

# 臺灣軍校生政治媒介與政治效能感關聯性之研究－以國防大學政戰學院為例

張育君

國防大學政戰學院政治學系博士生

范宏宙

陸軍第六軍團文宣心戰組參謀官

## 摘 要

臺灣近來發生不少引起社會廣泛討論的學生運動，這些學生運動的整體歷程，透過媒體的報導，除加深大學生對政治議題的瞭解，也逐漸意識到自己在政治社會的參與過程中越趨重要。在創意高掛的時代潮流，以及人手一支智慧型手機的狀況下，新媒體欲成為大學世代關注政治新聞的主要媒介，當然，透過政治媒介的影響，大學生也將更關注政治事物及增加其政治效能感。

本文聚焦於同屬大學生年齡層之臺灣軍校生，以問卷調查方式獲取渠等政治知識的媒介使用情況、注意程度，以及其延伸之政治效能感的相關變化，並進一步分析臺灣軍校生與一般大學生的社會背景與政治效能感之間的差異。

研究發現軍校生不論是政治新聞的使用媒介，或是藉由這些媒介取得訊息時的注意程度，其順序為「電視、網路、報紙」等，至於政論節目與廣播則普遍較低；另外，軍校生肯定自己瞭解政治的能力，並認為政府不在乎其看法也不認為自己對政策具有影響力，換言之，軍校生的內在效能感高，外在效能感則較低。

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關鍵詞：政治媒介、政治效能感、軍校生

Yu-Chun Chang and Hung-Chuo Fan

# **A Study on the Association between Political Media and Perceived Political Efficacy Among Taiwanese Military Cadets - Exemplified by Fu Hsing Kang College at the National Defense University**

Yu-Chun Chang

Ph.D. student

Graduate School of Political Science

Fu Hsing Kang College, National Defense University

Hung-Chuo Fan

LTC, PsyOp Section, 6th Corps, ROCA

## **Abstract**

In Taiwan, there have been many student movements that have caused widespread societal discourse. In addition to deepening college students' knowledge concerning political issues, the students have gradually come to understand their own rising importance in the process of political and social participation. In the current era of innovation and smart phones, new media hopes to become the type of media that this generation of university students will turn to for political news. Additionally, due to political media's influence, university students began to care more about

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politics, and their perception of their own political efficacy was improved.

This thesis will focus on college-aged students from Taiwanese military schools and obtain information about media use that provides political knowledge, the level of attention that the students pay to politics, and the changes that occur in relation to the increase in students' perceived political efficacy through the use of questionnaire-style surveys. Further, it will analyze the differences between Taiwanese military cadets and regular Taiwanese university students regarding socioeconomic background and perception of political effectiveness.

This study has found that no matter what kind of political media military cadets intend to use or how much attention they pay to the information that they acquire through the media, television is the most popular and impactful, internet is the second most effective and impactful, and newspaper is the third most popular and impactful. Political television shows and radio broadcasts are less popular. In addition, military cadets are sure of their own ability to understand politics but believe that the government does not care about their opinions, and they also have little faith in their own ability to impact policy. In other words, military cadets' perception of their own political effectiveness in the internal sense is high, but it is low in the external sense.

**Keywords: Political media, Perception of political efficacy, Military cadets**

## Introduction

In recent years, Taiwan has had several student movements that have invoked large-scale national discussion, including the Wild Lily student movement of March 1990, the New Wild Lily student movement of April 2004, the Wild Strawberries Movement of November 2008, and, most recently, the Sunflower Student Movement of March 2014. Throughout the course of these student movements, in addition to deepening students' understanding of political topics, news also facilitated students' gradually understanding of the increasing importance of their participation in civil society.

Shih Hsin University's communications database collected research on university students' political participation levels and the impact of the use of the Internet for political movement participant recruitment after the Sunflower Student Movement. They found that more than 70% of university students use the internet most frequently to read news (Shih Hsin University Communications Database, 2015). During National Cheng Kung University's 26<sup>th</sup> Presidential Election of Student Association in 2018, a candidate used Facebook platform to disseminate their campaign videos. In only a day, the video had over 90,000 views and over 800 shares (Hung, 2018).

After Ko Wen-je used internet marketing campaign techniques to attract the attention and interest of many young people and won Taipei's mayoral election, the candidates who ran for county magistrate at the end of 2018 used similar campaign materials and methods for gaining the candidate exposure. They all gradually began to focus on social media, such as Facebook, Instagram, and LINE@ verified accounts in their campaigns (Paihua Chen, Hsiao-tien Tang, 2018). In the current era of innovation and smart phones, new media hopes to become the type of media that this generation of university students will turn to for political news. Additionally, due to political media's influence, university students care more about politics, and their perception of their own political effectiveness has improved.

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The research motivation of study is to change the research subject to focus on college-aged Taiwanese military cadets. Without discussing election and voting-related topics, to understand the atmosphere of Taiwanese military institutions, the connection between political media and perception of political effectiveness, and trends in the levels of discussion on various political issues, to supplement data on perceived political effectiveness in students with relevant academic backgrounds from specific ethnic groups.

Based on the above research motivations, the study has three research goals:

1. Learn about the main sources of political media for military cadets in Taiwan.
2. Investigate the relationship between the political media and a perception of political effectiveness.
3. Analyze the differences between Taiwanese military cadets and regular Taiwanese university students regarding socioeconomic background and perception of political effectiveness.

## **Literature Review**

There has been discussion about the relationships between topics of political media and perceived political effectiveness commonly used in voting behavior or investigation of campaign processes. For example, Ching-Ching Chang's research (2002a) takes the 2000 presidential election as an example, and discusses the impacts of media use on voters' campaign issue knowledge and perceived internal political effectiveness. Lu-Huei Chen (2002), on the other hand, used four interviews conducted in 1992, 1995, 1998, and 2001 to investigate the factors that affect Taiwanese voters and their voting behavior.

However, there were still scholars, such as Lu-Huei Chen and Ying-nan Chen (2013) who were moving away from election and voting behavior research to explore the correlation between factors of political media and political effectiveness. Research data from "Political Socialization of University Students in

Taiwan” was used to discuss such factors as university students’ media usage and the degree of attention that the students pay to media, as well as the influence that these media had on perceived political efficacy. Chang (2002b) investigated the relationship among political media awareness, political media behavior and political outcomes among college students.

In addition, the research and literature on the political orientation of military cadets all focus on the political education provided at military institutions in order to understand the political literacy and political participation of military cadets. For example, Hsu’s (1999, 2001, and 2002) research found that the professionalism of political education in military institutions needed to be strengthened. This study attempts to cut into the analysis from the research model used on the above-mentioned regular university students, and puts the factor of political education advanced by military institutions aside in order to focus solely on the media that military cadets use to gain political information and the changes that extend their perception of political effectiveness.

## **1. Political Media**

“Media” has long been an indispensable part of human’s life. People are able to access various materials from different media. In this era, where the social environment is becoming more and more complex, the media is playing an important role in transmitting information. Newspaper, television, the Internet, and social media are the main tools for people to access information that helps them to understand political and interpersonal topics.

Chang (2002b) discussed the relationship among university students’ awareness of political media (media utility perception), political media behavior (political media use, political media participation) and political outcomes (level of political participation, political efficacy awareness) under the circumstances of the election. “Media utility perception” was specifically defined as the public’s awareness concerning the utility of information about political issues in the mass media, including mass media’s main channels for providing information about political issues, as well as providing important content on interpersonal interaction

topics. As such, the political media is the main source of information for university students on political issues and communication topics.

Liu (2006) used Political Socialization Theory to explore whether mass media is an influential medium. The results of the study showed that political media participation has a positive effect on political trust, which means that “political media” plays an intermediary role in the formation of university students’ political participation.

Chen and Chen (2013) further discussed the factors that affect university students’ media use, level of attention paid to media, and participation in campus activities, and work to understand these factors’ influence on students’ perception of their own political effectiveness. In other words, their research explored how the media use of university students and the social network of university life effects students’ perception of their own political effectiveness. Through the acquisition of multi-media information, students’ opinions concerning political topics and levels of participation in politics are affected.

In response to the high rate of social media use in recent years, new media has become a notable part of political media. Research shows that self-expression or online interaction on social media platforms, and use of social media to obtain political information are all positively correlated with political participation (Wang, 2013).

In summary, “political media” is the main source of information for university students about political issues and social networking topics. Of course, the use of political media is also a factor that affects the change in political efficiency. The media is not the only variable; variables also include different types of media and different content. This study was focused on television, newspapers, the Internet, and broadcasting, and aimed to understand the main sources of “political media” and their distribution.

## **2. Perceived Political Efficacy**

In recent years, university students have been active in social movements and various political fields and issues. This has gradually affected all levels of society.



Due to the students' interest and degree of participation in social and political affairs, politicians have also begun to attach importance to their views. Therefore, understanding the "perceived political effectiveness" of college students is increasingly important.

As defined by scholars such as Campbell et al., "political efficacy" signifies the feeling that an individual's political actions do have an impact on the political process or may potentially have an impact. In Taiwan, Chiu-Yeoung Kuo (1991) first used the "conceptual analysis procedure" to illustrate the central position that political efficacy holds in democratic theory, and to summarize the principles of political efficacy, as well as to analyze the different aspects of internal and external efficacy.

Political efficacy can be divided into "internal efficacy" and "external efficacy". In general, the sense of internal efficacy means that people feel that they have the ability to participate in politics and to have an impact on it. External efficacy refers to the public's belief that the government has the ability to respond to citizen's needs (Lu-Huei Chen, Ying-nan Chen, 2013).

Ching-Ching Chang (2002a) discussed the intrinsic efficacy of voters in relation to consumption of political media such as television and newspapers, and found that these two factors were negatively correlated. Ching-Ching Chang (2002c) also found that, within different frameworks, the presence of campaign news reports and campaign advertisements in newspapers would not affect change in political efficacy.

Mu-Yeh Huang and Shih-Hsien Chang (2008) used the degree of attention that voters pay to political media to analyze the frequency of participation in campaigns, political efficacy and political trust. The study found that the above factors are positively correlated. Lu-Huei Chen and Shu Keng (2008) explored the differences in political efficacy between voters of different backgrounds and found that "environment" is an important variable and has a significant correlation.

Lu-Huei Chen and Wei-Ting Lien (2008) cited Abramson's research to point out that there are four explanations for the significant differences in political efficacy, namely, political education, social deprivation, intelligence, and political

reality. Other studies dive into the topic from variables like education level, party affiliation, and dissemination of information through the Internet. Researchers believe that these variables, such as different political media types and different content, and different styles of use. Television is more influential than newspaper, and political efficacy is also significantly related.

Šerek, Lacinová and Macek (2012) focus on the relationship between family experiences of adolescents, political beliefs, and political efficacy. The results show that young people who have experienced frequent parental conflicts have a weaker perception of political efficacy in late adolescence. Arens and Watermann (2017) focus on adolescents' political efficacy, specifically on the topics of on gender, political change, political news behaviors, and the relationship between political interest and political knowledge. Political efficacy shows reciprocity with political information behaviors and political knowledge and, over time, it shows a one-way relationship with political interest.

I-Shan Wu (2015) studies the relationship between young citizens and political efficacy and political participation. It is found that under the popularization of communication through the Internet, large amounts of information can be grasped quickly. Under these conditions, internal efficacy is higher, and external efficacy is lower. Naipeng, Guangfeng, Yonggang, and Qian (2017) explored the impact of concepts of Internet ecology and political trust on the political efficacy of Internet users by means of questionnaires. The results show that netizens' opinions on Internet ecology have a significant positive impact on their external efficacy, but have no significant impact on internal efficacy. Chen, Bai, and Wang (2019) studied the use of social media in relation to political efficacy and political participation. The results showed that the use of social media messages affects the degree of political participation in the online environment through the political efficacy of the Internet.

Kenny Chen (2016) explores political participation of Taiwanese people by assessing the relationship between Internet usage behaviors, political participation, and political efficacy. The results show that people's online usage behavior has a positive correlation with their political participation. Moreover, there is an

interaction between Internet usage behavior and political efficacy. Sung-Yin Wang (2017) divides Taiwanese Internet users into four attitude groups based on political trust and political efficacy: loyalists, dissidents, subordinates, and alienated netizens. The results show that loyalists have the highest frequency of political participation, and alienated netizens have the lowest. In addition, the use of traditional media does not significantly predict political attitudes type, while non-traditional media can significantly predict different types of political attitudes.

Zhijun, Yingchun and Skitmore (2017) use the roles of rural political efficacy and social networks in mainland China to understand the social characteristics that may affect individual participation in public deliberation. This demonstrates that social networks play a regulatory role, and individuals that have a higher status within the social network have enhanced internal efficacy and lowered external efficacy. Liu's (2017) research looks at political power and political participation in the conservative, authoritarian political system of Mainland China; this is a popular research direction. It uses social media use and political participation in Mainland China to explore the mediating role of political efficacy. The results show that internal efficacy can take on a regulatory role between social media use and political participation, and external efficacy is unable to regulate the use of social media and political participation.

Chen and Yang (2018) combined the two important political attitudes of political trust and political efficacy to construct four kinds of political tendencies of people under the authority of China (political alienation, political protest, political obedience, political loyalty). The results of the study showed that although political trust in the people has declined, the sense of political efficacy has improved, further changing the political inclination of the people.

I-Liu and Hsiao-Ming Hao (2017) explored the relationship between political news contact, internal efficacy, political identity and civil political participation through questionnaire surveys of university students and their parents. The results show that for college students, the contact of current political news is positively correlated with internal efficacy, political identity, and political participation. Internal efficacy and political participation are positively correlated as well, but

have no significant correlation with political identity. There is also no significant correlation between political identity and political participation.

Cicatiello, Simone, and Gaeta (2018) used cross-border data from the International Community Survey Program Citizenship Database to investigate the link between government transparency and the external political efficacy of citizens, with the result that the level of citizenship education was regulated; government transparency enhances the agency's perception of the response of citizens to their behavior. In other words, the impact of government transparency on the external efficacy of citizens is enormous for well-educated people.

All of these literature showed that scholars valued "political efficacy" in their research, but the results of their variables were not entirely identical. Some found no correlation, some found negative correlation, and some found positive correlation. Their results are further subdivided into "internal efficacy" and "external efficacy". The meaning of "political efficacy," and the issues previously discussed have been attended to by scholars and continue to be studied and developed. Therefore, in addition to exploring the sources of political media, this article attempts to study the relevant factors affecting political efficacy.

### **3. Students at Military Institutions**

The political disposition of university students has a certain degree of influence on the democratic development of the country. The military cadets belong to the same age group as university students, but the military cadets primarily belong to ethnic groups that have a relative lack of sociopolitical resources, and they also often belong to groups that are easy for political figures to overlook when formulating policies. In the realm of research on military cadets' political attitudes, the literature is slightly inadequate.

Chung-Hsing Hua (1982) focused on students in military academies, and took the students' personal backgrounds and which departments they were studying in, among other factors, as independent variables. Political education related educational objectives and teaching activities were seen as intervening variables. The political approach of the five major beliefs of the military functioned as the

dependent variable. The relationship between these variables was taken as the study focus. The study found that military cadets generally support democratic systems based on rationality and rule of law, and support and obey legitimate authority. Wen-Zheng Yang (1985) focused his research on the of the pattern of military cadets' political orientation from the conceptual perspective of political culture, and found that their political attitudes are positively correlated with government policy. Ying-Yu Chen and Shih-Ming Lei (1995) focused on the family backgrounds, student characteristics, and personal development of military cadets in order to study the impact and related effects of teaching in military education. It was found that military school education had a positive effect on students' political attitudes.

Chen-Yuan Hsu (1999) analyzed the formation of political knowledge in military cadets through questionnaires, and found that the professionalism of political education in military institutions needs to be strengthened. Chen-Yuan Hsu (2001) also explored the role of teachers in the military education environment and the political study of military cadets, and believes political education has a high degree of influence for the cultivation of the political participation ability in military cadets. In addition, when discussing political personality traits, Chen-Yuan Hsu (2002) emphasized the political trends in military cadets; this point of discussion was supplemented by an understanding of the effects of political education in military institutions.

The above literature is all focused on political education in military institutions, and calls for strengthening the professionalism of said education and improvement in the political literacy and participation of military cadets.

With the advent of laws pertaining to the military such as "Nationalization of the Military" and "Administrative Neutrality", military personnel are subject to Article 138 of the Constitution, "The National Army, Navy, and Air Force shall be loyal to the State and care for the people beyond individual, geographical and partisan relations", and Article 139 of the Constitution, "No party or individual shall use the armed forces as a tool of political contention." This situation makes it impossible for "military" and "politics" to be related This statement is not to say

that cadets can disobey the principles of "nationalization of the army" and "administrative neutrality", but only attempts to disengage from political parties, elections, voting, and other factors of political color, and push aside political education factors in military institutions and universities in this study, to solely focus on the change in of military students' access to political knowledge in media and the change in their perceived political efficacy by extension. This study also attempts begin analysis with from regular university student data.

With the changes in the social environment and the rise of individualism, military institutions are gradually aligning with the overall social atmosphere. In addition, the use of smart phones for study, exchange student programs instituted for the purpose of deepening diplomatic relations, cooperation with private universities, and joint enrollment plans have been established. The changes in these systems have shown that military institutions are not as closed as before, and that military cadets now have access to more diverse sources of information.

In all fairness, the education system in military colleges and universities are comparable to regular universities, and military cadets are the same age as regular university students. Current military cadets will one day become leaders in national defense and military affairs, and will become the backbone of proletariat society. Analyzing and understanding the social background of military cadets and the correlation of these data with political media and political efficacy will become indispensable for academia.

#### **4. Research Questions and Hypotheses**

Based on the contents discussed in the above literature, this paper develops the research problems and research assumptions, which are summarized as follows:

Research Question 1: What are the main sources of political media used by military cadets?

Research Question 2: What is the correlation between the political media and the political efficacy?

Research Question 3: What is the difference between the socialization background and political efficacy of military cadets and regular university

students?

Hypothesis 1a: Military cadets mainly use "television" as their source of political media.

Hypothesis 1b: Military cadets mainly use "newspapers" as their source of political media.

Hypothesis 1c: Military cadets mainly use "the Internet (social media)" as their source of political media.

Hypothesis 1d: Military cadets mainly use "radio" as their source of political media.

Hypothesis 1e: Military cadets mainly use "political talk shows" as their source of political media.

Hypothesis 2: There is a significant correlation between the political media and perceived political efficacy.

Hypothesis 3: There is a difference between the socialization background and political efficacy of military cadets and regular university students.

## **Research Methods**

This study used the questionnaire data and research results used by Lu-Huei Chen and Ying-nan Chen (2013) to observe the social background information of military cadets and their use of political media, and to further explore the impact of these factors on political efficacy. Students at Taiwanese military institutions were interviewed, and the interviews focused particularly on the four levels of undergraduates at the National Defense University's Fu Hsing Kang College. A comprehensive survey was created, and self-administered questionnaires, online questionnaires created with Google Forms, questionnaires posted in Internet communities, and questionnaires sent by e-mail were used. The survey was collected from April 25 to 30, 2019. A total of 417 completed surveys were collected, and 31 invalid surveys were excluded. In total, 386 surveys were used in this study.

### **1. Dependent Variable**

This study mainly analyzes perceived political efficacy among Taiwanese military cadets, and uses three statements to create a survey for determining the political efficacy of military cadets.

These statements are described below:

- (1) "People like me have a hard time understanding politics." (Politics are too complicated);
- (2) "Government officials do not care about the opinions of people like me." (Officials do not care);
- (3) "Ordinary people like me have little influence on government policy." (No influence on policy);

The above statement 1 measures "intrinsic efficacy", and 2 and 3 measure "external efficacy." Each of the survey questions was to be filled in with one of four possible answers, namely, "01 – strongly disagree", "02 – slightly disagree", "03 – slightly agree", and "04 – strongly agree" (Subsequent variable processing recodes the reverse of the statement as: "01 – strongly agree", "02 – slightly agree", "03 – slightly disagree", and "04 – strongly disagree"). According to the results of preliminary analysis, the internal consistency verification (Cronbach's alpha) of the three statements is 0.70, and they are therefore suitable for survey construction.

### **2. Independent Variables**

The study constructed a survey about "political media" used by military cadets based on variables such as "media use" and "level of attention paid to media."

The statements in the "Media Usage" survey are described below:

- (1) "How often do you view television news reports (including news shows that are broadcast via the Internet)?"
- (2) "How often do you read political news in a newspaper (including the online news sites)?"
- (3) "How often do you read political news on the Internet (e.g. Yahoo News)?"
- (4) "How often do you listen to the political news on the radio?"
- (5) "How often do you view political talk shows on television (e.g., the Tonight Show With Dennis And Amanda Peng)?"



Each of the survey questions was to be filled in with one of four possible answers; namely, "01- Never", "02 - Rarely", "03 - Sometimes", and "04 - Often". According to the results of preliminary analysis, the internal consistency verification (Cronbach's alpha) of the five questions is 0.67, and they are therefore suitable for survey construction.

The contents of the questions in the "Level of Attention Paid to Media" survey section are described below:

- (1) "What is the level of attention you pay when you watch the news on TV?"
- (2) "What is your level of attention you pay when you read political news in the newspaper?"
- (3) "What is the level of attention you pay when you read political news on the Internet?"
- (4) "What is the level of attention you pay when you listen to political news on the radio?"
- (5) "What is the level of attention you pay when you watch political talk shows on TV?"

Each of the survey questions was to be filled in with one of four possible answers; namely, "01- No Attention", "02 – Little Attention", "03 – Some Attention", and "04 – A Lot of Attention". According to the results of preliminary analysis, the internal consistency verification (Cronbach's alpha) of the five questions is 0.69, and they are therefore suitable for survey construction.

**3. In addition to the above variables, the study, from a perspective of socialization, included such control variables as the respondent's gender, age, university department, parental education level, familial socioeconomic status, monthly household income, and areas in which the participants lived before the age of 18. These variables also served as biographical data for further use. In addition, the follow-up analysis results will be compared with the data obtained from the study of regular university students, and supplement relevant information with the new data.**

**4. Averages and standard deviations are used in this study for descriptive analysis, and statistical methods such as Pearson's correlation, regression**

**analysis and variance analysis were used in data analysis.**

## **Data Analysis**

### **1. Political Media Distribution**

#### **(1) Media Use Situation**

Table 1 shows the use of various political media by military cadets. From this table, it can be seen that television, Internet, and newspapers are the most commonly used media pipelines by this category of students.

With TV as the main form of political news media, the proportion of respondents who watch the news on TV "sometimes" is 52.3% and the proportion who watch it "often" is 14.5%; a total of 66.8%. Secondly, the proportion of respondents who watch the news on the internet "sometimes" is 39.9% and the proportion who watch it "often" is 19.4%; a total of 59.3%. In addition, the proportion of respondents who use newspapers to read the news "sometimes" is 40.4% and the proportion who watch it "often" is 8.5%; a total of 48.9%.

There was found to be significantly less contact with political commentary shows and radio, with 69.7% of military cadets either never or rarely watching political commentary shows, and 83.1% of military cadets either rarely or never listen to radio political news.

Table 1: The Use of Political Media by Military cadets

	TV	Newspaper	Internet	Radio	Political Commentary Shows
Never	3.6 (14)	6.7 (26)	6.7 (26)	37.8 (146)	23.8 (92)
Rarely	29.5 (114)	44.3 (171)	33.9 (131)	45.3 (175)	45.9 (177)
Sometimes	52.3 (202)	40.4 (156)	39.9 (154)	14.5 (56)	25.9 (100)
Often	14.5 (56)	8.5 (33)	19.4 (75)	2.3 (9)	4.4 (17)
Average	2.78	2.51	2.72	1.81	2.11
Standard Deviation	0.73	0.75	0.85	0.76	0.81

Description: Percentage in the table is a column percentage (samples in parentheses)

Data source: The author collated these data.

## (2) Level of Attention Paid to Media

Table 2 shows the degree of attention paid by military cadets to several kinds of political media. It can be seen that the attention that regular university students pay to television, Internet, and newspapers sources is higher.

First of all, the level of attention paid to TV is the highest, the proportion of respondents who pay "some" attention to TV news is 67.6% and the proportion who pay "a lot of" attention to TV news is 7.32%; a total of 74.9%. Secondly, the proportion of respondents who pay "some" attention to political news on the internet is 54.4% and the proportion who pay "a lot

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of" attention to political news on the internet is 9.8%; a total of 64.2%. In addition, the proportion of respondents who pay "some" attention to political news in the newspaper is 43.5% and the proportion who pay "a lot of" attention to it is 3.9%; a total of 47.1%.

The level of attention paid by military cadets to political commentary shows and radio is low, with about 57.5% of respondents' paying little or no attention to political commentary shows, and 70.7% paying little or no attention to political radio broadcasts.

Table 2: Level of Attention Paid to Media

	TV	Newspaper	Internet	Radio	Political Commentary Shows
No Attention	3.6 (14)	7.5 (29)	6.0 (23)	29.8 (115)	20.2 (78)
Little Attention	21.5 (83)	45.1 (174)	29.8 (115)	40.9 (158)	37.3 (144)
Some Attention	67.6 (261)	43.5 (168)	54.4 (210)	26.4 (102)	37.8 (146)
A Lot of Attention	7.3 (28)	3.9 (15)	9.8 (38)	2.8 (11)	4.7 (18)
Average	2.78	2.44	2.68	2.02	2.27
Standard Deviation	0.62	0.69	0.73	0.82	0.83

Description: Percentage in the table is a column percentage (samples in parentheses)

Data source: The author collated these data.

### **(3) Summary**

From the table above, it can be seen that the degree of attention paid to media by military cadets, whether they are using the media to access political news or to obtain information, they paid the most attention to television, which is followed by the Internet, and newspapers, while they generally paid less attention to political commentary shows and radio broadcasts. These findings support Hypothesis 1a: "Military cadets mainly use "television" as their source of political media."

This result is the same as Chen and Chen's finding (2013). The most popular forms of political media mainly include "television, internet, and newspapers". There is no great difference between regular college students and military cadets in the forms of political media.

## **2. Perceived Political Efficacy Distribution**

### **(1) Internal and External Efficacy**

Table 3 shows the distribution of internal efficacy and external efficacy of military cadets. The results of the intrinsic efficacy analysis show that military cadets affirm their ability to understand politics; whereas the external efficacy analysis shows that military cadets believe that the government does not care about their views and do not think that they have influence on the policy. Overall, military cadets have a high sense of internal efficacy and a low sense of external efficacy.

In terms of internal efficacy, the proportion of respondents who think that they have the ability to understand politicians (high efficacy) is about 55.7%, and the proportion of those that think they lack the ability to understand politics (low efficacy) is about 44.3%.

In terms of external efficacy, the proportion of respondents that think officials do not care about their views (low efficacy) is 63.2%, and the proportion of those who believe that officials care about their opinions (high efficacy) is only 36.8%. The proportion of those that think they have no influence on policies (low efficacy) is 55.7%, and the proportion of those

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who believe they have an influence on the policy (high efficacy) is only 44.3%.

Table 3: Perceived Political Efficacy of Military cadets

	Internal Efficacy		External Efficacy			
	Politics are too complicated		Officials do not care		No influence on policy	
Strongly Agree	6.5 (25)	44.3%	15.0 (58)	63.2%	13.2 (51)	55.7%
Slightly Agree	37.8 (146)		48.2 (186)		42.5 (164)	
Slightly Disagree	42.2 (163)	55.7%	31.1 (120)	36.8%	36.0 (139)	44.3%
Strongly Disagree	13.5 (52)		5.7 (22)		8.3 (32)	
Average	2.63		2.27		2.39	
Standard Deviation	0.80		0.78		0.82	

Description: Percentage in the table is a column percentage (samples in parentheses)

Data source: The author collated these data.

**(2) Correlation of Political Media and Perceived Political Efficacy**

According to Pearson Correlation analysis results, as shown in Table 13, Media use [  $r(384) = .18, p < .01$  ] and perceived political efficacy have a significant correlation ; and level of attention paid to media [  $r(384) = .22, p < .01$  ] and perceived political efficacy also have a significant correlation.

Table 4: Matrix of Correlation Between Political Media and Perceived Political Efficacy (N=386)

	1	2	3
1. Media Use	-		
2. Level of Media Attention	.68**	-	
3. Perceived Political Efficacy	.18**	.22**	-

Description: \* $p < .05$  \*\*  $p < .01$  \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Data source: The author collated these data.

The relationship between media usage, media attention and political efficacy is examined with regression analysis. As shown in Table 5, when other variables are considered, there was a significant correlation between media attention and political efficacy,  $\beta=.20$ ,  $p < .01$ . The higher the attention to media score, the better the sense of political efficacy. There was also not found to be a significant correlation between media use ( $\beta=.04$ ,  $p =.52$ ) and political efficacy.

Table 5: Linear Regression of Political Media and Perceived Political Efficacy

	Perceived Political Efficacy		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	$\beta$
Media Use	0.05	0.08	.04
Level of Media Attention	0.23**	0.08	.20**
$R^2$	.05		
<i>Adj R</i> <sup>2</sup>	.05		
<i>F</i>	10.39***		
<i>df</i>	(2, 383)		

Description:  $N = 386$  ; \* $p < .05$  \*\*  $p < .01$  \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Data source: The author collated these data.

### **(3) Summary**

Concerning the distribution of political efficacy, the results show that military cadets have a high perceived internal efficacy and a relatively low perceived external efficacy. Further analysis of the relationship between political media and political efficacy found that media use, level of attention paid to media, and political efficacy has significant positive correlation. That is, the more commonly the media channels are used to access political news, the higher the degree of attention paid to political news media, the higher the sense of political efficacy, which in turn caused the level of attention paid to media to have a significant impact on the political efficacy. This result is the same as Hypothesis 2: "There is a significant correlation between the political media and perceived political efficacy."

When these results are compared to the results of research conducted by Lu-Huei Chen and Ying-nan Chen (2013), it is clear that there were obvious improvements in internal efficacy. That is, military cadets are more certain of their ability to understand politics than average university students. The relationship between the political media and perceived political efficacy was shown to have a positive correlation.

### **3. The Difference in Social Background and the Perceived Political Efficiency of Military cadets and Regular University Students**

In order to understand the distribution and correlation of military cadets' perceived political efficacy, media usage, and level of attention paid to media, this study, from a perspective of socialization, collected such data as respondents' gender, age, university department, parental education level, familial socioeconomic status, monthly household income, and areas in which the participants lived before the age of 18, and conducted comparative analyses between these data and respondents' perception of political efficacy.

#### **(1) Is there a gender-based difference in perception of political efficacy?**

An independent sample, one-way ANOVA that was conducted on the effect of gender on the perception of political efficacy was analyzed; as



shown in Table 6, there was no significant difference in the political efficacy based on gender,  $F(1,384)=2.85$ ,  $p=.09$ ,  $\eta_p^2=.007$ .

Table 6: ANOVA on Gendered Sense of Political Efficacy

Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F	p	$\eta_p^2$
Gender	1.07	1	1.07	2.85	.09	.007
Error	144.30	384	0.38			
Sum	145.37	385				

Data source: The author collated these data.

**(2) Is there an age-based difference in perception of political efficacy?**

An independent sample, one-way ANOVA that was conducted on the effect of age on the perception of political efficacy was analyzed; as shown in Table 7, there was no significant difference in the political efficacy based on age,  $F(3,382)=0.66$ ,  $p=.58$ ,  $\eta_p^2=.005$ .

Table 7: ANOVA on Age-Based Sense of Political Efficacy

Source of Variation	SS	df	MS	F	p	$\eta_p^2$
Age	0.75	3	0.25	0.66	.58	.005
Error	144.62	382	0.38			
Sum	145.37	385				

Data source: The author collated these data.

**(3) Is there a difference in perception of political efficacy based on university department?**

An independent sample, one-way ANOVA that was conducted on the effect of university department on the perception of political efficacy was analyzed; as shown in Table 8, there was no significant difference in the political efficacy based on university department,  $F(3,382)=1.16$ ,  $p=.38$ ,  $\eta_p^2=.009$ .

Table 8: ANOVA on University Department-Based Sense of Political Efficacy

Source of Variation	<i>SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	$\eta_p^2$
University Department	1.31	3	0.44	1.16	.38	.009
Error	144.06	382	0.38			
Sum	145.37	385				

Data source: The author collated these data.

**(4) Is there a difference in perception of political efficacy based on parental education level?**

An independent sample, one-way ANOVA that was conducted on the effect of maternal education level on the perception of political efficacy was analyzed; as shown in Table 9, there was no significant difference in the political efficacy based on maternal education level,  $F(6,379)=1.10$ ,  $p=.36$ ,  $\eta_p^2=.017$ .

Table 9: ANOVA on Sense of Political Efficacy Based on Paternal Education Level

Source of Variation	<i>SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	$\eta_p^2$
Parental Education Level	2.48	6	0.41	1.10	.36	.017
Error	142.89	379	0.38			
Sum	145.37	385				

Data source: The author collated these data.

An independent sample, one-way ANOVA that was conducted on the effect of maternal education level on the perception of political efficacy was analyzed; as shown in Table 10, there was no significant difference in the political efficacy based on maternal education level,  $F(6,379)=0.79$ ,  $p=.58$ ,  $\eta_p^2=.012$ .

Table 10: ANOVA on Sense of Political Efficacy Based on Maternal Education Level

Source of Variation	<i>SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	$\eta_p^2$
Maternal Education Level	1.80	6	0.30	0.79	.58	.012
Error	143.57	379	0.38			
Sum	145.37	385				

Data source: The author collated these data.

**(5) Is there a difference in perception of political efficacy based on area in which the student lived before the age of 18?**

An independent sample, one-way ANOVA that was conducted on the area in which the student lived before the age of 18 on the perception of political efficacy was analyzed; as shown in Table 11, there was no significant difference in the political efficacy based on maternal education level,  $F(4,381)=0.18, p=.95, \eta_p^2=.002$ .

Table 11: ANOVA on Sense of Political Efficacy Based on the Area in which the Student Lived Before the Age of 18

Source of Variation	<i>SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>	$\eta_p^2$
Area the Student Lived in Before the Age of 18	0.27	4	0.07	0.18	.95	.002
Error	145.10	381	0.38			
Sum	145.37	385				

Data source: The author collated these data.

**(6) Is there a significant correlation between the socioeconomic status of the subject's families and their sense of political efficacy?**

According to Pearson Correlation analysis results, as shown in Table 12, there was no significant correlation between the socioeconomic status of the participants' families [ $r(384) = .05, p = .31$ ] and the sense of political efficacy.

Table 12: Matrix of Correlation Between the Socioeconomic status of the Participants' Families and the Sense of Political Efficacy (N=386)

	1	2
1. Socioeconomic status of the Participants' Families	-	
2. Level of Attention Paid to Media	.05	-

Data source: The author collated these data.

Description: \* $p < .05$  \*\*  $p < .01$  \*\*\*  $p < .001$

**(7) Is there a significant correlation between monthly household income and a sense of political efficacy?**

According to Pearson Correlation analysis results, as shown in Table 13, there was a significant correlation between monthly household income of the participants' families [ $r(384) = .11, p < .05$ ] and their sense of political efficacy.

Table 13: Matrix of Correlation Between Monthly Household Income and the Sense of Political Efficacy (N=386)

	1	2
1. Monthly Household Income	-	
2. Level of Attention Paid to Media	.11*	-

Data source: The author collated these data.

Description: \* $p < .05$  \*\*  $p < .01$  \*\*\*  $p < .001$

### **(8) Summary**

In summary, when the respondents' gender, age, university department, parental education level, socioeconomic status of the participants' family, monthly household income, and the areas in which the participants lived before the age of 18, were analyzed and compared with their sense of political efficacy, only "monthly household income" was positively correlated with a sense of political efficacy. The remaining variables were not significantly related to political efficacy.

According to the results of Lu-Huei Chen and Ying-Nan Chen's (2013) research, the analysis of social background data found only "female" gender and political efficacy to be related, and the rest to have no significant impact, which is different from the findings of the study described above. Therefore, these findings are well aligned with hypothesis 3: "There is a difference between the socialization background and political efficacy of military cadets and regular university students.

## **Conclusion**

This study used questionnaires to focus on media use that provides political knowledge, the level of attention paid to media, and related changes in perceived political efficacy in military cadets that occur by extension. Further, this study compared these data with the results of regular university students.

First, This study has found that no matter what kind of political media military cadets intend to use or how much attention they pay to the information that they acquire through the media, television is the most popular and impactful, internet is the second most effective and impactful, and newspaper is the third most popular and impactful. Political television shows and radio broadcasts are generally less popular. These findings are the same as the results of the relevant literature. For both regular university students and military cadets, "television" is the most important channel for accessing media and information from political news.

Secondly, in addition, military cadets are sure of their own ability to understand politics but believe that the government does not care about their opinions, and they also have little faith in their own ability to impact policy. In other words, military cadets have higher internal efficacy and lower external efficacy, compared with the regular university students. That is, military cadets are surer of their own ability to understand politics than regular university students. In addition, the study also found that there is a significant positive correlation between media use, level of attention paid to media, and perceived political efficacy of military cadets and regular university students. The more often students use media pipelines to receive political news, and the more attention they pay to media political news, the higher their perceived political efficacy will be.

Thirdly, in the study of social background information, it was found that only "monthly household income" has a significant positive correlation with political efficacy. The other factors were found not to have any significant correlation with political efficacy. This is unlike regular university students, for which the "gender" variable is an influencing factor. This shows that there is a difference between the social background and political efficacy of military cadets and regular university students.

In the Taiwanese literature on political media and political efficacy, there is a long-term lack of information on "military cadets." This article breaks away from party inclinations, election analysis, voting behavior, political education, and works to only examine the relationship between political media and political efficacy from an academic perspective. It was found that most of the results are no different from those of regular university students. These results will undoubtedly provide reference materials for academia, and will push future related research in a more sustainable development-oriented direction. Relevant considerations for the future study of political media and political efficacy are: more systematic long-term analysis of changes in the political efficiency of students in military institutions, or deep study of the factors in the special education at military institutions, and even comparison between military personnel before and after appointment to officer positions.

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