

# 中央研究院 民族學研究所集刊

第三十八期

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**CONTENTS**

- Cross-cultural Education and Attitude Change: Asian  
Students' Attitude Toward America..... WILLIAM J. F. LEW.... 1
- The Formation of a New Intelligentsia in China,  
1861-1921..... MARTIN M. C. YANG.... 21
- An Impunitive Culture: Reactions of the Amis to Rosenzweig's  
Picture-Frustration Test..... MUTSUX HSU.... 99
- Personality and Stereotype in the Revitalization  
Process of a Church..... HAI-YUAN HCHU and I-PING YUAN.. 115
- 

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(Issued in June, 1975)

## CROSS-CULTURAL EDUCATION AND ATTITUDE CHANGE

### Asian Students' Attitude Toward America<sup>(1)</sup>

WILLIAM J. F. LEW<sup>(2)</sup>

*The East-West Center, University of Hawaii*<sup>(3)</sup>

BULLETIN OF THE INSTITUTE OF ETHNOLOGY,  
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The attitudes toward America of 390 Asian students in three groups on ten U.S. campuses were studied with a questionnaire developed by the investigator. In a *quasi-longitudinal* design, the questionnaire contained 40 items each with two 7-point scales to measure both the subject's present attitude and his attitude before coming to U.S., as he recalled it. It also had 23 closed questions and one open-end question to secure additional information. A control group of 82 U.S.-bound Chinese students was used to test the accuracy of the recalled "before" response of the experimental subjects. The main results indicate that the Asian students' attitude and its change varied with the aspects or areas of American society and culture.

The Asian students' attitudes toward America have been subjected to limited study, usually examining only a few aspects of American society and studying restricted samples from a single country or at a single American institution (Eide 1970; Spencer and Awe 1970).

This paper reports a study of 390 Asian students from 17 countries on the campuses of ten American universities. The attitudes of these students toward 40 aspects of American society and culture were examined both before and after their arrival in the United States.

The general hypothesis of the present study was that the change of attitudes of foreign students toward their host country can be traced to intercultural contact associated with cross-cultural education (in this case, the exposure of Asian students to American culture while studying in the United States). The project investigated: (a) the attitudes of Asian students toward various aspects of American society and culture; (b) the difference in Asian students' attitudes

\* Issued in June, 1975

- (1) The study was made possible by Culture Learning Institute of the East-West Center during the academic year 1972-1973 when the author was invited as Senior Fellow to participate in the Center's Senior Scholar Program.
- (2) Among many others who have helped to make this study possible, the author wishes to thank Peter Wu of Stanford University, Harry Triandis of the University of Illinois, Kuo-shu Yang of National Taiwan University, and Peter Tam of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, for their assistance and suggestions.
- (3) Now at the School of Education, the Chinese University of Hong Kong.

toward America traceable to their country of origin; (c) the difference in attitudes toward America among three groups—(1) Asian students with East-West Center grants, participating in the Center's programs, (2) non-EWC Asian students attending the University of Hawaii, and (3) Asian students studying at U.S. mainland universities; (d) the interrelationships among attitude toward America and the student's sex, age, marital status, life adjustment, academic achievement, English proficiency, field of study, and length of sojourn; and (e) the general conditions of Asian students in America.

The study was also intended to test three hypotheses proposed by previous researchers: the U-curve (Davis 1960, 1963, 1971; Lysgaard 1955; Sewell and Davidson 1961), the two-way mirror (Davis 1971; Ibrahim 1970; Morris 1960), and the social contact hypothesis (Basu and Ames 1970; Duetsch and Collins 1951; Ibrahim 1970). These hypotheses state that (a) favorability of foreign students' attitudes toward the host country declines over time and rises later during sojourn (the U-curve hypothesis), (b) the foreign student's attitude toward the host country reflects the attitude of its people toward his home country (the two-way mirror hypothesis), and (c) favorability of foreign students' attitudes toward the host country is directly related to the amount of social contact or interaction with its people (the social contact hypothesis).

An effort was made to draw somewhat randomly three situational samples of Asian students as experimental groups from those at (a) nine universities on the U.S. mainland (US)<sup>(1)</sup>, (b) the University of Hawaii with the East-West Center grants (EWC), and (c) the University of Hawaii without the EWC grants (UH). The sizes of the three samples were originally 240 (US), 180 (EWC), and 200 (UH), but were reduced to 130 for each group. They were composed of graduate and undergraduate students of both sexes from 17 Asian countries.

A sample of 85 (later reduced to 82) Chinese college graduates planning to pursue further education in America were tested on Taiwan. This sample was used as a control group to compare with those ( $N = 95$ ) from Taiwan since a control group composed of students in other Asian countries could not be obtained. The focus of the comparison was on the accuracy of the recall of the experimental subjects' attitude toward America as reflected by their "before" responses.

### INSTRUMENT

A questionnaire in three forms (A, B, and C) was developed by the writer. Other devices, including the semantic differentials, were considered but found un-

- (1) The nine U.S. mainland universities were University of Illinois, University of Michigan, Ohio State University, Harvard University, Stanford University, Brigham Young University, Arizona State University, California State University at Sacramento, and University of Wisconsin at River Falls.

suitable for this study. Forms A and B had two parts. The first consisted of 40 attitude items reflecting 40 aspects of American society and culture. The items were classified into four areas each with ten items. The four areas were labeled (a) American people (e. g., white men), (b) American ideals and values (e. g., equality), (c) social and political phenomena in American society (e. g., foreign policy), and (d) other aspects of American culture (e. g., supermarkets).

Each respondent circled two 7-point scales as two responses which indicated his or her reaction to each of the 40 items. One of the responses was "the feeling or opinion you *now* have," while the other was "the feeling or opinion you had *before* you came to the United States." Hence the research design may be called a *quasi-longitudinal* approach. The only difference between Form A and Form B was in the order of the two responses: in Form A the "before" response preceded the "now" response while the reverse was true in Form B.

Forms A and B were four pages long: since they were used with students studying in the United States, they were in English. Form C had two pages and was in Chinese. It was used for the control group in Taiwan. In addition to the 40 items, the English version had a second part composed of 23 closed questions and one open-end question. The Chinese version (Form C) contained only the 40 items, each item corresponding to the "before" response of the English version.

The 40 items were chosen by the investigator after a survey of literature on American society and culture and following a pilot study and discussions with students and colleagues at Culture Learning Institute of the East-West Center. The time needed for completing the questionnaires was about 15 minutes for the English version and about eight minutes for the Chinese version.

The item-total correlations of the "now" scores ( $N = 390$ ) were all significant. Cronbach's Alpha values for the four areas were: American People ( $\alpha = 0.81$ ), Ideals and Values ( $\alpha = 0.84$ ), Social and Political Phenomena ( $\alpha = 0.77$ ), and Other Aspects ( $\alpha = 0.78$ ).

A factor analysis with orthogonal rotation, also using the "now" scores of the 390 subjects, showed that the four-area categorization of the 40 items was generally good and that the grouping of the first 20 items was almost perfect, although the last area (Other Aspects of American Culture) was not well-defined.

### PROCEDURE

The questionnaire was completed anonymously. The data were collected during the first three months of 1973. Forms A and B were randomly distributed, either in person or by mail, to the three experimental groups. About half of the subjects were administered with Form A and the other half Form B. Six hundred and twenty copies of the questionnaire in two forms were distributed (240 for US, 180 for EWC and 200 for UH). The percentage of returns of the three groups varied



as expected. Seventy-two per cent of the EWC group responded (most of its members stayed in the EWC dormitories and were therefore more accessible). The response rate of the UH group was 65% and that of the US group 54%. After discarding a few useless returns, the three groups had 134 (US), 128 (UH), and 130 (EWC) returns left. For the sake of convenience, an equal number of 130 completed questionnaires were obtained for each of the three groups by securing two more respondents from one underrepresented nation for the UH group and ridding the US group of four returns from one over-represented country. Form C was given to 85 U.S.-bound Chinese college graduates attending an orientation program of the Ministry of Education on Taiwan. The return rate was 100%. Three incomplete questionnaires were discarded.

The questionnaires for the Hawaii groups (EWC and UH) were administered either by the investigator or by his assistants or some members of the Chinese Students Association at the University of Hawaii, while those for the U.S. mainland group and the Taiwan control group were distributed and collected by either his friends or former students teaching or studying at various universities. All those who assisted the author were given instructions as to how the questionnaire would be administered.

The statistical analysis for the study was primarily carried out at an American university computer center after the data had been collected.

## RESULTS

In the analyses reported in this section, the three experimental groups were combined (hence  $N = 390$ ), unless it is stated otherwise.

### **No Difference among the Three Groups, between Sexes and between Forms**

Analysis of variance indicated that there were no significant differences in the attitudes toward America (*a*) among the three experimental groups, (*b*) between males and females in the three groups, and (*c*) between those responding to Forms A and B.

### **Support for the Two-way Mirror and Social Contact Hypotheses, but not the U-Curve Hypothesis**

While the U-curve of favorability was not confirmed in the present study, the hypotheses of two-way mirror and social contact were supported. That is, those who thought "the attitude of most Americans toward my own country" was favorable also displayed a higher total mean score of favorability (derived from the "now" response to the 40 items) than those who thought otherwise ( $p < 0.05$ ). Those who had most of their social contacts with Americans were more favorable (based on "now" response to the 40 items) than those who had most of their

social contacts with people from other countries. Those whose social contacts were mainly with people from their own country were least favorable to America. The difference among the three subgroups was significant at the 0.01 level.

### Attitudes toward Various Aspects of American Society and Culture

The attitudes of Asian students toward various aspects of American society and culture are shown below ( $N = 390$ ).

Area and Item	Now		Before	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
(higher scores = more favorable)				
<b>American People</b>				
white men	4.64	1.12	4.71	1.09
white women	4.76	1.25	4.71	1.20
white teenage boys	4.39	1.26	4.43	1.15
white teenage girls	4.58	1.29	4.66	1.15
white children	5.31	1.25	5.17	1.23
black people	4.16	1.21	3.92	1.06
old people	4.84	1.22	4.64	1.02
hippies	3.56	1.59	3.18	1.46
professors	5.40	1.09	5.06	1.01
students	5.07	1.13	4.86	1.04
<b>American Ideals and Values</b>				
equality	4.75	1.55	5.02	1.23
freedom	5.20	1.49	5.34	1.21
responsibility	5.35	1.35	5.17	1.12
service	4.93	1.53	4.98	1.15
happiness	4.47	1.45	4.84	1.21
humor	4.98	1.31	4.79	1.08
kindness	4.58	1.38	4.84	1.08
efficiency	5.42	1.32	5.28	1.11
creativity	5.43	1.29	5.15	1.10
cooperation	4.87	1.40	4.97	1.12
<b>Social and Political Phenomena in American Society</b>				
education	5.53	1.18	5.34	1.08
economy	4.80	1.42	5.20	1.21
morality	3.53	1.47	3.97	1.27
family	3.94	1.39	4.23	1.14
friendship	4.28	1.45	4.61	1.06

sex	3.59	1.64	3.82	1.33
racial discrimination	3.01	1.49	3.27	1.26
parent-child relationship	3.54	1.51	3.91	1.19
teacher-student relationship	4.99	1.44	4.63	1.03
foreign policy	3.17	1.56	3.92	1.44
<b>Other Aspects of American Culture</b>				
universities	5.56	1.09	5.31	1.03
libraries	6.08	1.11	5.31	1.15
cities	4.45	1.48	4.84	1.11
houses	5.28	1.22	5.08	1.12
cars	5.13	1.42	5.10	1.18
supermarkets	5.67	1.20	5.03	1.18
food	4.18	1.67	4.49	1.25
music	4.66	1.47	4.61	1.25
TV	4.78	1.39	4.84	1.08
movies	4.65	1.40	4.98	1.14

Further illustrations of Asian students' attitudes toward various aspects of American society and culture are provided in Tables 1 and 2. In these tables, the most liked and disliked items, and the items on which the greatest positive and negative changes occurred, are illustrated. Table 1 is based on "now" scores, Table 2 on the "change" scores, which are equal to the "now" scores minus the "before" scores.

Table 1: Rank-Order of the Most Liked and Disliked Items with Their Means Based on "Now" Scores

Rank	Most liked item	Mean	Most disliked item	Mean
1	libraries	6.08	racial discrimination	3.01
2	supermarkets	5.67	foreign policy	3.17
3	universities	5.56	morality	3.53
4	education	5.53	parent-child relationship	3.54
5	creativity	5.43	hippies	3.56
6	efficiency	5.42	sex	3.59
7	professors	5.40	family	3.94
8	responsibility	5.35	black people	4.16
9	white children	5.31	food	4.18
10	houses	5.28	friendship	4.28

Table 1 lists the ten items with the highest mean "now" scores and the ten items with the lowest mean "now" scores. There are, however, eleven items with

the greatest positive mean "change" scores and thirteen items with the greatest negative mean "change" scores in Table 2 because some items happened to have identical scores (for example, the two items "old people" and "houses" had the same mean "change" score 0.20 and were therefore assigned the same rank 10).

Table 2: Rank-Order of the 11 Greatest-Positive-Change Items and the 13 Greatest-Negative-Change Items as Indicated by Mean "Change" Scores

Rank	Positive Item	Change	Negative Item	Change
1	libraries	0.77	foreign policy	-0.75
2	supermarkets	0.64	morality	-0.44
3	hippies	0.38	economy	-0.40
4	teacher-student relationship	0.36	cities	-0.39
5	professors	0.34	happiness, parent-child relationship	-0.37
6	creativity	0.28	friendship, movies	-0.33
7	universities	0.25	food	-0.31
8	black people	0.24	family	-0.29
9	students	0.21	equality	-0.27
10	old people, houses	0.20	kindness, racial discrimination	-0.26

### Attitudes of Asians Students by Country of Origin

Change of attitudes of Asian students from various countries was significantly different by  $F$  test ( $p < 0.01$ ) only in the area of American people (see Table 3).

Table 3: Rank-Order of Nine National Groups on Size of Mean "Change" Scores in the Area of American People (10 Items)

Rank	Country	N	Change
1	Other Countries*	34	10.62
2	Philippines	20	9.25
3	India	35	8.77
4	Hong Kong	36	8.47
5	Taiwan	95	7.38
6	Thailand	38	7.32
7	Malaysia	21	6.90
8	Korea	53	6.85
9	Japan	58	5.79

\*Other countries include Vietnam ( $N=7$ ), Pakistan ( $N=7$ ), Laos ( $N=6$ ), Indonesia ( $N=4$ ), Sri Lanka (Ceylon,  $N=3$ ), Singapore ( $N=3$ ), Bangladesh ( $N=2$ ), Afghanistan ( $N=1$ ), and Nepal ( $N=1$ ).

The Duncan multiple range test, however, revealed statistically significant differences only between: (a) "other countries" and each of these four countries ( $p < 0.05$ )—Korea, Malaysia, Thailand, and Taiwan (the Republic of China); (b) "other countries" and Japan ( $p < 0.01$ ); and (c) Philippines and Japan ( $p < 0.05$ ).

A *t* test found a difference significant at the 0.01 level between the Taiwan control group ( $N = 82$ ) and the Taiwan students ( $N = 95$ ) in the three experimental groups. The Taiwan control subjects' attitude toward America in terms of total "before" scores of the 40 items ( $M = 192.95, SD = 20.32$ ) was more favorable than that which the Taiwan experimental subjects' "before" responses suggested ( $M = 182.21, SD = 18.56$ ). A further analysis of the four areas of attitudes showed that the difference between the two Taiwan groups mainly lay in their attitude toward American ideals and values:  $M = 60.30, SD = 7.69$  for the control group and  $M = 54.58, SD = 7.34$  for the experimental group.

**Interrelationships of Relevant Variables**

The data in Table 4 were collected by means of the closed questions in the

Table 4: Matrix of Correlation Coefficients Significant at 0.01 Level among Relevant Variables

	HLUS	SSUS	ESA	ERA	LSUS	ASCA	FARH	AAHC	CAAP	CAAC	CAAS
HLUS		0.37	0.20	0.26			0.27	0.16	0.23	0.23	0.29
SSUS			0.35	0.38	0.20		0.19		0.18	0.13	0.16
ESA				0.66	0.24		0.14		0.15		
ERA					0.16				0.14		
LSUS											
ASCA							0.20				
FARH								0.20	0.22	0.21	0.17
AAHC									0.24		0.21
CAAP										0.47	0.39
CAAC											0.46
CAAS											

Note.—The eleven relevant variables are:

- HLUS: happiness of life in U.S.
- SSUS: success of study in U.S.
- ESA: English speaking ability
- ERA: English reading ability
- LSUS: length of sojourn in U.S.
- ASCA: amount of social contact with Americans
- FARH: perception of friendliness of Americans to the respondent himself
- AAHC: perception of American attitude toward the respondent's home country
- CAAP: change of overall attitude toward American people
- CAAC: change of overall attitude toward American culture
- CAAS: change of overall attitude toward American society

second part of the questionnaire from the 390 respondents in the three experimental groups. The table is self-explanatory. For example, happiness of life in the host country (question: "My life in the United States has been 1) very happy\_\_\_\_ 2) pretty happy\_\_\_\_ 3) rather unhappy\_\_\_\_ 4) very unhappy\_\_\_\_.") is related to such variables as success of study in America ( $r = 0.37$ ), English speaking ability ( $r = 0.20$ ), English reading ability ( $r = 0.26$ ), perception by the respondent of friendliness of Americans to himself ( $r = 0.27$ ), perception by the Asian student of favorability of Americans' attitude toward his home country ( $r = 0.16$ ), change of the student's overall attitude toward American people ( $r = 0.23$ ), change of his overall attitude toward American culture ( $r = 0.23$ ), and change of his overall attitude toward American society as a whole ( $r = 0.29$ ).

No interrelationship was found among sex and age and those variables listed in Table 4.

**General Conditions of Asian Students in America**

According to the responses to the closed questions in the second part of the questionnaire, the general conditions (status, life, adjustment, perception, etc.) of the 390 Asian students at the ten American universities investigated may be described in terms of frequency and percentage of their responses to each question.

	Response	Frequency	%
1. Sex			
	male	253	65
	female	137	35
2. Age			
	under 21	20	5
	21-24	112	28
	25-28	131	34
	above 28	127	33
3. I worked in my own country for			
	1-12 months	57	14.6
	more than one year	52	13.3
	2-3 years	50	12.8
	4-5 years	45	11.5
	6-10 years	44	11.3
	11-20 years	9	2.4
	more than 20 years	4	1.1
	I never worked	127	32.6
	No response	2	0.5
4. Marital status			

	married	150	38
	unmarried	240	62
5.	My wife or husband is		
	here with me	29	19
	not here	118	79
	No response	3	
6.	This is my		
	first visit to U. S.	308	79
	second visit to U. S.	68	17.5
	third visit to U. S.	14	3.5
7.	I have been in the United States for		
	1-6 months	62	16
	7-12 months	75	19.2
	13-18 months	30	7.6
	19-24 months	55	14.1
	more than two years	68	17.4
	more than three years	44	11.3
	4-6 years	44	11.3
	more than six years	9	2.3
	No response	3	
8.	I am studying for a		
	Bachelor's degree	90	23
	Master's degree	174	44.6
	Doctor's degree	120	30.8
	Post-doctoral training	1	
	No response	5	
9.	My major field of study is in		
	the humanities/social sciences	195	50
	engineering/natural sciences	191	49
	No response	4	
10.	My study in the United States is		
	very successful	56	14
	pretty successful	284	73
	rather unsuccessful	46	12
	very unsuccessful	1	0.3
	No response	3	
11.	My life in the United States is		
	very happy	40	10
	pretty happy	283	73
	rather unhappy	62	16

very unhappy	4	1
No response	1	
<b>12. I speak English</b>		
very well	70	18
pretty well	184	47
with some difficulty	124	32
with great difficulty	11	3
No response	1	
<b>13. I read English</b>		
very well	97	25
pretty well	213	54
with some difficulty	77	20
with great difficulty	3	1
<b>14. Most of my social contact is with</b>		
Americans	78	20
people from my own country	184	47
people from other countries	62	16
No response	66	17
<b>15. Most Americans are</b>		
very friendly to me	68	17.5
pretty friendly to me	293	75
rather unfriendly to me	27	7
very unfriendly to me	2	0.5
<b>16. The attitude of most Americans toward my own country is</b>		
very favorable	29	7
pretty favorable	237	61
rather unfavorable	117	30
very unfavorable	7	2
<b>17. My overall attitude toward American people has become</b>		
more favorable	133	34.1
less favorable	130	33.3
unchanged	127	32.6
<b>18. My overall attitude toward American culture has become</b>		
more favorable	121	31
less favorable	155	40
unchanged	114	29



19. American society as a whole is	
better than I expected	54
as good as I expected	189
worse than I expected	147

Some differences in attitudes were found among some subgroups, all significant at the 0.05 level in terms of "now" scores: (a) those who studied engineering and natural sciences were more favorable to "other aspects of American culture" than those whose major fields of study were in the humanities and social sciences; (b) the undergraduate students were more satisfied with the social and political phenomena in America than the graduate students; and (c) the married rated American ideals and values higher than the unmarried students.

Highly significant difference ( $p < 0.001$ ) was found between those who thought that American society as a whole was better than or as good as they had expected and those who thought that it was worse than they had expected. The former rated, in terms of "now" scores, each of the four areas of attitudes toward America as categorized in the main part of the questionnaire, higher than the latter.

As evidence of concurrent validity of the questionnaire, Table 5 lists the correlation coefficients between the "change" scores of the 40 attitude items in the main part of the questionnaire and the coded scores of the responses to the last three closed questions (regarding overall change of attitudes toward American people,

Table 5: Concurrent Validity Coefficients of the Questionnaire in Terms of "Change" Scores of the 40 Items and the Coded Scores of Responses to Related Questions in the Same Instrument

	Change of Overall Attitude toward American People	Change of Overall Attitude toward American Culture	Change of Overall Attitude toward American Society
Change of Attitude toward American People (Subtest I)	0.39	0.22	0.22
Change of Attitude toward American Ideals & Values (Subtest II)	0.27	0.28	0.31
Change of Attitude toward American Social & Political Phenomena (Subtest III)	0.31	0.33	0.39
Change of Attitude toward Other Aspects of American Culture (Subtest IV)	0.24	0.16	0.25
The Total "Change" Score (The Total Test)	0.40	0.34	0.41