Category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Family	73	61	134	16.34	53	50	103	13.83	1.39	N.S.
Teachers & lecturers	27	17	44	5.37	62	50	112	15.03	6.35	N.S.
Mass media	174	90	264	32.20	105	88	193	25.91	2.69	0.01
Peer groups	49	24	73	8.90	27	28	55	7.38	1.11	N.S.
Book-reading	74	40	114	13.90	82	56	138	18.52	2.48	0.05
Other relevant influences	113	78	191	23.29	87	57	144	19.33	1.43	N.S.
Total	510	310	820	100	416	329	745	100		

According to the above table, the sequence of the categories, apart from the miscellaneous category termed "Other relevant influences", in terms of their "importance" for each group are as follows:

- (a) the Scottish group: (1)Mass media, (2)Family, (3) Book-reading, (4)Peer groups, (5)Teachers & lecturers.
- (b) the Chinese group: (1)Mass media, (2)Book-reading, (3)Teachers & lecturers, (4) Family, (5)Peer groups.

It is obvious that the two groups overlap but are significantly different in the first order category "Mass media". The two groups also differ somewhat in "Book-reading". But the most striking difference lies in "Teachers & lecturers". This is a further confirmation of the third hypothesis that Chinese students are more influenced in their political attitudes by teachers and lecturers than are the Scottish students.

Following the pattern of previous sections, all six categories are now tabulated in serial order.

Table 5-43: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students in Cumulative Frequencies of Choices of the Sub-categories of "Family"

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Father	47	34	81	9.88	29	26	55	7.38	1.82	N.S.
Mother	18	18	36	4.39	7	6	13	1.75	5.79	0.001
Brother	3	2	5	0.61	9	8	17	2.28	2.96	0.01
Sister	1	2	3	0.37	2	2	4	0.54	0.50	N.S.
Other relatives	4	5	9	1.09	6	8	14	1.88	1.28	N.S.
Total	73	61	134	16.34	53	50	103	13.83	1.39	N.S.

The above table shows that, while the "Father" is the most influential among members of the family, no significant difference exists between the two groups. The Scottish "Mother" appears to be more influential than the Chinese "Mother". In return, the Chinese "Brother" seems to play a more important role in influencing the students' attitudes than the Scottish "Brother". No significant difference exists in the other two sub-categories between the two groups.

Table 5-44: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students in Cumulative Frequencies of Choices of the Sub-categories of "Teachers & lecturers"

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Teachers of primary school	2	1	3	0.37	4	3	7	0.94	1.41	N.S.
Teachers of secondary school	8	8	16	1.95	25	14	39	5.23	3.53	0.001
University lecturers	17	8	25	3.05	33	33	66	8.86	4.88	0.001
Total	27	17	44	5.37	62	50	112	15.03	6.35	0.001

Table 5-44 shows, while both Scottish and Chinese teachers of primary school are not an important influence on students' political attitudes, the Chinese teachers in secondary school as well as the university lecturers are relatively influential as compared with their Scottish colleagues. In particular, in view of the substantial number of students in Taiwan who mentioned their university lecturers, one might not be surprised that about half of our Chinese subjects reported that they began to care about politics at the earlier stage of their university education as shown in the second table of the next chapter.

Table 5-45: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students in Cumulative Frequencies of Choices of the Sub-categories of "Mass media"

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Television	77	35	112	13.66	14	13	27	3.63	6.96	0.001
Newspapers	81	44	125	15.24	65	48	113	15.17	0.04	N.S.
Films	3	3	6	0.74	6	4	10	1.34	1.19	N.S.
Radio news	13	8	21	2.56	20	23	43	5.77	3.21	0.01
Total	174	90	264	32.20	105	88	195	25.91	2.69	0.01

As the most important influence among all six categories rated by both groups, the impact of mass media on Scottish students' attitudes ^{towards} politics seems more powerful than on the Chinese students. While newspapers have been equally influential on both sides, obviously a bigger audience for modern television has been found in the Scottish students than among the Chinese students. In case it might be thought that there is more opportunity for television in Scotland, it should be pointed out that one of the main industries in Taiwan is the manufacture of television sets.

Table 5-46: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students in Cumulative Frequencies of Choices of the Sub-categories of "Peer groups"

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
School friends	19	12	31	3.78	4	3	7	0.94	3.68	0.001
University friends	30	12	42	5.12	23	25	48	6.44	1.16	N.S.
Total	49	24	73	8.90	27	28	55	7.38	1.11	N.S.

Table 5-46 shows that no significant difference exists in "University friends" between the two groups. But it appears that more Scottish students tend to regard their school friends as an importance influence than the Chinese students.

Table 5-47: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students in Cumulative Frequencies of Choices of the Sub-categories of "Book-reading"

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Books	48	27	75	9.15	36	31	67	8.99	0.01	N.S.
Biographies of political figures	12	6	18	2.19	25	16	41	5.50	3.42	0.001
School curricula of civics/history	14	7	21	2.56	21	9	30	4.03	1.64	N.S.
Total	74	40	114	13.90	82	56	138	18.52	2.48	0.05

As an intellectual, the university student has many reasons for being influenced by the books he reads. This is why the present category has been the second in influence next only to "Mass media". Though the group difference in the category is significant at the .05 level, it seems that the Chinese students are more likely to identify themselves with the political figures appearing in biographies than their Scottish counterparts.

Table 5-48: Comparison of the Numbers of Scottish & Chinese Students in Cumulative Frequencies of Choices of the Sub-categories of "Other relevant influences"

Sub-category	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	M	F	Both	%	M	F	Both	%		
Army officers	2	0	2	0.25	11	3	14	1.88	3.24	0.01
Parents' friends	2	4	6	0.74	5	1	6	0.81	0.02	N.S.
Political speeches	23	16	39	4.76	16	15	31	4.16	0.57	N.S.
Demonstrations	13	9	22	2.68	3	3	6	0.81	2.78	0.01
Statesmen	22	19	41	5.00	20	9	29	3.89	1.06	N.S.
Elections	30	21	51	6.22	29	23	52	6.98	0.60	N.S.
Religion	9	4	13	1.57	2	2	4	0.53	1.98	0.05
Other individual responses	12	5	17	2.07	1	1	2	0.27	3.27	0.01
Total	113	78	191	23.29	87	57	144	19.33	1.43	N.S.

The above table shows that half of the eight sub-categories reveal some group differences. The army officers are more influential on Chinese students than on Scottish students as a result of Taiwan's bigger proportion of armed forces (While Britain has reduced its numbers of armed forces to about one-third of a million, Taiwan still maintains half of a million of its military strength; though Britain's population is 3.5 times as that of Taiwan). Thus, many students in Taiwan come from family with military background or have relatives or friends serving in the army. Since demonstrations are so prevalent in Britain, yet are prohibited in Taiwan, the group difference in this sub-category is quite understandable. The difference in "Religion" reflects its important role in Western society. Finally the evidence that more Scottish students liked to present their own responses once more suggests that they are more interested in individual rights than are the Chinese students (Second Hypothesis).

CHAPTER 6 : THE BEGINNING OF INTERESTS IN POLITICS:
RESULTS OF SELF-REPORT

As mentioned in the second chapter, the final part of the battery was to ask the subjects to indicate the approximate age at which they began to develop an interest in politics. The aim was to attempt to find out at what stage of life, which may be connected with the education stage, the subjects were likely to begin to care about politics. The information emerging from these results was expected mainly to help in explaining the weight of the influence between school teachers and university lecturers on the students' attitudes in each group and between the two countries. The following tables depict these aspects.

Table 6-1: Comparison of the Numbers and Percentages of Scottish & Chinese Students in Terms of the Approximate Age Stated as the Time of Beginning to Care about Politics

Age-period	Scottish						Chinese					
	Male		Female		Both		Male		Female		Both	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
5-11	3	2.9	1	1.6	4	2.5	3	3.6	1	1.5	4	2.7
12-13	6	5.9	3	4.8	9	5.5	6	7.2	2	3.0	8	5.4
14-15	30	29.4	12	19.4	42	25.6	10	12.1	9	13.6	19	12.7
16-17	28	27.5	16	25.8	44	26.8	18	21.7	11	16.7	29	19.5
18-19	19	18.6	16	25.8	35	21.3	33	39.7	30	45.5	63	42.3
20 & over	5	4.9	7	11.3	12	7.3	11	13.3	6	9.1	17	11.4
Not at all	11	10.8	7	11.3	18	11.0	2	2.4	7	10.6	9	6.0
Total	102	100	62	100	164	100	83	100	66	100	149	100

Table 6-1 reveals that very few students (less than 3% in each group) began to care about politics in earlier childhood (under 12 years of age). About 11% of Scottish students and 6% of Chinese students reported that they did not care about politics at all. Some students (7% and 11% of the Scottish and the Chinese respectively) began to care as late as 20 years of age and over. In general, about 80% of the subjects in both groups developed their political interests within the age-period of 12 to 19.

The Scottish students seem to begin earlier than the Chinese students. More than half of the Scottish students developed their interests between the ages of 14-16 as compared with only one-third of the Chinese students. The proportion of the Chinese beginning to care about politics at the ages of 18-19 is twice as great as that of the Scottish. For the convenience of comparison, the following table was made after having grouped the age-ranges which represent roughly the stages of education.

Table 6-2: Comparison of the Numbers and Percentages of Scottish & Chinese Students in Terms of the Age-period Stated as the Time of Beginning to Care about Politics

Age-period	Scottish				Chinese				t	p
	Male	Female	Both	%	Male	Female	Both	%		
5-11	3	1	4	2.4	3	1	4	2.7	0.14	N.S.
12-17	64	31	95	57.9	34	22	56	37.6	3.53	0.001
18 & over	24	23	47	28.7	44	36	80	53.7	14.3	0.001
Not at all	11	7	18	11.0	2	7	9	6.0	1.56	N.S.
Total	102	62	164	100	83	66	149	100		

The above results suggest that more Scottish students began their political interests at the ages of 12-17 than the Chinese. More than half of the Chinese subjects develop their political interests at the ages of 18 and over as

compared with less than 30% of the Scottish. Therefore, it seems fair to say that the majority of the Scottish subjects began to care about politics in their later secondary school life, whilst the Chinese began in their earlier university life. This may partly explain why the university lecturers in Taiwan are more influential on their students' political attitudes than the Scottish lecturers.

As regards the sex difference, Tables 6-1 and 6-2 both reveal a tendency, the same in each country, that the female students developed their interests in politics later than did the male students. Unfortunately, here we can not trace out the actual deviation in terms of exact years of age, since it seemed realistic to ask subjects to recall only broad ranges of ages.

CHAPTER 7 : FURTHER DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The results of the four instruments used in the present study have been presented in the previous chapters separately. They will now be analysed and discussed in more detail to attempt to derive general and viable information concerning some political attitudes of the two cultural groups of students. In the present chapter, all material obtained from this survey will be put together and discussed simultaneously.

To utilize the materials in an organised manner, the discussion will be focussed on the following topics:

1. Attitudes towards political ideologies and other political objects; This section will cover ideologies, namely, Democracy, Totalitarianism, Utopian ideas, Socialism; and the ideal political leader in comparison with actual political leaders who represent different ideologies, namely Joseph Stalin, and John Kennedy.

2. Attitudes towards individual rights and social interest: The topics will consist of: individual morality versus the common good, the treatment of minority opinions in decision-making, and industrial action in relation to the cognitive aspect of attitudes.

3. Political attitudes and political education: In this part, the following aspects will be compared:

- (a) The design of school political education;
- (b) The roles of teachers and lecturers in each country and their influence on young people's political attitudes.

4. Political attitudes and mass media: The media (i.e. newspapers and television) will be examined as to their influence on our subjects.

5. Political attitudes and other influences coming from families and peer groups: Three topics will be covered in this section:

- (a) The development of political interests;

- (b) Family and young people's political identification in attitude formation;
- (c) The influence of peer groups in school and in the university.

The above topics will now be discussed in detail.

1. Attitudes Towards Political Ideologies and Other Political Objects

Ideology is referred to as "an organisation of beliefs and attitudes" (Rokeach, 1968). When it serves as a political belief system, ideology provides for the individual a cognitive structure through which political objects are perceived, understood, and interpreted. The function of this cognitive aspect of political ideology, as Christenson et al. (1971) put it, is to help people to avoid ambiguity in their lives, and provide a sense of certainty. In this study some ideologies, namely Totalitarianism, Democracy, Utopian ideas and Socialism were put into the form of a questionnaire i.e. certain representative features were presented in the questions. The respondent's attitudes toward these ideologies were shown in Tables 3-2, 3-3, 4-4, and 4-7.

Historically, the term "Totalitarianism" entered human vocabulary not earlier than the beginning of this century. With the emergence of Stalinist Russia, and the successive appearances of Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy, Totalitarianism has since been regarded as a major political reality. While there^{are} different patterns of its kind -- roughly speaking, the left or the right, the common characteristics of Totalitarianism can be described as follows:

(1) The premise of the doctrine is based on the idea of conflict and struggle, on the belief of the basic inequality between men, classes or nations, which dictates that only the fittest or the best are to survive;

(2) Because of the belief that there is a natural inequality among nations and parties, it follows that one party (or group) must necessarily be superior to other parties, or that one leader (or one man) must likewise be superior to all others.

(3) The doctrine also emphasises and justifies the use of violence. The constant resorting to war, revolution, purges and concentration camps, strongly suggests that violence is indeed an integral feature of the Totalitarian system.

(4) Hence, the structural features in the organisation of Totalitarian society are the identification of a ruling élite, police terror, a monopoly of weapons, a monopoly of communications, and a controlled economy.

The results of the Semantic Differential reveal that the two groups' attitudes towards "Totalitarianism" are both evidently unfavourable. Though both did not deny that a totalitarian system has some seeming merits, for instance, that it is strong, (this appears to refer to the centralised powers of leadership, singlemindedness in pursuing national goals, the toughness of national policies, etc.), that it is fast (the speedy process of decision-making due to dictatorship, and the possible sudden mobilisation of national resources etc.), nevertheless it is in essence evaluated as a "bad" and "unfair" system. The climate in totalitarian society is overall severe, because people have been deprived of individual freedom, are always under the pressure of police terror and are threatened by detention in concentration camps.

However, apart from the above similar beliefs and feelings, the two groups' attitudes still manifested some significant differences. Despite the fact that Britain has been regarded as the country with the highest democratic performance in the world (Neubauer, 1967), and that Taiwan is rated as an area where the development of

a democratic system, particularly the political democracy, is still lagging behind many Western countries, the Taiwan students seemed to be more intolerant of Totalitarianism than Scottish students. The latter appeared less hostile to that system, perhaps reflecting their open-minded tendency and political toleration.

The situation mentioned above requires further explanation. The author believes that two more factors also resulted in the two groups' attitudinal differences. Firstly, the current political reality in these two countries is not the same. Specifically, Britain is facing no obvious or potential enemy from abroad, while the government and people in Taiwan have been engaging in confrontation with Communists in Mainland China since 1949. The evident and immediate threat coming from a totalitarian external force makes the people in Taiwan consistently alert to the danger and always ready to resist the invasion of the ideology of Totalitarianism. It would be inappropriate indeed to say that Taiwan people hold more hostile attitudes towards Totalitarianism simply because they prefer a democratically-oriented society. Rather, the different properties of the external situation a country is facing play a great part in affecting their selectivity of attitudes.

The second factor lies in the greater intensity of political education in Taiwan, inside and outside the sphere of school. This will be discussed in the third section of this chapter.

The next topic will be concerned with the ideology of "Democracy". In general Democracy refers to a political system in which the people (citizenry) voluntarily consent to and are major participants in their governance. Democracy involves the following principles, among many others:

(1) Popular sovereignty: The idea that ultimate political power resides in each man and in all men.

(2) Human freedom in society: Democrats insist that each individual should have the liberty and opportunity to formulate and pursue his own legitimate purposes.

(3) Human equality in society: Democrats hold that each person must be guaranteed equal rights in society.

(4) The democratic faith in men and progress. Democrats believe that men can live in freedom and peace; regulate their own lives and engage in voluntary cooperation; share in their governance, discuss temperately, and choose wisely; and enjoy equality and improve the human condition.

It would be too optimistic to expect that all students taking part in this study had the above beliefs in their minds. Yet, since they are growing up in a democratic society, in which their democratic way of life has been cultivated, and because they are intellectuals, they could, thus, be supposed to hold some rather definite and enduring attitudes towards the ideology of Democracy.

The results shown in Table 3-3 suggest that there are more similarities than differences in the two groups' attitudes. Both of them regard "Democracy" as a "good" system to a high degree in contrast to the low evaluation given to Totalitarianism. In none of the five evaluative scales is the concept "Democracy" rated below the average. Both groups rated "Democracy" as "lenient" and "slow" in the potency and activity scales. Certainly a democratic society allows the people to enjoy more individual freedom. Discipline in any organisation or society under a democratic system is generally not so strict compared with that in a totalitarian state. The values and procedures of democracy begin and end with the individual human being defined as a person with a separate identity and worth. Hence, the leniency in the trait of democracy is hardly a

complete negativism^{vi}. The "Activity" of democracy is seen as somewhat slow. This might reflect the idea that young people in both countries were not satisfied with the progress of social reform with the low degree of energy and initiative in government's daily administration under a democratic system.

Utopian Ideas and Socialist Policy

Historically, the builders of Utopias such as that of Plato, Campanella, More, Fourier, Owen, etc. have drawn their own blueprint of an ideal state, and hoped it could be realised as a single best form of solution to current social problems. Though the students attending this study were in their late adolescence, their intellectual capacity would undoubtedly enable them to develop a set of ideals which might, in the future, be translated into their career's ambitions. As Table 4-4 shows, we found in this investigation that very few of the students (about 15%) in each sample could be categorised as political idealists with strong belief in adopting Utopian designs as aims of the government. One-third of the students instead thought of Utopian ideas as totally unacceptable. However, half of them, though they might be sceptics, were willing to see some Utopian ideas being incorporated into government policy. The two cultural groups expressed their attitudes towards Utopian ideas in a quite similar way.

The subjects were also requested to evaluate the suitability of nationalisation of industry, and the result reveals the same group tendency. Equally, half of the students in both groups responded to this item in moderation, while others divided themselves equally in both countries into those strongly for and those strongly against it. This seems to be in accordance with the political system of both countries, since neither Britain nor Taiwan has

formally declared herself a Socialist country, though in practice, many of their important industries, such as electricity and the railway, postal, telegram and telephone services, have been state-owned for many years.

Ideal and Actual Political Leaders

As we recall, in Chapter 3, the technique of the Semantic Differential was devised also to trace out any difference between the two groups' attitudes towards their ideal political leader and two actual political leaders. It was found that, in the main, the two groups' attitudes towards Joseph Stalin were significantly different in most of the scale ratings e.g. he was rated more important, stronger and more active by the Scottish students in contrast to the relative agreement of both groups in rating John Kennedy. Thus we are able to conclude that Kennedy was regarded by both groups as a favourite candidate for becoming an ideal political leader if one could make a choice only between him and Stalin. Nevertheless, the ratings of each group on the ideal leader's traits such as fairness, usefulness, goodness, and honesty appear to be higher than those of Kennedy. That this discrepancy is due to the imperfection of the actual political leader or the students' over-expectation for an ideal leader remains a question.

2. Attitudes towards Individual Rights and Social Interest

For many centuries, a focal point of political arguments has been the concept of "Public Interest" which stands clearly at the centre of the value dimension of politics. Though, as Held (1970) suggests, the meaning of Public Interest is diffuse and unsatisfactory, some like Barry (1965) still claim that there are indeed in-

terests common to all members of a community. But in contemporary democratic society where people, however, believe that the individual should be allowed not only to define and evaluate but to pursue and satisfy his interests with a minimum of interference from the state or the society as a whole, an inquiry into how the students distinguish Individual Interest from Public Interest may help us to understand another aspect of political attitudes of the two cultural groups.

We supposed the items (1) and (2) in the second questionnaire of which the results are shown in Tables 4-1 and 4-2, could reflect certain attitudes toward the above-mentioned distinction of Individual and Public Interest. The first item contains a belief as to whether or not a government official should have imposed on him an extra moral duty, which, in turn, means a limitation on his individual right or interest. If an official happened to be the victim of a publicised scandal which is seen by the majority of the people as morally wrong, then what would be the consequent reaction of the students? Here we found that half of the students in each group expressed their moderate approval to dismiss this official. But among the others, more Scottish students (63:19) would rather take no action against him, while the Chinese students divided themselves (37:41) in their attitudes. The difference is significant (at the level of 0.001) which permits us to say that the Chinese students tend not to set such a definite line between the interest or rights of an individual and the stricter moral duty which is additionally imposed on the government official as a necessity to protect the Public Interest.

With reference to the second item (officials accepting bribes) since the statement referred to behaviour which would involve an explicit violation of social sanction and public interest, thus not surprisingly nine out

of ten students in each country stand for dismissing the corrupt official who gives or receives a bribe. In comparison with the result emerging from the previous item which in essence may not be so discernibly concerned with the priority between Individual Interest and the Public Interest the answers to this second item (namely bribery) are definitely what one would expect.

Attitudes to Taking Account of Minority Opinions

Turning to Item (3), since the democratic system is based on the principle of majority rule, this means that when a public decision is being made, and opinions are divided, then the alternative preferred by the larger numbers of participants in that decision shall prevail. In prevailing, the alternative supported by the majority is for that time conclusive and binding on the entire group or society. However, there are limits to this majority rule. For example, it cannot oppress the minority; instead, the rights of the minority continue to exist, to be heard, and to seek to prevail. Hence, in coming to a government decision, the treatment of the minority opinions is not a matter of "should" or "should not", but "how" to deal with it. As Table 4-3 shows, about 40% of each group's students strongly believed that the government is bound to take serious account of minority opinions in carrying out its decisions. But it appears that a significant difference between Scottish and Chinese students still exists among those who gave no such endorsement. One-sixth students from the Chinese group (i.e. 17%) thought that the minority opinions deserved to be ignored, while only 6% of the Scottish students shared the same negative view. Therefore we are given the impression that the Scottish students are more likely to respect the values and rights of the minority opinions in their view of the principles of Democracy.

Strikes in Relation to the Knowledge Function of Attitudes

The difference in attitudes towards the adoption of strikes in industrial disputes suggests the two groups' different process of socialisation in recognition of the nature of strikes and their general beliefs about this practice and its effects. This has been discussed at some length in the fourth chapter. What we are to add here is to present an instance to Katz's theory of attitudes.

Katz (1960) points out that one of the four functions which attitudes perform for the individual is the knowledge function. People seek for "standards or frames of reference for understanding their world, and attitudes help to supply such standards". Therefore, since the nature and effects of strikes have been perceived and thought of differently by the people of the two countries, the attitudes they have already acquired provide them with different bases for interpreting what they perceived. Hence, unless the two countries' situations are dramatically changed, the two groups' difference in attitudes in perceiving strikes may remain as it is for some time.

3. Political Attitudes and Political Education

The aims of the educational institutions are regarded in the main as being to equip young people with those basic skills of literacy to transmit the skills and information necessary to practice the professions. But, apart from these, the schools also maintain other functions as to mould children into citizens, propagate the historical lore of the people, their myths, beliefs and faiths, and thereby aid the process of political indoctrination (Key, 1961).

Obviously the instruments of political education and the forms of instruction are different from one country to another. In Communist states like the Soviet Union, the education is purposely directed to political ends. Their schools and higher institutions are responsible for "shaping the Communist world outlook of the pupils and rearing them in the spirit of Communist morality and of boundless loyalty to the country and the people, and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism" (cited by Grant, N., Soviet Education, Penguin, 1964). On the other hand, political education in non-Communist states varies enormously in its objects, contents and methods. In general, there is a less explicit and organised intent to use the school as instruments for indoctrination. In Scotland, as Mercer (1973) reports, though the school children are exposed to a formal course in political education, namely "Modern Studies", however, "there has been no marked impact on the growth of democratic orientation". By contrast, in Taiwan, the political education has been consciously designed^{*} and practiced throughout every stage of education, i.e. from primary school to university. As in the United States, Civic instruction is maintained in every school year. In addition, the writings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founding father of the Republic of China, are taught at the final year of secondary school as well as the first undergraduate year. Furthermore, other supplementary ceremonies within the sphere of political education, mentioned in the second chapter, are also participated in by all children and students who are receiving their education in schools and colleges or universities.

As a political weapon adopted to resist the ideology of Communism, in Taiwan, the merits and values of Democracy have been especially emphasised and utilised in the form of a strengthened, comprehensive political education, which appears to be unique and exceptional among those of

*The constitution of the Republic of China provides (Article 158): "Education and culture shall aim at the development among the citizens of the national spirit, of self-government, national morality,---."

non-Communist states. In the third chapter, it was pointed out that the Chinese students tend to alienate themselves from and demean the ideology of Totalitarianism and the person who represents something of its value. The apparent reasons for this group difference are primarily due to the effectiveness of political education established in Taiwan.

In association with the above-mentioned influence on political attitudes, another important factor should not be neglected. The results in Table 5-44 reveal that Chinese teachers and lecturers are exerting more influence on the political attitudes of their students than Scottish teachers and lecturers. This might be attributed to the following causes:

(1) the different effect of political education in which the teachers or the lecturers are themselves either the direct participants or indirect messengers.

(2) the lack of alternative sources on the part of the Chinese students for getting objective and original political information.

(3) the traditional Chinese respect for the status and role of a teacher, and consequently the relatively receptive frame of mind of Chinese youth toward what their teacher instructs. Scotland too has had a tradition of respect for teachers, but it seems that this may have declined in the last few decades.

4. Political Attitudes and Mass media

It is self-evident that "communication" is a necessary social activity, since the individual can not avoid reacting to the presence of another person, even if one is not intended to and does not wish it. The term "communication" is described as "social interaction through

message" (Gerber, 1967). Meanwhile, according to "A Dictionary of the Social Sciences", mass media has been defined as "all the impersonal means of communication by which visual and/or auditory messages are transmitted directly to audiences. Included among the mass media are television, radio, motion pictures, newspapers, magazines, books, and billboards" (Gould and Kolb, 1964). Since communication in modern society is so pervasive, one can expect mass media to be a major determinant of individual activities in society. And since politics is a form of social activity, the influence on the individual of mass media, which provide extensive coverage of political affairs seems also inescapable. The young people living in the network of communication are exposed to the reports of domestic and international events, to the reviews and comments of present happenings and their relation to the past. In addition, they are also imbued with patriotism, stereotyped ideas towards other countries and peoples, etc. In short, we may assume that the mass media can increase an individual's political awareness, and help young people to be familiar with a wider range of objects to which attitudes may be directed (Morrison and McIntyre, 1971).

In the fourth chapter, we found that mass media (here referring to television, newspapers, films and radio only) are the most important factor in influencing the students' political attitudes. Table 5-2 shows that about 30% of the Scottish students and nearly one-quarter of the Chinese students have rated mass media as their first choice in terms of the importance of influence.

Among the four media mentioned above, the impacts of films and radio news are very limited, equally for the two groups, while the effect of newspapers is greater and tends to be equal for both groups. But television's influence is manifestly different for the two groups. The Scottish students are inclined to be affected more by modern tele-

vision than the Chinese students. The reasons may be due to:

(1) The comparative popularity of T.V.sets in proportion to each country's population. While television broadcasting was introduced to British families immediately after the Second World War, Taiwan did not start it until 1961. As the following table shows, Britain has a higher number of T.V. sets proportional to the general population than Taiwan.

Table 7-1: Comparison of Licensed Television Sets in Proportion to the Population in the U.K.& in Taiwan in the year 1973-74

Country	T.V.sets (B & W)	T.V.sets (Colour)	Total	Population	T.V.sets (per 1000)
U.K.	13,400,000		17,200,000		312.7
		3,800,000		55,000,000	
Taiwan	848,512		904,332		60.3
		55,820		15,000,000	

Source:(1) Britain 1974--An Official Handbook,
London: HMSO, 1974.

(2) Statistical Figures issued by the
Ministry of Communication, the
Republic of China, in April,1974.

It may be argued that since the organisation of the British family tends to be nuclear, while in Taiwan the composite (including polygamous and extended) family continues to be very popular, particularly in the rural areas, thus the audience before one single T.V.set should be bigger in Taiwan. Nevertheless, in view of the huge difference, we can fairly assume that Britain has a proportionally bigger audience for television.

(2) The deviation in the attraction of television programmes. British television has provided more programmes of political or current affairs (e.g. Panorama, Talk-in, World in Action, and Weekend World), whereas

Taiwan's television usually has only news bulletins which to some degree are not so objective and hence less attractive to the intellectual as compared with the high quality of news programme in Britain.

(3) Because the weather in Taiwan is much warmer throughout the year than in Britain, Taiwan students are likely to go out in the evening for recreation (e.g. seeing films, visiting friends, walking in the park, and shopping).

(4) The relative lack of interest in the political process (in spite of only 6% declaring no interest at all) makes the Taiwan students rather concentrate on study to be ready to turn to other concerns which appear non-politically oriented (Sheldon Appleton, 1970). In spite of government's efforts to practice political education, most of the students would like, in their private life, to avoid concern about politics. This eventually further reduces the influence of ~~mass media~~^{Television} on their political attitudes.

5. Family and Peer Group's Influences on Political Attitudes

The family and peer groups, as two of the agents of political socialisation, have been frequently regarded as important influences on individual's political attitudes (Jaros, 1973). It seems true that both family and peer groups can communicate their preferred political values (whatever the natures of the values are) to the young people. It will be recalled, as Table 5-2 shows, that the influence of family on political attitudes has been positively confirmed by the fact that about one-third of Scottish students and one-fifth of Chinese students reported "family" as the most important influence on their attitudes towards politics. On the other hand, the importance of the peer group's influence in school and university is less affirmative and recognisable. In the latter case,

only 7% and 4% of Scottish and Chinese students respectively refer to their peer group as the most important influence.

With regard to the family, specifically the parents, it is found that both Scottish parents are more influential than their Chinese counterparts. In particular, the difference between the two groups in rating the mother's influence is more significant. Though undoubtedly, either in a Western society like Scotland or an Eastern society like Taiwan, modern women are still less politically active than men, nevertheless, it appears that the Scottish mothers are comparatively more influential on their children's development of political attitudes. This might reflect a difference in women's interests and participation in politics in these two countries.

As to the peer group, it is clear that in modern society, people range far and wide, encountering others and acquiring new peers, i.e. friends and associates who have similar life circumstances. Moreover, in some ways, a young person may reject the values of his parents in favour of his friends, because he has fewer ties to the traditions and therefore is the more likely to be susceptible to the new forces. However, we found in this study that the effect of the peer group, whether in school or in the university, on a student's political attitudes is less powerful than some people would expect. This finding may further explain why many previous researchers (e.g. Dowse & Hughes, 1971) ignored the influence of peer groups and concentrated on families and schools in their study of political socialisation.

We also found that the Scottish students reported that they began to develop their political interests earlier than did the Chinese students. The Scottish students were likely to begin to care about politics in

in the later stage of secondary education, while the Chinese students tended to get interested later by one or two years until they became freshmen of the university. In association with this, we can assume that Chinese lectures play greater parts in influencing the students' political attitudes than do the Scottish lecturers. One reason contributing to the later development of political interests among Taiwan students may be the deprivation from attending extra-curricular activities on the part of Chinese children due to the overburden of study and the keen competition for university places.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we are here to list some main differences as well as similarities of the two groups' political attitudes as follows:

1. Differences of Political Attitudes between Scottish and Chinese Students

- (1) Differences in attitudes towards totalitarianism and a political leader who represents certain values of it: While the Scottish students tended to be more tolerant towards a totalitarian system and the leader concerned, the Chinese students in Taiwan could only express their lack of appreciation of them.
- (2) Difference in attitudes towards separation of public interest and individual right: The Scottish students tended to set a somewhat definite line between individual interests which should be respected, and public interest which should be protected, while the Chinese students tended to be willing to immolate individual interests for the fulfillment of public interest.

- (3) Difference in the influence of lecturers and teachers on the development of political attitudes: The Chinese lecturers and teachers were reported to be relatively more influential than their Scottish counterparts.
- (4) Difference in the influence of the family on political attitudes: The Scottish family, in particular the mother, was stated more frequently as an influence than the Chinese family.
- (5) Difference in treating minority opinions: The Scottish students were more likely to respect the values and rights of minority opinions than the Chinese students.
- (6) Difference in recognition of the nature of strikes: The Chinese students held less favourable attitudes towards the resort to strikes in dealing with industrial disputes than did the Scottish students.
- (7) Difference in the influence of television on political attitudes: While television and other mass media as newspapers were rated most frequently as an important influencing factor on political attitudes by the two cultural groups, the influence of television on the Scottish students has been more effective and powerful.
- (8) Difference in the stated age when political interests began: The Scottish students began to care about politics in general earlier (by 1-2 years) than did the Chinese students.

2. Similarities of Political Attitudes between Scottish and Chinese Students

- (1) Similar attitudes towards the ideology of Democracy and leader associated with it: Both groups' attitudes were in the main equally favourable.

- (2) Similar attitudes towards dismissing corrupt government officials: Both groups favoured dismissal.
- (3) Similar sceptical attitudes towards the introducing of Utopian ideas in government policy: Both Scottish and Chinese students were reluctant to believe in Utopia. Most of them were inclined to deny the idea or approve it only with reservation.
- (4) An equal proportion of Scottish and Chinese students held divided attitudes towards nationalisation of industry.
- (5) Both groups reported being less influenced by peer groups in their political attitudes than by other agents such as family and mass media.

Finally, to conclude this report, the author also feels that, due to the limitation of time and lack of previous experience, and the insufficiency of literature in this field, some incompleteness in this content is inevitable. Hence, the author believes that further research in this kind of comparative study should aim at securing interviews where open-ended questions might give deeper understanding of the motives, ideas, and feelings underlying the responses obtained from the questionnaires used in this study. Furthermore, since attitude theory and measurement form only one of the areas that connect social psychology and political science, other topics such as communication theory (Abcarian and Soule, 1971), and other methods such as the experimental studies of obedience to authority carried out a decade ago by Stanley Milgram (Milgram, 1974) may contribute further understanding of the political behaviour of human beings.

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Appendix:

1. The Semantic Differential Scales

MY IDEAL POLITICAL LEADER

Fair	: _____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	Unfair
Useful	: _____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	Useless
Important	: _____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	Unimportant
Good	: _____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	Bad
Honest	: _____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	Dishonest
Strong	: _____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	Weak
Severe	: _____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	Lenient
Active	: _____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	Passive
Fast	: _____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	Slow

「我理想中的政治領袖」

公正	: _____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	不公正
有用	: _____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	無用
重要	: _____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	不重要
好	: _____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	不好
誠實	: _____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	不誠實
強	: _____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	弱
嚴厲	: _____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	寬和
主動	: _____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	被動
快速	: _____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	_____ :	緩慢

(Four more CONCEPTS with similar scales are omitted)

Appendix:

2. Questionnaire on Particular Political Practices

QUESTIONNAIRE

How strongly do you believe in or approve of the following systems and practices. Please put a tick under the appropriate category "very much" or "moderately" or "not at all" for each item.

	Very much	Moderately	Not at all
1. Dismissing members of government departments who are not strictly moral in their private lives.			
2. Dismissing anyone connected with political life who gives or receives bribes.			
3. Taking serious account of minority opinions in coming to a government decision.			
4. Utopian ideas in the aims of government			
5. Singing one's national anthem in international situations such as the Olympic games.			
6. The right to strike for better working conditions			
7. State control of industry			
8. Promoting international co-operation by means of inter-government organizations such as the United Nations.			

Appendix:

2'. Questionnaire on Particular Political Practices (Chinese)

測 驗 (二)

請問你是否相信或同意下列各種制度或實施？根據你自己對它們相信或同意的程度，請在適當的欄內劃「✓」

項 目	極為相信 或 同 意	稍為相信 或 同 意	不相信或 不 同 意
(1)公職人員私生活不檢點便應解除其職務			
(2)公職人員進行或收受賄賂便應解除其職務			
(3)當決定政府的政策方針時應慎重考慮少數人的意見			
(4)政府的目標應具有烏托邦式的理想			
(5)在國際場合（如奧林匹克運動會）唱奏各國的國歌			
(6)工人有權採取罷工方式（如英、美等國）以改善自身的工作條件與待遇			
(7)工業經營國有化			
(8)經由國際組織（如聯合國）促進國際合作			

(A) Which five of the following do you think now were the most important influences on your attitudes and thinking about politics. (Please put a tick beside any one influence and then rank these ticks in order of importance (i.e. from 1 to 5) For example:-

Queen Victoria - - - - - () - - - - ()
 Football game - - - - - (✓) - - - - (3)
 Boy scout - - - - - () - - - - ()
 Uncle George - - - - - (✓) - - - - (1)
 Y.M.C.A./Y.W.C.A. - - - - - (✓) - - - - (2)

Father - - - - - () - - - - ()
 Mother - - - - - () - - - - ()
 Brother(s) - - - - - () - - - - ()
 Sister(s) - - - - - () - - - - ()
 Other relatives - - - - - () - - - - ()
 Army Officers - - - - - () - - - - ()
 Teachers of primary school - - - - - () - - - - ()
 Teachers of secondary school - - - - - () - - - - ()
 Television - - - - - () - - - - ()
 Reading newspapers - - - - - () - - - - ()
 School friend(s) - - - - - () - - - - ()
 University professor(s)/lecturer(s) - - - - - () - - - - ()
 University friend(s) - - - - - () - - - - ()
 Books - - - - - () - - - - ()
 Biographies of political figures - - - - - () - - - - ()
 My parents' friends - - - - - () - - - - ()
 School curricula of civics/history - - - - - () - - - - ()
 Political speeches - - - - - () - - - - ()
 Demonstration(s) - - - - - () - - - - ()
 Statesmen - - - - - () - - - - ()
 Film - - - - - () - - - - ()
 Radio news - - - - - () - - - - ()
 Elections - - - - - () - - - - ()
 Religion(s) - - - - - () - - - - ()
 Others (please list them) - - - - - () - - - - ()
 - - - - - () - - - - ()
 - - - - - () - - - - ()

(B) When did you begin to care about politics? (Please circle the proper ages).

5-11; 12-13; 14-15; 16-17; 18-19; 20 or more; not at all.

Appendix 3: Self-Report Check List of Political Influences and Age of Beginning to be Interested in Politics (Chinese)
---- (P.1)

測 驗 (三)

(A)你認為下列各項因素中，那五項最影響你對於政治的看法或態度？請先找出五項最重要的因素在左邊的括弧內劃「√」；然後依其重要性在右邊括弧內寫下它的順序（從1到5）。例如：

- | | | |
|------|-------------|-------------|
| 慈禧太后 | _____ () | _____ () |
| 棒球比賽 | _____ (√) | _____ (2) |
| 童子軍 | _____ () | _____ () |
| 叔 父 | _____ (√) | _____ (1) |
| 青年會 | _____ (√) | _____ (3) |
| 父 親 | _____ () | _____ () |
| 母 親 | _____ () | _____ () |
| 兄 弟 | _____ () | _____ () |
| 姐 妹 | _____ () | _____ () |
| 其他親戚 | _____ () | _____ () |
| 軍職人員 | _____ () | _____ () |
| 小學教師 | _____ () | _____ () |
| 中學教師 | _____ () | _____ () |
| 電 視 | _____ () | _____ () |
| 閱讀報紙 | _____ () | _____ () |

Appendix 3':

(continued)

- 中小學朋友 _____ () _____ ()
- 大學教師 _____ () _____ ()
- 大學朋友 _____ () _____ ()
- 書 刊 _____ () _____ ()
- 政治人物傳記 _____ () _____ ()
- 父母親的朋友 _____ () _____ ()
- 中小學的公民和歷史課 _____ () _____ ()
- 政治演說 _____ () _____ ()
- 示威遊行 _____ () _____ ()
- 政 治 家 _____ () _____ ()
- 電 影 _____ () _____ ()
- 新聞廣播 _____ () _____ ()
- 選 舉 _____ () _____ ()
- 宗 教 _____ () _____ ()
- 其 他 (請自行列舉) _____ () _____ ()
- _____ () _____ ()
- _____ () _____ ()

(B)你大約從幾歲起開始關心政治？請在正確的年齡表上劃圈。

5-11 ; 12-13 ; 14-15 ; 16-17 ; 18-19 ; 20 以上 ; 從未關心