

SOME RURAL-URBAN COMPARISONS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION IN TAIWAN

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When asked what person he most wanted to be like when he grew up, one small Chinese boy on Taiwan, laboring diligently with his characters, wrote in response, "I want to be a brave soldier, kill the Communists, and recover our wonderful Mainland." This reply, made with such fervor, was part of a two year project which studied socialization of elementary school children (grades 1 to 6) in Taiwan.¹ When the responses to this question were analyzed for differences between rural and urban children, the following general distinctions became apparent:²

TABLE 1
DIFFERENCES AMONG SCHOOLS IN STATUS ASPIRATIONS — %

	<i>Urban-Public</i>	<i>Urban-Private</i>	<i>Rural-Public</i>
Aspire to:			
Status Role	50	49	27
Status Abstraction*	27	41	26
Non-Status Role	4	3	4
Don't Know	19	7	43
Number Responding	330	172	193

Significant at the .01 level.

* — To be noble, brave, etc.

An examination of Table 1 reveals a pattern that is typical for this sample of rural and urban children and is useful as a starting point

¹ Conducted from 1964 to 1966 primarily at three different elementary schools: a large urban (Taipei) public school (enrollment 8,600) with children of mixed socio-economic backgrounds; an elite and relatively small urban (Taipei) private school (enrollment 1,000) with the great majority of children from well-to-do Mainlander families; and a large rural public school in Taipei hsien (enrollment 3,000) with children from farmer or small town merchant families. Other aspects of this research can be found in Richard W. Wilson, *Learning to be Chinese: The Political Socialization of Children in Taiwan* (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1970).

² The selection of status roles was admittedly arbitrary. I made my categories quite general and followed the types of heroes introduced in the children's school stories. Thus farmer became a status role as well as mid and upper tier government personnel, military personnel, mid and upper level business roles, and professional roles. Significance levels throughout this analysis are derived from a chi square analysis.

for an analysis of their differences in political socialization. Clearly the data from the rural school shows that children there do *not* aspire to the low status roles which their society has in relative abundance. Nor are they, when compared to the urban public school children, deficient in their aspirations to become noble and filial citizens. Good and brave men and women are seen by both urban and rural children as desirable models for adult life. When we examine the category of specific occupational aspirations, however, we find the rural children far less articulate about naming a specific status role. In direct proportion to the percentage reduction in the status role responses of rural children we find an increase in their percentage of don't know responses. As this paper will point out, rural children frequently (but not always) answered with a higher percentage of don't know responses than the urban children. It is the hypothesis of this paper that this pattern reflects both the more limited exposure of the rural children to the stimulus of certain types of political learning experiences and also the fact that "...don't know" often means "Don't want to know," which is another way of saying, "I don't want to get involved."³

Problems of Political Socialization

The Chinese, Fairbank posits, have had little experience with egalitarian relationships. Their solution to politics, he says, "began with the observation that the order of nature is not egalitarian but hierarchic. Adults are stronger than children, husbands than wives. Age is wiser than youth. Men are not equally endowed..."⁴ Statements such as this frequently appear, often less explicitly, in the wealth of literature concerning the patterns of Chinese social interaction. There is no need to repeat the oft-given five Confucian loyalty relationships in which all but one, that of friend to friend, involves a well-defined status ranking. One has only to reflect that within the Chinese family, the social unit which is a prime socializing agency and which for many individuals is the unit in which the most relevant inter-personal interactions of their lives take place, status roles are clearly indicated. Despite rapid social change the positions of authority within the family are still accorded great prestige and power. In Taiwan the training received in the home with regard to hierarchy and the appropriate behavior for the various family hierarchical roles is directly relevant to later training concerning non-family authority behavior and political behavior specifically.

³ Leo Bogart, "No Opinion, Don't Know, and Maybe No Answers," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Fall, 1967), p. 344.

⁴John K. Fairbank, "How to Deal with the Chinese Revolution," *The New York Review of Books*, Vol. VI, No. 2 (February 17, 1966), p. 12.

Political learning is only one aspect of general learning. Like all types of learned behavior that which relates to authority is most effectively acquired early in life and when the appropriate responses are subsequently reinforced over time. Without consistent and uniform reinforcement of early training, behavior for members of the same social unit is apt to be incongruent and unpredictable with a consequent potentiality for chaos. One reason, however, why even in rapidly changing societies we are apt to find general similarities in childhood training is cogently stated by Erikson, who says,

“... values persist because public opinion continues to consider them ‘natural’ and does not admit of alternatives. They persist because they have become an essential part of an individual’s sense of identity, which he must preserve as a core of sanity and efficiency. But values do not persist unless they work, economically, psychologically, and spiritually; and I argue that to this end they must continue to be anchored, generation after generation, in early child training; while child training, to remain consistent, must be embedded in a system of continued economic and cultural synthesis.”⁵

Greenstein echoes these sentiments for the specifically political realm when he states that “... political authority is likely to be more stable when it is obeyed automatically because citizens have learned to accept certain institutions and leaders as legitimate than when sanctions have to be threatened or employed.”⁶

Political socialization as a process can be usefully subdivided into two sub-categories of learning which are usually, but not always, reinforcing; these are (1) *relevant* political education and (2) *specific* political education, the first concerning the values and behavior associated with authority situations in general (home, school, work, etc.) and the second having reference to the way in which the individual relates to the political system itself. In terms of the learning process there are certain common characteristics for both relevant and specific political learning. In both, for instance, there is a well-defined and usually overlapping pattern of rewards and punishments which is related to the goals of the learning situation. Models, both negative and positive and both direct and symbolic, are also a feature.

The extent to which specific political education is a feature of childhood training varies according to the cultural norms of the society and, to some extent, with the instability (actual or potential) that political leaders perceive as being present in the system. I would hypothesize that the more insecure a particular leadership group feels in its political power the more likely it will be to direct that specific political policy

⁵ Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1950), p. 121.

⁶ Fred I. Greenstein, *Children and Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 2.

alternatives and specific personal loyalties be taught in the classroom. In other words the ratio of specific political learning to relevant political learning is likely to rise the more that political leaders view the educational process as being directly relevant to the attainment of specific and partisan political objectives. The effectiveness of such training depends to a great extent on the degree of reinforcement between specific and relevant political training.

While aspects of specific political training may involve the learning of policy objectives, its basic components are far broader and less well-defined. The child must first acquire a notion of himself as a member of a particular social unit and political order. He must, if a member of a modern nation state, develop what Verba has called a sense of national identity (a vertical form of identification) and also a sense of integration with his fellow citizens (a horizontal form of identification). Secondly the individual must absorb, cognitively and affectively, the ideas, symbols and values relating to politics which are part of his culture in general but which transcend any specific political relationship. Lastly individuals must learn the types of behavior relevant for specific political roles in specific political situations. They must learn what is expected of them at what time and they must learn to fulfill these expectations, largely unconsciously.

Involvement in the political process may take more than one form. Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba in *The Civic Culture* have identified two types of political competence, citizen and subject. Citizen competence is where the "...competent citizen has a role in the formation of general policy. Furthermore he plays an influential role in this decision-making process..."⁷ The subject, however, "...does not participate in making rules, nor does his participation involve the use of political influence."⁸ His competence "...is more a matter of being aware of his rights under the rules than of participating in the making of the rules."⁹ Citizen competence, these authors feel, develops after subject competence. The critical component for the development of citizen competence is the involvement of the child in decisions in the family, in school, and later, at work. Family and school participation are exceptionally important, especially the family, for early reciprocal discussion in these social units apparently develops a measurable sense of political competence and a tolerance for ambiguity and controversy in politics.

The most important component of relevant political training for children in Taiwan is a steadily increasing pressure to minimize inter-

⁷ Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture* (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), p. 168.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

personal controversy and role ambiguity. Dependency training is severe and begins virtually at birth. Subservience to authority, best noted by the term "filial piety," is given heavy positive sanction. Political controversy is also not an aspect of specific political training except for anti-Communist indoctrination. In the home, politics along with sex, is a taboo subject for children. What children learn outside school of political controversy comes from silent observation, the "grapevine," or street talk.

A multiplicity of "don't know" responses to questionnaire items is most prevalent when people are so isolated from controversy that custom is largely their only source of belief. Only with a perception of alternatives does a person appreciate that he has opinions, for it is in the controversy of alternatives that opinions become meaningful.¹⁰ Where custom itself encourages non-involvement and non-controversy, strong reinforcement will be provided for the tendency to state neither a positive nor negative position with regard to even the most innocent questions. Yet even a high response rate may not actually reflect a desire for positive influential involvement. Recent work indicates that children in whom dependency habits are strongly developed are more responsive to social reinforcers.¹¹ We may well, therefore, find children who have been exposed to alternatives in their socialization but whose often rote-like responses reveal both their dependency and the effectiveness of heavy reinforcement training. These children know the rules and they know what answers they are supposed to give.

In studying the political socialization of rural and urban children in Taiwan it is my contention that, despite a highly uniform educational system, the responses of the rural children reflect their lack of experience in observing and dealing with significant alternatives. This is particularly true concerning those alternatives related to aspects of the "modern" political process, plus a fear, acquired as part of the socialization process, in becoming involved in controversy by making a commitment to a particular position. Conversely, while the urban children more readily respond, we note that among those in whom dependency training has been strongest—and I refer as a group to the urban private school children—that their responses will reflect the most positively sanctioned values of their home and school environment. It is the home and school environment, in fact, which is the basis for responses toward the political system. A knowledge of training in primary groups, therefore, helps explain why certain political responses—among a possible range of alternatives—have a greater expectancy than others. For

¹⁰ Lloyd and Susanne H. Rudolph, "Surveys in India: Field Experience in Madras State," *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (Fall 1968), pp. 236-37.

¹¹ Albert Bandura and Richard H. Walters, *Social Learning and Personality Development* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1963), pp. 142-43.

this reason a very limited statement concerning aspects of learning in the home and school has validity.

Relevant Political Training

The children at the three schools were asked to identify who the chief authority is at home and at school. The responses of the children, broken into home and school categories, were as follows:

TABLE 2
LOCUS OF AUTHORITY AT HOME AND AT SCHOOL: %

	<i>Urban Public School</i>	<i>Urban Private School</i>	<i>Rural Public School</i>
Home:			
Father	71	63	49
Mother	4	5	7
Both Parents	16	30	24
Others	4	2	8
Don't Know	5	0	12
School:			
Principal	78	91	55
Others	14	8	20
Don't Know	8	1	25
Number Responding	330	172	193

Significant at the .01 level.

Regardless of the differences among the three schools we note in all of them a pattern of heavy emphasis on the father as the ideal authority figure in the home and the generally correct identification of the principal as the leading authority at school (although this is much less pronounced for the rural children). The children were also asked how they felt about the person they had selected as an authority figure. The patterns of affect toward school and home authority figures are shown in Table 3.

While rural children less openly state positive affect for primary level authority figures than their urban counterparts, the same difference could not be noted when the children were asked a question concerning whether authority figures in the home and school are always correct.¹² Table 4 shows the results after scoring their responses.

¹² Although the differences among the schools themselves were significant at the .01 level.

TABLE 3
AFFECT FOR HOME AND SCHOOL AUTHORITY FIGURES: %

	<i>Urban Public School</i>	<i>Urban Private School</i>	<i>Rural Public School</i>
Home:			
Positive	88	92	60
Negative	3	2	6
Neutral	0	2	0
Don't Know	9	4	34
School:			
Positive	88	90	50
Negative	2	1	4
Neutral	0	2	1
Don't Know	10	7	45
Number Responding	330	172	193

Significant at the .01 level.

Table 4 indicates no real conclusive differences between rural and urban children concerning their notions about the correctness of authority (although urban private school children see authority as less universally correct than public school children. This gives no hint as to their dependency relationship but does seem to reflect a greater exposure in the home to alternatives). Table 3 shows that urban children have a much greater positive affect toward authority figures than rural children. Feeling positive toward parents and teachers is constantly emphasized in school. Urban children seem clearly to reflect this training to a far greater extent than rural children, indicating perhaps that the traditional "distance" between fathers and children is more operative in the countryside.

TABLE 4
ON WHETHER AUTHORITY FIGURES IN HOME AND SCHOOL
ARE ALWAYS CORRECT: %

	<i>Urban Public School</i>	<i>Urban Private School</i>	<i>Rural Public School</i>
Always Correct	74	56	61
Not Always Correct	7	22	11
Mixed (Home and School) Responses	16	21	15
Don't Know	3	1	13
Number Responding	330	172	193

Significant at the .01 level.

The correctness of primary group authority figures (or, conversely, the obedience of followers) is a goal which is given heavy emphasis in primary school education and is one on which both urban and rural children learn early to make the appropriate responses. At a third grade class in the rural public school, for instance, the lesson one afternoon dealt with filial piety. Under the heading, "How Should We Be Filial to Our Parents?" the following injunctions, among others, were written down. "Mind what they say." "Help our parents to do things." "Love and protect our younger brothers and sisters." "Guard the regulations." Etc.

During an interview with a 13 year-old sixth grade Mainlander boy from the urban public school the conversation, oriented around a picture of a policeman and a vendor, went like this:

Interviewer: "Should we obey the policeman?"

Child: "Yes, we should."

Interviewer: "Why?"

Child: "Well otherwise we will obstruct traffic order."

Interviewer: "Is what a policeman says always correct?"

Child: "Yes."

Interviewer: "Is there anytime when he's not correct?"

Child: "No!"

Interviewer: "Really?"

Child: "Yes, really."

Interviewer: "Can we criticize a policeman?"

Child: "No, we can't..."

Children frequently use the phrases "to have character" and "having morals" and "being able to reform conditions" as descriptions of a leader. He is a person who wants to do good and who corrects the wrongdoing of others. As such he merits respect and obedience. An 11 year-old fourth grade Mainlander boy at the urban public school had this to say with regard to a picture showing a young man talking to two small children:

Interviewer: "Is older brother always right?"

Child: "Most of the time he's right because he's pretty grown up. When he's wrong the parents will criticize him. Relatively younger brother and younger sister can't criticize older brother. They're too small and can't take care of their older brother. If they criticized their older brother to his face he'd get angry and sometimes fighting would start. Therefore they should tell their parents. They can't criticize their older brother. If they start to fight then the parents will come and solve the problem. The parents will scold them because they shouldn't be impolite to people who are older. Older people have more experience and know better how to solve a situation..."

It is perhaps for this reason that the high percentage of responses indicating positive affect for authority figures expressed in the urban schools plus, in the urban private school, a greater willingness to question the correctness of authority, do not, as the data will point out, translate themselves into non-conformist responses. While greater conformity cannot, of course, be attributed solely to shaming punishments these do not form one essential ingredient.

Punishments may elicit "respect" from a child but they are also likely to elicit a latent fear of authority with considerable implications for later socialization. At the rural public school, for instance, a fifth grade girl wrote this about a public meeting scene, "The people were watching others speak when suddenly they saw a policeman. They didn't know who he was looking for and as a result everyone ran away." A sixth grade Taiwanese farmer's son at the same school wrote of a schoolroom scene that a student had not been able to answer a question. The other students, he wrote "... think that it would be right if this student were punished by the teacher." Later, he said, the other students "... will be even more studious because they fear being punished by the teacher."

Punishments are only one means of eliciting conformist group responses. They are primarily efficacious in discouraging deviant behavior but it is the more positive training, based on modeling of actual or symbolic models and involving rewards for correct performance, which is more important in terms of developing widely shared relatively uniform patterned responses. Training concerning one's role and proper role behavior begins early in the home and is carried on the moment a child enters school. In the pre-character reader used in the first grade, for instance, the lessons frequently are couched in terms of children taking instructions from clearly defined hierarchical superiors (and models). "Shut the door, open the window, close the eyes," mother directs in one of the stories. "Stand up, bow, sit down, take out books," says the teacher to the children in another.

Throughout the school years themes related to cooperation and the suppression of interpersonal conflict are heavily emphasized. Such precepts occur in many contexts. In fourth grade in the urban public school, for instance, in a class on writing, the teacher wrote the characters for "selfish" on the blackboard and asked the class if this word was good or bad. "Not good," they all said. "Say it again," the teacher said, and the class responded, much louder, "Not good." In a sixth grade self-study book a review question is asked, "How can the unity of everyone be improved and increased?" and the answer that is supplied is "Cooperation."

While these points concerning general socialization in the home and school are both brief and selective, they are suggestive of some

Interviewer: "What sort of things does one have to do as an older brother?"

Child: "You have to be a good example. You should do your lessons well. When an older brother returns home he should do his lessons. That way younger brother and younger sister will know how to study well."

One may certainly obey an authority figure because he sets a good example and is older, but as the passage quoted above suggests, there are often other less noble reasons involved. Release of aggression against an authority figure may subject one to reprisal and punishment. This is recognized quite early in a child's life. At the urban private school, when asked what the policeman and the vendor (in the picture alluded to previously) were going to do, a first grade girl replied, "The policeman is thinking of hitting him and taking him to prison" (because, the child said, the vendor was selling dirty fruit). When asked how a teacher should be toward students, a 5th grade girl at the urban public school replied, "If the students make mistakes, he should speak with them. If every time a student makes a mistake, he doesn't correct himself, then he should be strictly punished." To the question, "And how should the students be toward the teacher?" came the rejoinder, "They should be respectful."

There is a feeling held by urban school teachers that discipline in the countryside exceeds in severity that which urban children experience. Rural children are beaten with a switch, it is said, or made to run around a field for some specified period of time. Observation of physical punishment is exceedingly difficult for the outsider, but children at all three schools mentioned that beating was occasionally employed. In the urban public school, first graders who misbehave have their heads shaken back and forth. In all schools, however, while physical nastiness is known to exist it is neither the most prevalent form of punishment nor the one which has the greatest force of negative sanction. Instead shaming punishments are widely employed and are, in fact, an integral part of the instruction process. The most common form of this punishment is to require the offender to stand up among his peers and to be allowed to sit only after he has answered correctly or the teacher is satisfied that a proper time penalty has been paid. As a technique, shaming is used for both behavioral and academic shortcomings. Reading aloud the names of children who fail an examination is an apt example of the latter case. The use of shaming punishments seems, from observation, to be employed both more frequently and more severely in the urban schools and especially the private schools. This is particularly interesting if we can trust the comments about the greater use of purely physical punishment in the rural schools. Punishments involving affect are an important component of effective dependency training.

of the main aspects of development of attitudes and behavior toward authority. The paramountcy of authority and the suppression of the individual's needs to group interests are aspects of general learning which, if reinforced, we would expect to find prominent in specifically political situations. In the next section some information is presented on how formal political training in Taiwan is structured to reinforce salient patterns from general socialization.

Specific Political Training

Among other things, the goal of citizenship and morals training is the "nurturing of a happy group spirit of cooperation."¹³ In Taiwan this means something more precise than the words themselves might indicate. Social studies materials, for instance are considered to be of prime importance in obtaining this goal because they contain citizenship oriented lessons. These not only instruct about government but also on how to be a good citizen which means specifically, in terms of group behavior, a firm understanding of the values associated with the concept of filial piety. Filial piety is the basis of group cooperation because it includes not only the relations of children to parents but also those between spouses, among siblings, and in paired relationships generally. Ultimately such training is designed to go beyond the values governing primary group relationships and to show each child his relationship to the society as a whole. Such linking is by no means implicit. As a third grade home study book succinctly puts it in a true-false section, "In the school we are good students; in society we ought to be good citizens."

Educational authorities are at some pains to develop a rapport among educational materials. In the primers, for instance, the lessons are designed so that several will cover one central theme. Citizenship training of a general nature can and should, it is felt, start from first grade. In the first two years the "general knowledge" section of the curriculum often includes citizenship content and therefore is coordinated with other courses such as nature studies where in some stories, animals, for instance, may be made to express political values. Beginning in the third grade, however, history and geography become the prime media for the dissemination of citizenship training.¹⁴

In the fifth and sixth grades citizenship ceases to be an aspect of other courses and becomes a subject in its own right. The lessons themselves are broken down according to the following schedule (the

¹³ Wu Yuan-chieh, ed., *Hsiao-hsueh she-hui-ko, chiao-hsueh-fa* (Teaching Methods for Elementary School Social Studies), (Taipei, Taiwan, National Educational Materials Office, 1961), p. 8.

¹⁴ Suen Pang-cheng, *Hsiao-hsueh tu-shu chiao-hsueh-fa* (Methods for Teaching Reading in Elementary Schools), (Taiwan, National Educational Materials Office, 1961), pp. 29-31.

numbers in the boxes denote the number of lessons devoted to each heading):

TABLE 5

CATEGORIES OF CITIZENSHIP LESSONS IN FIFTH AND SIXTH GRADES

<i>Grade</i>	<i>The Individual</i>	<i>The Family</i>	<i>School</i>	<i>Society</i>	<i>Nation</i>	<i>World</i>
5	3	3	5	4	0	0
6	0	0	2	3	7	4

As can be noted there is a steadily increasing emphasis in the fifth and sixth grades on "society" and "nation" and a declining emphasis on the individual and primary groups. This does not mean, however, that the lower grades are excluded from training concerning the secondary group level but only that such training becomes more specific as age increases. Thus when a school as a whole is studying "patriotism" first and second grade children will study sub-topics such as "I respect the flag," "I respect the President" and "I like to use the products of my country." Third and fourth grade children cover such items as "I am not frightened when a crisis occurs" and "I respect the great people in my country's history" while fifth and sixth grade children study sub-topics with titles of "I wish to use my full strength to serve the country," "I give special attention to guarding defense secrets," "I wish to join in the activities of the glorious and respected military" and "I deeply believe that the Three Principles of the People is the ideology for saving the country."¹⁵

Reinforcement of an identification with China and a knowledge of one's "Chineseness" goes on throughout the educational process. In kindergarten, for instance, the children are taught in one of the lessons, "We are Chinese and we all love China. Our China's national territory is the largest, the population the greatest and our products the most abundant." In fourth grade in the primer there is a poem every stanza of which begins with the lines, "China, China, Lovable China. There is no other country in all the world greater than you." The second stanza goes on, "With 400 million people and a civilization 5000 years old. With Confucius and the Father of the Country (Sun Yat-sen), great names filling the whole world. You are the enlightened and prosperous country of the world."¹⁶

¹⁵ Department of National Elementary Education, Ministry of Education, *Kuo-min hsueh-hsiao k'o-ch'eng piao-chuen* (Curriculum Standards for National Elementary Schools), (Taipei, Taiwan, Cheng Chung Book Co., 1962), pp. 22-23.

¹⁶ National Compilation and Translation Office, *Kuo-yu k'o-pen* (Mandarin Primer), (Taiwan, Office of Education, Taiwan Provincial Government, 1964), Book 8 (Lower and Middle Grades), Lesson 27.

Citizenship training, as the poem above only barely suggests, is intimately connected with the names of Chiang Kai-shek and Sun Yat-sen. At the urban public school one enters the building flanked by a bust of Chiang and a statue representing Confucius. On the playground, below the flagpole and directly in front of it, is a large bust of Sun Yat-sen. Pictures of Sun and Chiang abound in the schools. No other political symbols are given such weight in the educational process, and it is quite fair and legitimate to say that the position of Chiang and Sun as symbolic models for correct behavior is unchallenged.

Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek serve in the political socialization process as pre-eminent models. Yet they are of interest for more than this reason. A knowledge of the roles of these two men can be an initial point for an understanding of national politics generally. While clearly an analysis of Sun and Chiang can be only a beginning, it can be suggestive of how awareness of national politics is acquired. Moreover, an examination of the roles of these two leaders leads to a better understanding of the relationship between attitudes toward primary group authority figures and those toward political figures at the secondary level.

National Political Leaders

When asked who the most heroic person they had ever heard of was, nearly 50% of all the children named someone associated with the government while roughly 17% named family or other authority figures. Between rural and urban children there was a significantly (.01 level) greater capacity for the urban children to respond by naming some concrete individual. Fifty four percent of the rural children gave don't know responses while only 20% of the urban children answered this way. When asked who the most likeable person was, however, nearly 60% of all the children responded by naming some family authority figure. Again differences between rural and urban children were significant (.01 level) with 40% of the rural children giving don't know responses. On a question concerning the most intelligent person, however, children are almost as ready to name some peer as they are an authority figure (30% vs. 32%). Only 15% of the children named someone associated with the government. However, in the urban private school this percentage was 19%; it was 15% in the urban public school; and the percentage drops to 10% in the rural public school. There was a significant difference (.01 level) among the pattern of responses of the schools with the rural public school, as before, giving a far higher percentage of don't know responses. Clearly the urban children are far more able to identify and characterize specific authority figures with specific traits.

Of all the children who named some government figure in response to the question of who was the most heroic person they had heard of, some responded by naming Sun Yat-sen or Chiang Kai-shek. Within the total sample the proportion of children who answered in this way was a little over 23%, or roughly a quarter of all the respondents. Among the children who named some government figure as their heroic ideal there was no significant difference between rural and urban children. Of all the answers in this category these two men, taken as one sub-category, were named more frequently than any other response.

David Easton and Jack Dennis have written, "But for the fact that each new generation is able to learn a body of political orientations from its predecessors, no given political system would be able to persist. Fundamentally, the theoretical significance of the study of socializing processes in political life resides in its contribution to our understanding of the way in which political systems are able to persist, even as they change, for more than one generation."¹⁷ This persistence, Easton and Dennis feel, hinges on the presence of a readily identifiable point of contact between the child and the political system.

While difficult to pinpoint precisely, the "point of contact" for children in Taiwan seems to be located primarily in the early training children receive concerning Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek. Around these two men is constructed an imagery of the political system in which their role is seen as preponderant and crucial, an imagery which in fact may not be far from the truth. Moreover, Sun and Chiang serve as models for the behavior of the good citizen. Their position at the apex of the political system serves as a readily identifiable point for political loyalties at the same time that the virtuous behavior of these two heroes is presented as the reason for their eminence.

The children are undoubtedly exposed to some knowledge of Chiang and Sun prior to their entry into school. Pictures of the two men are in public buildings and Chiang is featured in the movie accompanying the national anthem which is shown before every feature performance throughout Taiwan. It is thus very difficult to ascertain at precisely what age children become aware of the national leadership aspect of the political system or whether urban children, as would seem more likely, receive an earlier impression in this regard than rural children. But whatever the pre-school impressions once children commence their formal education they are, from the very beginning, systematically made aware of this feature of their political environment. While much of the training concerning Sun and Chiang is incidental, some are almost embarrassingly adulatory in content. In the sixth grade, for instance,

¹⁷ David Easton and Jack Dennis, "The Child's Image of Government," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. CCCLXI (September, 1965), p. 41.

all children in Taiwan read a lesson in their History Primers entitled "The People's Savior: President Chiang." Relating various incidents in Chiang's early life the account states that Sun Yat-sen "...praised and admired [Chiang], considering him to be most excellent and the most loyal revolutionary cadre." Finally, throwing caution to the winds, the lesson ends with these words, "All his life the president has been loyal to the party and patriotic to the country and, struggling for the revolution, has continued to carry out the teachings of the Father of our Country (Sun Yat-sen) and has industriously labored to build a new China. He is the savior of the Chinese people and the greatest man in the whole world."¹⁸

Although adults in Taiwan will occasionally express political cynicism this is very rarely observed among children. On the contrary the statements children make are often guileless and genuinely enthusiastic. A fifth grade Taiwanese boy at the rural public school, for instance, wrote a description of a public meeting scene saying that some Chinese people were listening to a lecture when sad but generous thoughts of Sun Yat-sen developed. "Everybody," the boy wrote, "is thinking of elevating himself in the same style as the Father of the Country." Speaking about the same scene a third grade Taiwanese girl at the urban public school, during an interview, responded in part in the following way:

Interviewer: "When we have a meeting, who speaks?"

Child: "President Chiang."

Interviewer: "Is he here?" [in this picture]

Child: "...yes."

Interviewer: "Where?"

Child: "At the Sun Yat-sen hall." [points to the speaker on the platform in the picture]

Interviewer: "What is President Chiang talking about?"

Child: "He's talking about the affairs of the country."

Interviewer: "What sort of person can become President?"

Child: "...honest, patriotic, brave."

Interviewer: "How does a person become the president?"

Child: "...is he born one?"

Interviewer: "No, how does it happen?"

Child: "A long time ago the Communists persecuted the people and the President led the people in a revolution."

Interviewer: "What do you think the President ought to do for the people?"

¹⁸ National Compilation and Translation Office, *Li-shih k'o-pen* (History Primer), (Taiwan, Office of Education, Taiwan Provincial Government, 1964), Book 4, Lesson 16.

Child: "He ought to make the people happy and peaceful."

Interviewer: "What do you mean by happy and peaceful?"

Child: "We must re-take the Mainland."

Interviewer: "When the President speaks is he always correct?"

Child: "Yes."

Interviewer: "Is there anytime when he isn't correct?"

Child: "No..."

Interviewer: "Do you feel a President is needed?"

Child: "Yes."

Interviewer: "Why?"

Child: "Because he is the one who raises the revolution. He is the first person in the country."

Interviewer: "What should the President do?"

Child: "...he should do those things which protect the country."

Like this child most of the children, rural and urban, see the President as loyal and brave, the protector of the country. They may not be too sure how he becomes President but they sense an integral relationship between the virtues they claim for him and his position. Moreover, as the rural child inadvertently revealed, there is a reciprocal identification between the leader and his followers.

Following a test form given by Easton and Dennis to American children,¹⁹ a symbolic association quiz was administered to 180 children from grades 1 to 6 at each of the three schools. In this test the children were shown ten pictures (a policeman, Sun Yat-sen, Double Ten Holiday, voting, the Courts, the Presidential Palace, the Legislative Yuan, the flag, the Three Principles of the People, Chiang Kai-shek, plus one more blank space lettered "I don't know") and asked to pick two each that first came to mind in response to two questions: (1) What do you first think of when you think of government? and (2) Who makes the laws?²⁰ Using the same criteria as Easton and Dennis that for any picture a response rate over 20% was significant it turns out that for question 1 only 4 pictures achieve this rating—Sun Yat-sen, the flag, the Three Principles of the People, and Chiang Kai Shek—and for question 2 there are also 4 pictures with this rating—Sun Yat-sen, the Courts, the Legislative Yuan, and Chiang Kai-shek. The patterns at the urban and rural schools with regard to the most important symbolic associations concerning government are reflected in Table 6.

¹⁹ Easton and Dennis, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

²⁰ Because of ambiguities in the Chinese language this question could be read "Who made the laws?" thus making a response of Sun Yat-sen both possible and likely.

TABLE 6

MOST IMPORTANT SYMBOLIC ASSOCIATIONS
CONCERNING GOVERNMENT (QUESTION 1): %

	<i>Urban Public School</i>	<i>Urban Private School</i>	<i>Rural Public School</i>
Sun Yat-sen	54	58	53
The Flag	21	32	26
The Three Principles of the People	26	18	23
Chiang Kai-shek	45	51	38
Number Responding	180	180	180

Due to the double responses for each question percentages may be over 100.

As symbolic associations of government Chiang and Sun, with some variations, are unmatched at all schools. This pattern changes, however, with regard to law-making:

TABLE 7

WHO MAKES THE LAWS (QUESTION 2): %

	<i>Urban Public School</i>	<i>Urban Private School</i>	<i>Rural Public School</i>
Sun Yat-sen	41	37	26
The Courts	34	44	28
The Legislative Yuan	47	54	36
Chiang Kai-shek	28	28	32
Number Responding	180	180	180

Due to the double responses for each question percentages may be over 100.

Clearly, although the differences between the rural and the urban children are not great (and there were changes in the response patterns by age at all schools), it would seem that rural children hold Chiang Kai-shek less as a symbol of government than the urban children although they see him as slightly more influential in making the laws. This discrepancy is probably due to the greater proportion of Taiwanese in the rural sample (who at every school identify less with Chiang than the Mainlanders) and because the rural environment makes exposure to reinforcing influences outside the school less likely. The Sun Yat-sen symbol, however, is virtually uniform between the country and the city.

Since all children are taught about the various branches and functions of government in school the failure of the rural children, in comparison to their urban counterparts, to name the Legislative Yuan as chief law-maker is instructive. As in the case of Chiang Kai-shek

as a symbolic association, it would seem that the absence of a capital city environment and the reduced involvement with national level politics and political symbols that this implies decreases for rural children the reinforcement in specific political learning which urban children receive as part of their daily lives. It is just this type of overall response pattern, in which direction of choice is the same but where intensity varies, that we can note for rural children the effects of deprivation from outside reinforcement which urban children in Taiwan receive. Urban children witness political involvement and can themselves become involved (as in Double Ten parades, for instance) in a way which makes politics more meaningful and exciting for them. Such involvement, however, may be highly stereotyped in form and particularly so if the socialization process puts an emphasis on certain defined responses. Involvement, therefore, should not be equated with variety in political behavior but only in this case with greater awareness (at the conscious and sub-conscious levels) of the major facts and values in the political socialization process.

Local Political Leaders

In the realm of political socialization, where the time sequence and the intensity of learning are analyzed, local politics must logically follow national politics. Chinese children (and American children as well) learn of national politics far earlier than they do of local politics. It is through the President and great historical national figures that children are introduced to the political world and take the first steps in acquiring appropriate political behavior. Knowledge of local politics comes when an awareness of politics itself is already an established fact. Superficially it might appear that learning about local politics after national politics violates the normal learning sequence of the simpler to the more complex. This is not true, however, for in political socialization the elements of national politics acquired by a child initially constitute no more than symbol sets and a knowledge of individuals who are models for behavior in general. The complexities of political action at any level are only learned much later.

In Taiwan, as has been pointed out, training in political attitudes and behavior begins the moment a child enters school. Slowly, and at first only incidentally, more information is supplied about the actual workings of the political system. By the fifth and sixth grade, such training becomes formalized in citizenship primers where the child is introduced to the structure and functions of government at all levels. Reinforcing such factual data is corollary training on the proper attitudes toward the government.

Children at the three schools were asked who the head of the city government of Taipei is. Unfortunately, since the general thrust of

the main body of this research was not concerned with local politics *per se*, no question was asked about comparable rural political roles. The question was not worded so as to require a name response (although some children may have thus construed it) but rather to elicit at what age children become aware of the role of Mayor. By the sixth grade in elementary school it could be assumed that both rural and urban children would be able to respond to this question correctly since by that time they have been formally instructed concerning city government. It is true that with age all the children show, as would be expected, a marked increase in ability to respond correctly to this question. It is also to be expected that Taipei children would show a greater capacity to identify correctly this role since they are more likely to be aware of the leader of their own local political unit. This is perhaps particularly the case in Taipei where the Mayor, a Taiwanese, was a successful candidate against the ruling Kuomintang Party and where, in addition, he seemed constantly to be embroiled in allegations — reported in the press — concerning his financial integrity. Nevertheless it should also be taken into account that the rural school which was sampled was located only a few miles from the city proper. These particular children had much greater opportunity to acquire knowledge of the city than their more isolated compatriots; many had undoubtedly visited Taipei on more than one occasion. Taking such factors into account, however, we still note a surprising discrepancy in the ability of rural and urban children to answer this question. In coding responses the children were first categorized by whether they named any government figure or role as the head of Taipei's city government.

TABLE 8
THE HEAD OF TAIPEI'S CITY GOVERNMENT: %

	Urban Public School	Urban Private School	Rural Public School
Government Role or Figure	59	71	31
Non-Government Role or Figure	3	3	4
Don't Know	38	26	65
Number Responding	330	172	193

Significant at the .01 level.

The chart indicates that urban children are almost twice as capable as rural children in answering this question. The assertion cannot be proven but the suspicion remains that the discrepancy cannot be totally

attributed to the wording of the question but may have to do with the rate at which urban and rural children acquire a knowledge of politics. This second assertion is given credence if we analyze the "government" responses from each of the three schools and divide them into the categories of Mayor's name or Mayor's role, President's name or President's role, and Others. In this way it can be seen whether the rural children who do respond are doing so on the basis of political knowledge acquired earlier in their socialization process.

TABLE 9
ANALYSIS OF "GOVERNMENT ROLE OR FIGURE" RESPONSES
(TABLE 8) BY SELECTED CATEGORIES: %

	<i>Urban Public School</i>	<i>Urban Private School</i>	<i>Rural Public School</i>
Mayor/Mayor's Role	73	76	20
President/President's Role	24	19	57
Others	3	5	23
Number Responding	194	123	60

Significant at the .01 level.

The percentage of responses naming President or President's Role under rural public school is very high compared to the urban schools. If we look at the fifth and sixth grade children from the rural public school and the urban private school, the two schools most diametrically opposed, the comparison is even more startling. Taking again just those children who gave a "Government Role or Figure" response we note that in the rural public school in the fifth grade, the percentage who named Chiang is 69% and in the sixth grade 31%. In the urban private school, on the other hand, almost all the children in this response category in both upper grades respond Mayor, only 5% naming Chiang in the 5th grade and 4% in the sixth grade. It seems quite clear, therefore, that the rural children, despite the similarity in political educational instruction which they receive, show an appreciable lag behind the urban children in the acquisition of secondary information about politics, particularly that which is not directly relevant to their own environment. Once again it seems logical to infer that the rural environment insulates children more from a sense of the excitement and possibilities in politics. Not only do rural children themselves have less interaction with the national level political world but the adults with whom they are associated also have less interaction, thus reinforcing a distinctive pattern. Although factual data on "modernized" political roles and functions may

be acquired in school by rural children at the same time as the urban children, it is not reinforced in terms of the environment so that under stress (as when answering questions) earlier acquired and still more important political information is utilized.

Children in Taiwan do not have the same affective attachment to local political leaders as they do for their national leaders. Indeed, it may be quite the opposite as it was for a sixth grade boy from the city private school who responded, when asked what he thought about the Mayor, that this worthy was "out for himself."

For national political leaders, as Greenstein has pointed out, affective knowledge precedes factual knowledge. On the local political level, however, the reverse process seems to be true and factual knowledge precedes affective. The implications for the system as a whole of a negative affective response toward a local leader are not nearly as serious as they would be toward a national leader. Adults, it seems, take care that a positive affective orientation toward high status political roles is acquired early and is heavily reinforced. The more children know about local politics and local political leaders, however, the more there seems to be a willingness to voice negative sentiments. In this regard the difference between learning about local and national politics is marked. Whether negative sentiments about local politics are a precursor to cynicism concerning national politics (so evident among many adult Chinese) is a matter of conjecture although some linkage undoubtedly exists.

Despite the fact that learning about local politics does not carry the heavy affective load that exists in learning about national politics, it is still true, as the following table shows, that children by and large have positive feelings about local political leaders.

TABLE 10
AFFECTIVE ORIENTATIONS TOWARD THE HEAD OF THE
CITY GOVERNMENT OF TAIPEI: %

	<i>Urban Public School</i>	<i>Urban Private School</i>	<i>Rural Public School</i>
Positive	46	50	29
Neutral	3	4	0
Negative	6	10	1
Don't Know	45	36	70
Number Responding	330	172	193

Significant at the .01 level.

Conclusion

Although elementary education in Taiwan is theoretically uniform it is quite apparent that differences exist among children in the rate in which certain information is acquired and in the depth to which the knowledge imparted is absorbed. In the data presented here the populations of three schools were examined, one in a rural area outside Taipei and two within the city of Taipei itself. While differences in responses are clearly due to a variety of factors—sex, income level of family, Mainlander versus Taiwanese, age—one clear differentiating characteristic in the data is the fact that the children in these schools are either predominantly rural or urban in family background. Using this as a basis, an examination was made of the educational system in general and empirical data was presented on selected differences in response patterns between rural and urban children.

In general the data indicated that rural children show a marked propensity to give “don’t know” responses whatever the question, whereas for urban children the higher the socio-economic level the less the propensity to give a “don’t know” answer but a corresponding inclination to respond in a uniform and educationally “expected” fashion. One of the hypotheses of this paper was that frequent “don’t know” responses indicated an unwillingness to become involved coupled, in the case of rural children, with an inability to comprehend adequately the alternatives that may be available in a question response. Clearly the rural development in Taiwan does not expose a child to the excitement of national level politics the way the urban environment does. This in itself strongly suggests a reduced saliency of politics at this level in the lives of rural children which decreases their interest in acquiring and retaining relevant political information. “Don’t know” responses therefore may truly reflect a lack of knowledge of alternatives but this ignorance is coupled with a lack of interest whose basic roots lie in lack of exposure.

A failure by rural children to respond to questions concerning specific political information may be related to lack of exposure but this argument seems much less persuasive with regard to questions concerning personal, family, or school matters. But even in these areas a greater number of “don’t know” responses was indicated for rural children. Rural children do seem to manifest a certain fear in responding, a fear which is not as noticeable with the urban children. Yet this fear to become involved was clearly one of the most noted characteristics of traditional Chinese society and its continuance in rural areas of Taiwan is therefore hardly strange. The changing environment of the city, both from a physical and a work standpoint, presents the individual with a challenge for adaptive responses. Such a challenge

is on a much lower scale in the countryside. There is much less need there to question or modify prevailing values and patterns of behavior. The cultural ethic of remaining uncommitted—where the possibility exists for making a false step—seems much stronger in the rural areas and is reflected, I believe, in the responses of the rural children.

But if rural children in Taiwan fail to respond to the questionnaires many urban children respond in a patterned fashion. For while urban children seem more aware of certain aspects of politics than rural children, training and exploration of new forms of “authority” behavior has been rather rigidly curtailed. Both rural and urban children receive training in authority behavior which is highly similar. The essential difference between the two groups is that the urban environment makes national level and urban politics more salient and interesting and give the children a sense of the possibilities in this area. Urban children thus seem to acquire an earlier more rounded concept of “modern” politics. But in terms of response patterns some very traditional influences are at work in both rural and urban areas, supporting the role of authority and making deviation from well established norms undesirable. The result for the rural children is manifested by an inclination not to respond and thus risk involvement by having responded incorrectly and for the urban children by responses showing a high degree of social acceptability.

Whether rural or urban, however, children in Taiwan show a highly favorable disposition toward their national leaders and political institutions. Without their even realizing it this early favorable disposition has great implications for the stability of the system. Unfavorable information learned at a later date is evaluated in terms of already acquired favorable beliefs and values, giving a strong underpinning to the political system.

One conclusion faintly suggested by the data is that the children most likely in the future to be politically innovative are the lower middle class urban public school children. Exposed to politics, not so constrained as their more privileged peers nor so fearful of involvement as their rural equals, this group has the most potential volatility. In good times the plums will probably continue to fall to the privileged. In a time of crisis, however, it is probably the graduates of the urban public schools who would have the greatest capacity to innovate decisively and to politicize other groups in terms of their own goals.