#### **TEDS2012 Questionnaire**

We are ready to start today's interview. If, at any time during the interview, you feel something is not clear, please tell me immediately and I will read it again. Or, if you do not want to answer a question, please tell me and we will skip that question.

#### Part 1: Politics and Media

- A 1. During this year's presidential and legislative election campaign, some people spent a lot of time on all kinds of media news stories about the election, while others did not have the time for this type of news. On average, how much time did you spend each day on election campaign news on TV?
  - 01. Less than 30 minutes
  - 02. 31-60 minutes
  - 03. 60-90 minutes
  - 04. 90 minutes to 2 hours
  - 05. More than 2 hours
  - 06. Every once in a while
  - 07. None at all
  - 95. Refuse to answer
  - 96. It depends
  - 98. Don't know

#### A 1 a. What about election news on the radio?

- 01. Less than 30 minutes
- 02. 31-60 minutes
- 03. 60-90 minutes
- 04. 90 minutes to 2 hours
- 05. More than 2 hours
- 06. Every once in a while
- 07. None at all
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 98. Don't know

#### A 1 b. What about election news on the internet?

- 01. Less than 30 minutes
- 02. 31-60 minutes
- 03. 60-90 minutes
- 04. 90 minutes to 2 hours
- 05. More than 2 hours
- 06. Every once in a while
- 07. None at all
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 98. Don't know

#### A 1 c. What about election news in the newspapers?

- 01. Less than 30 minutes
- 02. 31-60 minutes
- 03. 60-90 minutes
- 04. 90 minutes to 2 hours
- 05. More than 2 hours
- 06. Every once in a while
- 07. None at all
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 98. Don't know

#### A 2. Which newspaper did you read most often? [Please choose only one]

- 01. China Times
- 02. United Daily News
- 04. Commercial Times
- 05. The Commons Daily
- 07. Economic Daily News
- 08. Youth Daily News
- 09. Taiwan Times
- 10. Liberty Times
- 11. United Evening News
- 13. Merit Times
- 14. China Daily
- 16. Taiwan News
- 17. Apple Daily

18. Want Daily 90. Other newspaper\_\_\_\_\_ 92. Don't read any newspaper 95. Refuse to answer 98. Don't know A 3 · Which TV news did you watch most often? [Please choose only one] 01. Taiwan Television 02. China Television 03. Chinese Television 04. Formosa Television 05. TVBS 06. Sanlih E-Television 07. Eastern Television 08. CTi Television 09. Era Television 10. Gala Television 11. Unique Satellite Television 12. Da-Ai Television 13. Taiwan Public Television 15. Hakka Television 16. Taiwan Indigenous Television 17. Local News Television Channel 18. Next TV 90. Other television channel\_\_\_\_\_ 92. Never

95. Refuse to answer

98. Don't know

- A  $4\,\cdot$  Prior to or during the campaign, did you use the Internet or your mobile phone to sign up for information or alerts from a party or candidate? CSES M4, Q19
  - 01. Yes
  - 02. No
  - 95. Refuse to answer
  - 98. Don't know

#### Now let us turn to your discussion with other people during the election campaign:

Part 2	2: Pol	itical Mobilization and Political Involvement
В1		you usually talk about politics or elections with other people? Is it often, sometimes, seldom, ever?
	01.	often
	02.	sometimes
	03.	seldom
	04.	never [skip to B2]
	95.	refuse to answer[skip to B2]
В 1	a · W	Thom do you usually talk about politics or elections with? Family members, relatives,
		ends, neighbors, colleagues at work, members of an association, classmates, online friends, others? [multiple responses allowed]
	01.	family members
	02.	relatives
	03.	friends
	04.	neighbors
	05.	colleagues at work
	06.	members of an association
	07.	classmates
	08.	online friends
	90.	others
	95.	refuse to answer
В 1	b · D	to these people who you commonly discuss politics or elections with support the same party?
	01.	all support the same party
	02.	most of them support the same party
	03.	about half and half [skip to B2a]
	04.	only a few support the same party [skip to B2]
	05.	none support the same party [skip to B2]

discuss politics or elections with the only person

refuse to answer [skip to B2]

don't know [skip to B2]

06.

95. 98.

## B 1 c · Which party is that? 01. KMT 02. DPP 03. NP 04. PFP 06. TSU 95. refuse to answer 96. it depends 97. no opinion 98. don't know ${\rm B}~2~\cdot$ Were you concerned with the outcome of this presidential election? Were you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned, or not concerned at all? CSES M3, Q18 01. very concerned 02. somewhat concerned 03. not too concerned 04. not concerned at all 95. refuse to answer 96. it depends 97. no opinion 98. don't know Next, I would like to ask a few questions about the presidential election campaign.

- B 3 · During the campaign, did a party or candidate contact you in person or by any other means? CSES M4, Q17
  - 01. face-to-face
  - 02. mail
  - 03. phone
  - 04. text message or SMS
  - 05. social networking site
  - 07. No[skip to B4]
  - 95. refuse to answer [skip to B4]
  - 98. don't know [skip to B4]

ВЗа • W	Thich candidate did they try to persuade you to vote for? [If all the candidates or any two of
	em asked for R's vote, I should ask which candidate contacted you the most times or made a
	etter impression.] CSES M4, Q17g
01.	TSAI Ing-wen and SU Jia-chyuan
02.	MA Ying-jeou and WU Den-yih
03.	James SOONG and LIN Ruey-shiung
90.	others
91.	all of them
95.	refuse to answer
98.	don't know
<b>.</b>	
	aring the campaign, did a friend, family member, neighbor, work colleague or other
	equaintance try to persuade you to vote for a particular candidate by any of these means?
C	SES M4, Q18
01.	face-to-face
02.	mail
03.	phone
04.	text message or SMS
05.	social networking site
07.	no [skip to B4]
95.	refuse to answer [skip to B4]
98.	don't know [skip to B4]
В 1 а . W	Thich candidate did they try to persuade you to vote for? [If all the candidates or any two of
	em asked for R's vote, I should ask which candidate asked more times or made a better
	npression.]
111	ipicssion.j
01.	TSAI Ing-wen and SU Jia-chyuan
02.	MA Ying-jeou and WU Den-yih
03.	James SOONG and LIN Ruey -shiung
90.	others
91.	all of them
95	refuse to answer

98. don't know

В 5 • D	id a party or candidate seek your vote through any of the following individuals?
01	1. campaign worker or volunteer
02	2. superior at work
03	3. member of local religious association
04	4. prominent local figure or clan member
05	5. village or ward head or executive official
06	6. member of candidate's support organization
07	7. community development association
08	3. cadre of farmers' association, fishers' association or irrigation association
09	9. faction member
10	). member of a local assembly
90	). others
92	2. none of them
95	5. refuse to answer
98	3. don't know
	id a legislative candidate in your district or party personally seek your vote through any of the dlowing individuals?
01	1. a recorded telephone message
02	2. the candidate in person
03	3. campaign worker or volunteer
05	5. superior at work
06	6. member of your religious, social, or professional association
07	
08	7. prominent local figure or clan member
09	•
10	3. village or ward head or executive official
11	3. village or ward head or executive official 9. neighbor
4.0	3. village or ward head or executive official  9. neighbor  1. classmate or friend
13	3. village or ward head or executive official  9. neighbor  1. relative or family member
13	3. village or ward head or executive official  9. neighbor  1. relative or family member  3. factions
	3. village or ward head or executive official 9. neighbor 1. classmate or friend 1. relative or family member 13. factions 14. text message
12	8. village or ward head or executive official 9. neighbor 10. classmate or friend 11. relative or family member 12. factions 12. text message 13. others
12 90	8. village or ward head or executive official 9. neighbor 10. classmate or friend 11. relative or family member 12. factions 12. text message 13. others 14. none of them[skip to B7]

B6a·Whi	ch candidate were they mainly asking you to support?
999995	5. refuse to answer
999998	8. don't know
B 7 · Do vou	often participate in the activities of certain associations? (For example women's association
_	arranging, folk dancing, alumni, hometown association, religious association, senior
citizen	s association, farmers association, labor associations or the Lion's Club or Jaycees.)
01. o	ften
02. se	ometimes
03. se	eldom
04. n	ever [skip to B8]
95. re	efuse to answer [skip to B8]
B7 a. Did tl	ne associations that you participate in support any particular presidential candidate?
01. y	es
02. n	o [skip to B7b]
98. d	on't know [skip to B7b]
95. re	efuse to answer [skip to B7b]
B7 a 1 · W	Thich candidate was it?
01.	TSAI Ing-wen and SU Jia-chyuan
02.	MA Ying-jeou and WU Den-yih
03.	James SOONG and LIN Ruey -shiung
90.	others
95.	refuse to answer
98.	don't know
В 7 b · <b>Did</b>	the associations that you participated in support any particular legislative candidate (or
party	y)?
01. y	res
02. n	o [skip to B8]
98. d	on't know [skip to B8]
95. re	efuse to answer [skip to B8]

#### B 7 b 1 · Which candidate (or party) was it?

999995. refuse to answer

999998. don't know

#### B 8 · During this year's election, did you do any of the following? [multiple responses permitted]

- 01. read the official election notice
- 02. read candidates' leaflets, newsletters, or newspaper ads
- 03. watched candidate debates or campaign speeches on TV
- 04. do volunteer work in campaign for either a candidate or party
- 05. attended an election related gathering or banquet
- 06. joined a candidate's support organization
- 07. reminded your friends to watch candidate debates or campaign speeches on TV
- 08. persuaded others to vote for particular candidate or party
- 09. gave money to a political party or candidate
- 10. purchased candidate's souvenirs.
- 11. hang or wear a flag or other symbol
- 12. were invited to participate in a candidate's rally
- 13. attended a candidate's rally
- 14. visited a candidate's website
- 92. none of these
- 98. don't know
- 95. refuse to answer

People have different opinions about Ma Ying-jeou's performance during his presidency. Please tell us your opinion about the following aspects:

#### Part3: Governing Performance

- C 1 · Concerning Ma Ying-jeou's overall performance during his presidency, are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied? CSES M3, Q6
  - 01. very satisfied
  - 02. somewhat satisfied
  - 03. somewhat dissatisfied
  - 04. very dissatisfied
  - 96. it depends
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know
  - 95. refuse to answer
- C 2 · Overall, during Ma Ying-jeou's first term, in what aspect has he performed best?
  - 98. don't know
  - 95. refuse to answer
- C 3 · Overall, during Ma Ying-jeou's first term, in what aspect has he performed worst?
  - 98. don't know
  - 95. refuse to answer

In our society, different people have different opinions about politics. I am going to read several statements. Please tell me what your opinion about these statements.

\_\_\_\_\_

#### Part 4: Political Efficacy

- D 1 · Some people say: "People like me don't have any say about what the government does."
  - 01. strongly agree
  - 02. agree
  - 03. disagree
  - 04. strongly disagree
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it depends
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know
- D 2 · Some people say: "Public officials do not care much about what people like me think."
  - 01. strongly agree
  - 02. agree
  - 03. disagree
  - 04. strongly disagree
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it depends
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know
- D 3 · Some people say: "Sometimes politics seems so complicated that a person like me cannot really understand what is going on."
  - 01. strongly agree
  - 02. agree
  - 03. disagree
  - 04. strongly disagree
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it depends
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know

D4 · Som	e people say: "Most decisions made by the government are correct."
01.	strongly agree
02.	agree
03.	disagree
04.	strongly disagree
95.	refuse to answer
96.	it depends
97.	no opinion
98.	don't know
D 5 · Som	e people say: "Government officials often waste a lot of money we pay in taxes."
01.	strongly agree
02.	agree
03.	disagree
04.	strongly disagree
95.	refuse to answer
96.	it depends
97.	no opinion
98.	don't know
D6·Whe	en the government decides important policies, do you think "public welfare" is its first
prio	rity?
01.	often
02.	sometimes
03.	seldom
04.	never
95.	refuse to answer
96.	it depends
97.	no opinion
98.	don't know

- D 7 · Do you believe what government officials say on TV or in newspapers?
  - 01. strongly believe
  - 02. believe
  - 03. don't believe
  - 04. not believe at all
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it depends
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know

In our society, different people have different opinions about areas of public expenditure. For the next following questions, please say (check) whether there should be more or less public expenditure in each of the following aspects. Remember if you say "more" it could require a tax increase, and if you say "less" it could require a reduction in those services.

- D 8 a · Thinking about public expenditure on HEALTH, should there be much more than now, somewhat more than now, the same as now, somewhat less than now, or much less than now?

  CSES M4, Q1a
  - 01. much more than now
  - 02. somewhat more than now
  - 03. the same as now
  - 04. somewhat less than now
  - 05. much less than now
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know
- D 8 b · Thinking about public expenditure on EDUCATION, should there be much more than now, somewhat more than now, the same as now, somewhat less than now, or much less than now?

  CSES M4, Q1b
  - 01. much more than now
  - 02. somewhat more than now
  - 03. the same as now
  - 04. somewhat less than now
  - 05. much less than now

- 95. refuse to answer
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

#### D 8 c · What about public expenditure on UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS? CSES M4, Q1c

- 01. much more than now
- 02. somewhat more than now
- 03. the same as now
- 04. somewhat less than now
- 05. much less than now
- 95. refuse to answer
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

#### D 8 d · What about public expenditure on DEFENSE? CSES M4, Q1d

- 01. much more than now
- 02. somewhat more than now
- 03. the same as now
- 04. somewhat less than now
- 05. much less than now
- 95. refuse to answer
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

#### D 8 e · What about public expenditure on OLD-AGE PENSIONS? CSES M4, Q1e

- 01. much more than now
- 02. somewhat more than now
- 03. the same as now
- 04. somewhat less than now
- 05. much less than now
- 95. refuse to answer
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

### D 8 f · What about public expenditure on BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY? CSES M4, Q1f

- 01. much more than now
- 02. somewhat more than now
- 03. the same as now
- 04. somewhat less than now
- 05. much less than now
- 95. refuse to answer
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

#### D 8 g · What about public expenditure on POLICE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT? CSES M4, Q1g

- 01. much more than now
- 02. somewhat more than now
- 03. the same as now
- 04. somewhat less than now
- 05. much less than now
- 95. refuse to answer
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

#### D 8 h · What about public expenditure on WELFARE BENEFITS? CSES M4, Q1h

- 01. much more than now
- 02. somewhat more than now
- 03. the same as now
- 04. somewhat less than now
- 05. much less than now
- 95. refuse to answer
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

#### \_\_\_\_

#### Next, I would like to ask a few questions about our society's economy.

#### Part 5: Economic Evaluations

Е1 •	· Would you say that over the past year, the	ne state of the economy of	Taiwan has gotten	better, stayed
	about the same, or gotten worse? CSES	M4, Q3		

- 01. better
- 02. worse
- 03. about the same
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know
- E 2 · Would you say that in the forthcoming year, the state of the economy of Taiwan will get better, stay about the same, or get worse?
  - 01. better
  - 02. worse
  - 03. about the same
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it depends
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know
- E 3 · Would you say that over the past year, your own household's economic condition has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?
  - 01. better
  - 02. worse
  - 03. about the same
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it depends
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know

E 4 · Would you say that in the forthcoming year, your own household's economic condition will get better, stay about the same, or get worse? 01. better 02. worse 03. about the same 95. refuse to answer 96. it depends 97. no opinion 98. don't know E 5 · Over the next ten years or so, how likely or unlikely is it that you will improve your standard of living? Very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely? CSES M4, Q2 01. very likely 02. somewhat likely 03. somewhat unlikely 04. very unlikely 95. refuse to answer 96. it depends 97. no opinion 98. don't know E 6 · Please state to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The government should take measures to reduce differences in income levels. "Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree? 01. strongly agree 02. agree 03. disagree 04. strongly disagree 95. refuse to answer 96. it depends 97. no opinion 98. don't know

#### Part 6: Opinions about Democracy

- F 1 · Different people have different opinions about voting. Some people think that voting is a responsibility, and you should vote even if you don't like any of the candidates or parties. Other people think that it is all right to vote or not to vote, and the decision depends on how you feel about the candidates or parties. Do you think that voting is a responsibility, or do you think that it is all right either to vote or not to vote?
  - 01. voting is a responsibility
  - 02. it's alright either to vote or not to vote [skip to F3]
  - 95. refuse to answer [skip to F3]
  - 96. it depends [skip to F3]
  - 97. no opinion [skip to F3]
  - 98. don't know [skip to F3]
- F 2 · Do you believe very strongly, somewhat strongly, or only a little that voting is a responsibility?
  - 01. very strongly
  - 02. somewhat strongly
  - 03. only a little
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it depends
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know
- F 3 · Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?
  - 01. Democracy is preferable to any other kind of regime.
  - 02. In some circumstances, an authoritarian regime a dictatorship can be preferable to a democratic system.
  - 03. For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of regime we have.
  - 95. Refuse to answer
  - 96. It depends
  - 97. No opinion
  - 98. Don't know

#### F 4 · In your opinion how much of a democracy is Taiwan today?

- 01. a full democracy
- 02. a democracy, but with minor problems
- 03. a democracy, with major problems
- 04. not a democracy
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know
- F 5 · On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in Taiwan? CSES M4, Q15; CSES M3, Q19
  - 01. very satisfied
  - 02. somewhat satisfied
  - 03. somewhat dissatisfied
  - 04. very dissatisfied
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it depends
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know
- F 6 · Some people say that it makes a difference whoever is in power. Others say that it doesn't make a difference whoever is in power. Using the scale on this card, (where 1 means that it doesn't make a difference who is in power and 5 means that it makes a difference who is in power), where would you place yourself? CSES M4, Q7; CSES M3, Q4

<sup>95.</sup> refuse to answer

<sup>98.</sup> don't know

F 7 · Some people say that no matter who people vote for, it won't make any difference to what happens. Others say that whom people vote for can make a difference to what happens. Using the scale on this card, (where 1 means that voting won't make a difference to what happens and 5 means that voting can make a difference), where would you place yourself? CSES M4, Q8; CSES M3, Q5

- F 8 · Which of the following two statements do you agree with more? (1) The opposition parties should have a majority of the seats in the legislature so that they can provide checks and balances on the government. (2) The president's party should have a majority of seats in the legislature so that it can implement its policies.
  - 01. The opposition parties should have a majority of the seats in the legislature so that they can provide checks and balances on the government.
  - 02. The president's party should have a majority of seats in the legislature so that it can implement its policies.
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it's hard to say
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know

<sup>95.</sup> refuse to answer

<sup>98.</sup> don't know

# Next, we would like to ask you some questions about a few individuals and government bodies.

#### Part 7: Political Knowledge

G1 ·	Who is the current	president of the	United States?	CSES M3,	Q24a
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- 03. I know but can't remember the name
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

#### G 2 · Who is the current the premier of our country? CSES M3, Q24b

- 03. I know but can't remember
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

#### G 3 · What institution has the power to interpret the constitution? CSES M3, Q24c

- 03. I know but can't remember
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

#### G 4 · Which of these persons was the finance minister before the recent election? CSES M4, Q20a

- 01. Jiang Yi-huah
- 02. Chen Chun (Sean Chen)
- 03. Mao Chi-kuo
- 04. Lee Sush-der
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

	CSE	SS M4, Q20b
	01.	2.3%
	02.	4.3%
	03.	6.3%
	04.	8.3%
	95.	refuse to answer
	98.	don't know
G 6	· Whi	ch party came in second in seat in the Legislative Yuan? CSES M4, Q20c
	01.	KMT
	02.	DPP
	03.	PFP
	04.	Non-Partisan Solidarity Union
	95.	refuse to answer
	98.	don't know
G 7		o is the current Secretary-General of the United Nations - Kofi Annan, Kurt Waldheim, Ban
	Ki-n	noon, or Boutros Boutros-Ghali? CSES M4, Q20d
		Kofi Anan
		Kurt Waldheim
	03.	Ban Ki-Moon Boutros Butros-Ghali
	04. 95.	
		refuse to answer don't know
	98.	uon t know

G 5 · What was the current unemployment rate in Taiwan as of the end of last year (2011)?

#### Let us return to questions about elections

#### Part 8: Voting Behavior

- H 1 · In this presidential election on January 14<sup>th</sup> many people went to vote, while others, for various reasons, did not go to vote. Did you vote? CSES M4, Q5P1-a; CSES M3, Q21
  - 01. yes [continue to H1a]
  - 02. no [skip to H1g]
  - 91. can't remember [skip to H1i]
  - 95. refuse to answer [skip to H1i]
- H 1 a · Which ticket did you vote for? CSES M4, Q5P1-b; CSES M3, Q21b
  - 01. TSAI Ing-wen and SU Jia-chyuan [continue to H1b]
  - 02. MA Ying-jeou and WU Den-yih [continue to H1b]
  - 03. James SOONG and LIN Ruey-shiung [continue to H1b]
  - 91. can't remember [skip to H2]
  - 94. cast an invalid vote [skip to H1f]
  - 95. refuse to answer [skip to H2]
  - 98. don't know [skip to H2]
- H 1 b · What was the main reason you voted for that ticket? [open-ended response] [continue to H1c]
  - 998. don't know
  - 995. refuse to answer
- H 1 c · Was this the candidate that you originally wanted to vote for?
  - 01. Yes [skip to H2]
  - 02. No [continue to H1d]
  - 95. refuse to answer [continue to H1d]

H 1 d ·	Among the three	candidates, v	which one did	you originally	want to vote for?
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- 01. TSAI Ing-wen and SU Jia-chyuan
- 02. MA Ying-jeou and WU Den-yih
- 03. James SOONG and LIN Ruey-shiung
- 92. none of them
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

#### H 1 e · Which candidate did you least want to win?

- 01. TSAI Ing-wen and SU Jia-chyuan
- 02. MA Ying-jeou and WU Den-yih
- 03. James SOONG and LIN Ruey-shiung
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

#### H 1 f · What was the main reason you cast an invalid vote? [open-ended response] [skip to H2]

- 998. don't know
- 995. refuse to answer

#### H 1 g · If you had gone to vote, which ticket would you have voted for? CSES M3, Q21a

- 01. TSAI Ing-wen and SU Jia-chyuan [continue to H1h]
- 02. MA Ying-jeou and WU Den-yih [continue to H1h]
- 03. James SOONG and LIN Ruey-shiung [continue to H1h]
- 98. don't know [continue to H1h]
- 95. refuse to answer [continue to H1h]
- 92. none of the candidate [skip to H2]

## H 1 h · Why didn't you vote? [open-ended response] [skip to H2] 998. don't know 995. refuse to answer H 1 i · If you had gone to vote, which ticket would you have voted for? [skip to H2]CSES M3, Q21a 01. TSAI Ing-wen and SU Jia-chyuan 02. MA Ying-jeou and WU Den-yih 03. James SOONG and LIN Ruey-shiung 98. don't know 95. refuse to answer 92. none of the candidate H 2 · Which candidate did you vote for in the 2008 presidential election? CSES M4,Q6a; CSES M3, Q23a 01. Frank HSIEH and SU Tseng-chang 02. MA Ying-jeou and Vincent SIEW 94. cast an invalid vote 91. forgot 92. not eligible to vote 93. didn't vote 95. refuse to answer H 3 · Which candidate did you vote for in the 2004 presidential election? 01. CHEN Shui-bian and Anette LU

- 02. LIEN Chan and James SOONG
- 91. forgot
- 92. not eligible to vote
- 93. didn't vote
- 94. cast an invalid vote
- 95. refuse to answer

CSE	S M4, Q5LH-a \ c
	[skip to H4b]
9999	-
9999	
9999	
9999	- 1
9999	
	2 c.
H4a·Wh	ich party's candidate did you vote for?
01.	KMT
02.	DPP
03.	NP
04.	PFP
06.	TSU
07.	Non-Partisan Solidarity Union
08.	independent
90.	others
91. 95.	forgot refuse to answer
93. 98.	don't know
70.	don't know
H 4 b · He	ere is a list of all the parties that contested this legislative election. Which party did you cast
yo	ur at-large vote for?
01.	KMT
02.	DPP
03.	NP
04.	PFP
06.	TSU
90.	others
91.	forgot
92.	not eligible to vote
94.	cast an invalid vote
95.	refuse to answer
98.	don't know

 ${\rm H}~4~\cdot$  In this legislative election, which candidate did you vote for?

	[skip to H5b]			
9999	999991. forgot [continue to H5a]			
	999992. cast invalid vote [skip to J1]			
	93. not eligible to vote [skip to J1]			
	94. didn't vote [skip to H5b]			
9999	95. refuse to answer [continue to H5a]			
Н 5 а · W	hich party's candidate did you vote for?			
01.	KMT			
02.	DPP			
03.	NP			
04.	PFP			
06.	TSU			
07.	Non-Partisan Solidarity Union			
08.	Independent			
90.	others			
91.	forget			
95.	refuse to answer			
98.	don't know			
	ere is a list of all the parties that contested the last legislative election. Which party did you case our at-large vote for?			
·				
01.	KMT			
02.	DPP			
03.	NP			
04.	PFP			
06.	TSU			
07.	Non-Partisan Solidarity Union			
90. 01	others			
91.	forget			
92. 95	not eligible to vote refuse to answer			
95.				
98.	don't know			

 $\rm H~5~\cdot~$  In the 2008 legislative election, which candidate did you vote for?

#### Part 9: Candidate Capability

J 1 · During the presidential election campaign, many different problems faced by our country were raised. What do you think is the most important political problem facing Taiwan today? CSES M3, Q2a

- 992. no [skip to J2]
- 995. refuse to answer [skip to J2]
- 998. don't know [skip to J2]
- J 1 a · Which presidential candidate do you think is most capable of dealing with it? CSES M3, Q3a
  - 01. TSAI Ing-wen and SU Jia-chyuan
  - 02. MA Ying-jeou and WU Den-yih
  - 03. James SOONG and LIN Ruey-shiung
  - 92. none of the candidate
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know
- J 2 · We'd like to get your feeling toward presidential candidates. I'll read the name of a candidate and I'd like you to rate that candidate using a 0 to 10 scale, while rating 0 means that you dislike him or her very much and rating 10 means that you like him very much. CSES M3, Q10
- J 2 a · How would you rate TSAI Ing-wen using 0 to 10 scale?
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it's hard to say
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know
- J 2 b · How would you rate SU Jia-chyuan?
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it's hard to say
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know

#### J 2 c · How would you rate MA Ying-jeou?

- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

#### J 2 d · How would you rate WU Den-yih?

- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

#### J 2 e · How would you rate James SOONG?

- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

#### J 2 f · How would you rate LIN Ruey-shiung?

- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

J	3	$\cdot$ I'd like to ask you to evaluate capability of three presidential candidates using a scale ranging from
		0 to 10. Rating 0 means that you think his or her capability is very poor, and rating 10 mean that
		you consider his or her capability is very good.

#### J 3 a · How would you rate TSAI Ing-wen using 0 to 10 scale?

- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

#### J 3 b · How would you rate MA Ying-jeou?

- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

#### J 3 c · How would you rate James SOONG?

- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

#### J 4 a · How would you rate TSAI Ing-wen using 0 to 10 scale?

- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

J 4 · If 0 means that you think the candidate "does not understand at all" the needs of ordinary people and 10 means that a candidate "completely understands" the needs of ordinary people:

J 4 l	· Hov	v would you rate MA Ying-jeou?
_		
	95.	refuse to answer
	96.	it's hard to say
	97.	no opinion
	98.	
J 4 0	· How	w would you rate James SOONG?
	<u> </u>	refuse to answer
	96.	it's hard to say
	97.	no opinion
	98.	don't know
	candid	ans candidates are "completely incapable" of protecting Taiwan's interests, and 10 means that ates are "completely able" to protect Taiwan's interests.  v would you rate TSAI Ing-wen using 0 to 10 scale?
	95.	refuse to answer
	96. 07	it's hard to say
	97. 98.	no opinion don't know
	76.	don't know
J 5 t	· Hov	v would you rate MA Ying-jeou?
	95.	refuse to answer
	96.	it's hard to say
	97.	no opinion

98. don't know

Ј5с	· How	would you rate James SOONG?
	<del></del> 95.	refuse to answer
	96.	it's hard to say
	97.	no opinion
	98.	don't know
		eans candidates are "completely incapable" of maintain cross-Strait peace, and 10 means that tes are "completely able" to maintain cross-Strait peace.
Ј 6 а	· How	would you rate TSAI Ing-wen using 0 to 10 scale?
	<u> </u>	refuse to answer
		it's hard to say
	97.	no opinion
	98.	
J 6 b	· How	would you rate MA Ying-jeou?
	95.	refuse to answer
	96.	it's hard to say
	97.	no opinion
	98.	don't know
Ј6с	· How	would you rate James SOONG?
	95	refuse to answer

96. it's hard to say no opinion

don't know

97. 98.

#### Below, we would like to find out your views on the style and approaches of the candidates.

- J 7 a 1 · Has TSAI Ing-wen, because of the kind of person she is or because of something she has done, ever made you feel angry?
  - 01. very often
  - 02. fairly often
  - 03. occasionally
  - 04. rarely
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know
- J 7 a 2 · How about MA Ying-jeou?
  - 01. very often
  - 02. fairly often
  - 03. occasionally
  - 04. rarely
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know
- J 7 a  $3 \cdot$  How about James SOONG?
  - 01. very often
  - 02. fairly often
  - 03. occasionally
  - 04. rarely
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know

J7b1·E	Ias TSAI Ing-wen, because of the kind of person she is or because of something she has done,
e	ver made you feel afraid?
01.	very often
02.	fairly often
03.	occasionally
04.	
95.	refuse to answer
97.	no opinion
98.	don't know
J7b2·н	Iow about MA Ying-jeou ?
01.	very often
02.	fairly often
03.	occasionally
04.	rarely
95.	refuse to answer
97.	no opinion
98.	don't know
Ј7b3·н	Iow about James SOONG?
01.	very often
02.	fairly often
03.	occasionally
04.	rarely
95.	refuse to answer
97.	no opinion
98.	don't know
J 7 с 1 · Н	Ias TSAI Ing-wen, because of the kind of person she is or because of something she has done,
e	ver made you feel hopeful?
01.	very often
02.	fairly often
03.	occasionally

95. refuse to answer

04. rarely

#### J 7 c 2 · How about MA Ying-jeou?

- 01. very often
- 02. fairly often
- 03. occasionally
- 04. rarely
- 95. refuse to answer
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

#### J 7 c 3 · How about James SOONG?

- 01. very often
- 02. fairly often
- 03. occasionally
- 04. rarely
- 95. refuse to answer
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

Next, we'd like to know your opinions toward the two most important candidates in this district. We will use a scale from 0-10 to measure your opinions. 10 means you think they are very good, and 0 means you think they are very bad.

### Part 10: Evaluation of Legislative Candidates and the Legislative Yuan

K 1 a · What score do you give (candidate A) on constituency service?

- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

K 1 b · What score do you give (candidate B) on constituency service?

- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

K 2 a · What score do you give (candidate A) on being honest and incorrupt?

- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

K 2 b · What score do you give (candidate B) on being honest and incorrupt?

- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

КЗа ·	What score do you give (candidate A) on ability to oversee the government?
95	refuse to answer
96	
97	1
98	don't know
К3ь.	What score do you give (candidate B) on ability to oversee the government?
95	refuse to answer
96	it's hard to say
97	no opinion
98	don't know
V 4 o	What again do you sive (agadidate A) on ability to much through locialation?
K 4 a ·	What score do you give (candidate A) on ability to push through legislation?
95	refuse to answer
96	it's hard to say
97	
98	
K4b.	What score do you give (candidate B) on ability to push through legislation?
95	refuse to answer
96	it's hard to say
97	no opinion
98	don't know

К5	Whic	party's at-large candidate list do you think is the best?
	01.	KMT
	02.	DPP
	03.	NP
	04.	PFP
	06.	TSU
	90.	other
	91.	all are good
	92.	none are good
	95.	refuse to answer
	98.	don't know
K O	rate	cale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents very bad and 10 represents very good, how would you be Legislative Yuan's overall performance over the past four years?
	95.	refuse to answer
	98.	don't know
К7	On th	same scale, how would you rate the KMT's performance in the Legislative Yuan?
	95.	refuse to answer
	98.	don't know
	<i>y</i> 0.	
К8	On th	same scale, how would you rate the DPP's performance in the Legislative Yuan?
	95.	refuse to answer
	98.	don't know

### Now we'd like to ask your opinions about our society.

#### Part 11: Political Cleavages

M 1 · Sometimes people will talk about the question of Taiwan independence or the unification with China. Some people say that Taiwan should declare independence immediately. Others say that Taiwan and China should unify immediately. Still others have opinions between these two positions. This card lists eleven positions from independence (0) to unification (10). Which position do you occupy? CSES M4, Q14; CSES M3, Q16

- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 98. don't know

M 1 a · What position do you think KMT occupies? CSES M4, Q13; CSES M3, Q14a

- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 98. don't know

M 1 b · What position do you think DPP occupies? CSES M4, Q13; M3, Q14b

- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 98. don't know
- M 2 · After signing the cross-Strait "Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement" (ECFA), do you think Taiwan's economy has gotten better, worse or is about the same?
  - 01. better
  - 02. worse
  - 03. about the same
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 97. no opinion
  - 96. it's hard to say
  - 98. don't know

- M 2 a · Thinking about your own economic situation, do you think it has gotten better or gotten worse as a result of ECFA, or stayed about the same?
  - 01. better
  - 02. worse
  - 03. about the same
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it's hard to say
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know
- M 3 · Regarding the question of social welfare, some people believe that the government should merely maintain the current system in order not to increase people' tax. Other people believe that the government should promote social welfare, even though it will lead to tax increase. On this card, the position that maintaining the current system is the most important thing is at 0 on a scale from 0 to 10, and the position that promoting social welfare is most important is at 10. About where on this scale does your own view lie? CSES M3, Q16
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it's hard to say
  - 98. don't know
- M 3 a · What position do you think KMT occupies? CSES M3, Q14a
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it's hard to say
  - 98. don't know
- M 3 b · What position do you think DPP occupies? CSES M3, Q14b
  - 96. it's hard to say
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 98. don't know

Next, I'd like to ask a few opinions about the relationship between Taiwan and Mainland China.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

## Part 12: National Identity and Ethnic Identity

- N 1 · In Taiwan, some people think they are Taiwanese. There are also some people who think that they are Chinese. Do you consider yourself as Taiwanese, Chinese or both?
  - 01. Taiwanese
  - 02. both
  - 03. Chinese
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 98. don't know
- N 2 · Regarding the issue of Cross-Strait negotiation, some people say that we should continue using the 1992 Consensus as the basis of Cross-Strait negotiation while other people say we should reject the 1992 Consensus. Which do you agree with?
  - 01. continue using the 1992 Consensus
  - 02. reject the 1992 Consensus
  - 03. there is no "92 Consensus"
  - 04. both support
  - 05. both don't support
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it depends
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know
- N 3 · Concerning the relationship between Taiwan and mainland China, which of the following six positions do you agree with: 1) immediate unification, 2) immediate independence, 3) maintain the status quo, and move toward unification in the future, 4) maintain the status quo, and move toward independence in the future, 5) maintain the status quo, decide either unification or independence in the future, 6) maintain the status quo forever
  - 01. immediate unification
  - 02. immediate independence
  - 03. maintain the status quo, move toward unification in the future
  - 04. maintain the status quo, move toward independence in the future
  - 05. maintain the status quo, decide either unification or independence in the future
  - 06. maintain the status quo forever
  - 90. others\_\_\_\_

96. it depends 95. refuse to answer 97. no opinion 98 don't know N 3 a · Which of the following six positions does the KMT agree with? 01. immediate unification 02. immediate independence 03. maintain the status quo, move toward unification in the future 04. maintain the status quo, move toward independence in the future 05. maintain the status quo, decide either unification or independence in the future 06. maintain the status quo forever 90. others 95. refuse to answer 96. it depends 97. no opinion 98 don't know N 3 b · Which of the following six positions does the DPP agree with? 01. immediate unification 02. immediate independence 03. maintain the status quo, move toward unification in the future 04. maintain the status quo, move toward independence in the future 05. maintain the status quo, decide either unification or independence in the future 06. maintain the status quo forever 90. others 95. refuse to answer 96. it depends 97. no opinion 98. don't know N 3 c · Which of the following six positions does MA Ying-jeou agree with? 01. immediate unification 02. immediate independence 03. maintain the status quo, move toward unification in the future 04. maintain the status quo, move toward independence in the future maintain the status quo, decide either unification or independence in the future 05. 06. maintain the status quo forever

90.

others

95. refuse to answer 96. it depends 97. no opinion 98 don't know N 3 d · Which of the following six positions does TSAI Ing-wen agree with? 01. immediate unification 02. immediate independence 03. maintain the status quo, move toward unification in the future 04. maintain the status quo, move toward independence in the future 05. maintain the status quo, decide either unification or independence in the future 06. maintain the status quo forever 90. others 95. refuse to answer 96. it depends 97. no opinion 98 don't know N 3 e · Which of the following six positions does James SOONG agree with? 01. immediate unification 02. immediate independence 03. maintain the status quo, move toward unification in the future 04. maintain the status quo, move toward independence in the future 05. maintain the status quo, decide either unification or independence in the future 06. maintain the status quo forever 90. others 95. refuse to answer 96. it depends 97. no opinion

98.

don't know

- N 4 · Some people say, "If Taiwan could still maintain peaceful relations with the PRC after declaring independence, then Taiwan should establish a new, independent country." Do you agree or disagree with this statement?
  - 01. strongly agree
  - 02. agree
  - 03. disagree
  - 04. strongly disagree
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it depends
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know
- N 4 a · Some people say, "Even if PRC decides to attack Taiwan after Taiwan declares independence, Taiwan should still become a new country." Do you agree or disagree with this statement?
  - 01. strongly agree
  - 02. agree
  - 03. disagree
  - 04. strongly disagree
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it depends
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know
- N 5 · Some people say, "If the economic, social, and political conditions were about the same in both mainland China and Taiwan, then the two sides should unify." Do you agree or disagree with this statement?
  - 01. strongly agree
  - 02. agree
  - 03. disagree
  - 04. strongly disagree
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it depends
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know

- $N\ 5$  a · Some people say, "Even if the gap between the economic, social, and political conditions in mainland China and Taiwan is quite large, the two sides should still unify." Do you agree or disagree with this statement?
  - 01. strongly agree
  - 02. agree
  - 03. disagree
  - 04. strongly disagree
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it depends
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know

### Next, I'd like to ask you a few questions about political parties.

### Part 13: Party Identification

Q1 ·	· Among the main political parties in our country, including the KMT, DPP, NP, PFP, and TSU, do
	you think of yourself as leaning toward any particular party? CSES M4, Q16; CSES M3, Q20

- 01. yes [skip to Q1b]
- 02. no [continue to Q1a]
- 95. refuse to answer [skip to Q1a]
- 98. don't know [skip to Q1a]

Q 1 a · Do you feel yourself leaning a little more to one of the political parties than the others? CSES M4, Q16a; CSES M3, Q20a

- 01. yes [continue to Q1b]
- 02. no [skip to Q2]
- 95. refuse to answer[skip to Q2]
- 98. don't know[skip to Q2]

Q 1 b · Which party is that? CSES M4, Q16b; CSES M3, Q20b

- 01. KMT
- 02. DPP
- 03. NP
- 04. PFP
- 06. TSU
- 90. other\_\_\_\_
- 95. refuse to answer[skip to Q2]
- 98. don't know[skip to Q2]

Q 1 c · Do you lean very strongly, somewhat, or just a little to this party? CSES M4, Q16c; CSES M3, Q20c

- 01. very strongly
- 02. somewhat
- 03. just a little
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

Q 2	· Now we'd like to understand your opinions about each of the political parties. If 0 means y	/ou
	dislike a party very much, and 10 means you like that party very much, what number would y	/ou
	give the KMT? CSES M4, Q9; CSES M3, Q9a	

- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. never heard before
- 98. don't know

## Q 2 a · The DPP? CSES M3, Q9b

95. refuse to answer

96. never heard before

98. don't know

Q 2 a · The PFP?

95. refuse to answer

96. never heard before

98. don't know

Now we'd like to compare how well you think the KMT and DPP can handle some important problems.

Q 3	· On o	cross-Straits relations, how do you think the KMT and DPP compare?
	01.	KMT is much better
	02.	KMT is a little better
	03.	DPP is a little better
	04.	DPP is much better
	05.	both parties are pretty good
	06.	neither party is very good
	90.	other
	95.	refuse to answer
	96.	it depends
	97.	no opinion
	98.	don't know
Q 4	· On 6	economic development, how do the two parties compare?
	01.	KMT is much better
	02.	KMT is a little better
	03.	DPP is a little better
	04.	DPP is much better
	05.	both parties are pretty good
	06.	neither party is very good
	90.	other
	95.	refuse to answer
	96.	it depends
	97.	no opinion
	98.	don't know
Q 5	· On r	reducing the gap between rich and poor, how do the two parties compare?
	01.	KMT is much better
	02.	KMT is a little better
	03.	DPP is a little better
	04.	DPP is much better
	05.	both parties are pretty good

	06.	neitner party is very good
	90.	other
	95.	refuse to answer
	96.	it depends
	97.	no opinion
	98.	don't know
Q 6	· On	resolving the problem of high property prices, how do the two parties compare?
	01.	KMT is much better
	02.	KMT is a little better
	03.	DPP is a little better
	04.	DPP is much better
	05.	both parties are pretty good
	06.	neither party is very good
	90.	other
	95.	refuse to answer
	96.	it depends
	97.	no opinion
	98.	don't know
Q 7	· On	environmental protection, how do the two parties compare?
	01.	KMT is much better
	02.	KMT is a little better
	03.	DPP is a little better
	04.	DPP is much better
	05.	both parties are pretty good
	06.	neither party is very good
	90.	other
	95.	refuse to answer
	96.	it depends
	97.	no opinion
	98.	don't know

Q 8	· On s	ocial welfare, how do the two parties compare?
	01.	KMT is much better
	02.	KMT is a little better
	03.	DPP is a little better
	04.	DPP is much better
	05.	both parties are pretty good
	06.	neither party is very good
	90.	other
	95.	refuse to answer
	96.	it depends
	97.	no opinion
	98.	don't know
Q 9	· On f	ighting corruption, how do the two parties compare?
	01.	KMT is much better
	02.	KMT is a little better
	03.	DPP is a little better
	04.	DPP is much better
	05.	both parties are pretty good
	06.	neither party is very good
	90.	other
	95.	refuse to answer
	96.	it depends
	97.	no opinion
	98.	don't know
Q 1	() · Oı	n democratic reform, how do the two parties compare?
	01.	KMT is much better
	02.	KMT is a little better
	03.	DPP is a little better
	04.	DPP is much better
	05.	both parties are pretty good
	06.	neither party is very good
	90.	other
	95.	refuse to answer
	96.	it depends
	97.	no opinion

98.

don't know

Q11 · O	n ethnic harmony, how do the two parties compare?
01.	KMT is much better
02.	KMT is a little better
03.	DPP is a little better
04.	DPP is much better
05.	both parties are pretty good
06.	neither party is very good
90.	other
95.	refuse to answer
96.	it depends
97.	no opinion
98.	don't know
Q12·0	
	n raising our international status, how do the two parties compare?
01.	KMT is much better
01. 02.	
	KMT is much better
02.	KMT is much better KMT is a little better
02. 03.	KMT is much better KMT is a little better DPP is a little better
02. 03. 04.	KMT is much better KMT is a little better DPP is a little better DPP is much better
02. 03. 04. 05.	KMT is much better KMT is a little better DPP is a little better DPP is much better both parties are pretty good
02. 03. 04. 05. 06.	KMT is much better KMT is a little better DPP is a little better DPP is much better both parties are pretty good neither party is very good
02. 03. 04. 05. 06. 90.	KMT is much better KMT is a little better DPP is a little better DPP is much better both parties are pretty good neither party is very good other
02. 03. 04. 05. 06. 90.	KMT is much better KMT is a little better DPP is a little better DPP is much better both parties are pretty good neither party is very good other refuse to answer
02. 03. 04. 05. 06. 90. 95.	KMT is much better KMT is a little better DPP is a little better DPP is much better both parties are pretty good neither party is very good other refuse to answer it depends

## Next, I'd like to ask you a few questions about this presidential election. Part 14: Election Campaign R 1 · Do you think this presidential election helped to promote ethnic harmony, intensify ethnic conflict, or did it not have any influence in this area? 01. promoted ethnic harmony 02. intensified ethnic conflict 03. no influence in this area 95. refuse to answer 96. it depends 97. no opinion 98. don't know R 1 a · Do you think this presidential election improved democracy in Taiwan, damaged democracy in Taiwan, or did it not have any influence in this area? improved democracy 01. 02. damaged democracy 03. no influence in this area 96. it depends 95. refuse to answer 97. no opinion 98. don't know R 2 · Overall, did you think that the electoral process in this presidential election was fair or not? 01. very fair 02. fair 03. unfair 04. very unfair

95. refuse to answer

don't know

96. it depends97. no opinion

98.

R 3 · After going through this presidential election, are you pessimistic or optimistic about Taiwan's future?			
01.	very optimistic		
02.	optimistic		
03.	neither optimistic nor pessimistic		
04.	pessimistic		

95. refuse to answer

05. very pessimistic

- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know
- $R\ 4$  · After going through this presidential election, do you believe that cross-Strait relations will become warmer, more tense, or remain unchanged?
  - 01. much warmer
  - 02. warmer
  - 03. unchanged
  - 04. more tense
  - 05. much more tense
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it depends
  - 97. no opinion
  - 98. don't know

## Part 15: Personal Data S 1 · Year of birth. CSES M3, D1 95. refuse to answer S 2 · Father's ethnic background CSES M3, D29 01. Taiwanese Hakka 02. Taiwanese Min-Nan 03. Mainlander 04. Aboriginal 90. other\_\_\_\_ 95. refuse to answer 98. don't know S 3 · Mother's ethnic background CSES M3, D29 01. Taiwanese Hakka 02. Taiwanese Min-Nan 03. Mainlander 04. Aboriginal 90. other \_\_\_\_\_ 95. refuse to answer 98. don't know S 4 · Educational level CSES M3, D3 illiterate 01. 02. literate but no formal schooling 03. some primary school 04. primary school graduate 05. some junior high school 06. junior high school graduate some high school or vocational school 07. 08. high school or vocational school graduate 09. some technical college

Finally, I would like to ask you a few questions about yourself.

	1	0. te	echnical college graduate
	1	1. se	ome university
	1	2. u	niversity graduate
	1	3. p	ost-graduate education
	9	0. o	ther
	9	5. re	efuse to answer
S 5	•	Are y	ou a member of a union? CSES M3, D5
		01.	yes
		02.	no
		95.	refuse to answer
		98.	don't know
S 5	a ·	Whe	ether or not a member of your household is a member of a union? CSES M3, D6
		01.	yes
		02.	no
		95.	refuse to answer
		98.	don't know
S 5	b·	Are	you a member of a business or employers association? CSES M3, D7
		01.	yes
		02.	no
		95.	refuse to answer
		98.	don't know
S 5	с •	Are	you a member of a farmers association? CSES M3, D8
		01.	yes
		02.	no
		95.	refuse to answer
		98.	don't know
S 5	d·	Are	you a member of a professional association? CSES M3, D9
		01.	yes
		02.	no
		95.	refuse to answer
		98.	don't know

# 01. none [continue to S6a] 02. Buddhist [continue to S6a] 03. Taoist [continue to S6a] 04. Catholic [skip to S7] 05. Protestant [skip to S7] 06. Muslim [skip to S7] 07. I-Kuan-Tao [skip to S7] 90. other \_\_\_\_\_ [continue to S6a] 95. refuse to answer [continue to S6a] 98. don't know [continue to S6a] S 6 a · Do you burn incense for the Earth God, Matsu, or some other spirits? 01. yes 02. no 90. other 95. refuse to answer S 7 · Current employment status of R CSES M3, D10 01. employed full time (32 hours or more a week) [continue to S7a] 02. employed part time (15 to 32 hours a week) [continue to S7a] 03. employed less than part time (less than 15 hours a week) [continue to S7a] 04. help out at home [continue to S7a] 05. currently looking for employment [skip to S7b] 06. student or currently in job training [skip to S8] 07. retired [skip to S7b] 08. home duties [continue to S7a] 09. disabled or unable to work [skip to S8] 90. other\_\_\_\_ 95. refuse to answer [skip to S8] S 7 a · Main occupation of R CSES M3, D11-14 0010. Servicemen 0020. Students 0031. housekeeping, without domestic crafting 0032. housekeeping, with domestic crafting 0033. housekeeping, helping familial business without pay 0034. housekeeping, helping familial business with pay 0040. never work before

S 6 · Religious belief CSES M3, D25

- 0050. Unemployment [continue to S7a]
- 0060. Retired [continue to S7a]
- 1010. Legislators and Government Administrators
- 1021. Directors and Chief Executives (Pub.)
- 1022. Directors and Chief Executives (Priv.)
- 1031. Production and Operations Managers (Pub.)
- 1032. Production and Operations Managers (Priv.)
- 1091. Other Managers (Pub.)
- 1092. Other Managers (Priv.)
- 2011. Phys., Math. and Eng. Science Professionals (Pub.)
- 2012. Phys., Math. and Eng. Science Professionals(Priv.)
- 2021. Biol. Science and Health Professionals (Pub.)
- 2022. Biol. Science and Health Professionals (Priv.)
- 2031. Teachers (Pub.)
- 2032. Teachers (Priv.)
- 2041. Accountants and Business Professionals (Pub.)
- 2042. Accountants and Business Professionals (Priv.)
- 2051. Lawyers and Legal Professionals (Pub.)
- 2052. Lawyers and Legal Professionals (Priv.)
- 2061. Social Science and Related Professionals
- 2062. Social Science and Related Professionals
- 2091. Other Professionals (Pub.)
- 2092. Other Professionals (Priv.)
- 3011. Phys. and Eng. Science Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3012. Phys. and Eng. Science Associate Professionals (Priv.)
- 3021. Biol. Science and Health Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3022. Biol. Science and Health Associate Professionals (Priv.)
- 3031. Teaching and Related Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3032. Teaching and Related Associate Professionals (Priv.)
- 3041. Fin. and Business Services Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3042. Fin. and Business Services Associate Professionals (Priv.)
- 3051. Gov. Admin. Officials and Bus. Clerical Supervisors (Pub.)
- 3052. Gov. Admin. Officials and Bus. Clerical Supervisors (Priv.)
- 3061. Administrative Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3062. Administrative Associate Professionals (Priv.)
- 3071. Customs, Tax and Related Gov. Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3072. Customs, Tax and Related Gov. Associate Professionals (Priv.)
- 3091. Other Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3092. Other Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 4011. Office Clerks (Pub.)
- 4012. Office Clerks (Priv.)
- 4021. Customer Services Clerks (Pub.)

- 4022. Customer Services Clerks (Priv.)
- 5011. Personal Services Workers (Pub.)
- 5012. Personal Services Workers (Priv.)
- 5021. Protective Services Workers (Pub.)
- 5022. Protective Services Workers (Priv.)
- 5031. Models, Salespersons and Demonstrators (Pub.)
- 5032. Models, Salespersons and Demonstrators (Priv.)
- 6011. Agr., Animal Husbandry, Forestry and Fishing Workers (Pub.)
- 6012. Agr., Animal Husbandry, Forestry and Fishing Workers (Priv.)
- 7011. Extraction and Building Trades Workers (Pub.)
- 7012. Extraction and Building Trades Workers (Priv.)
- 7021. Metal, Machinery and Rel. Trades Workers (Pub.)
- 7022. Metal, Machinery and Rel. Trades Workers (Priv.)
- 7031. Precision, Handicraft, Print. and Rel. Trades Workers (Pub.)
- 7032. Precision, Handicraft, Print. and Rel. Trades Workers (Priv.)
- 7091. Other Craft and Rel. Trades Workers (Pub.)
- 7092. Other Craft and Rel. Trades Workers (Priv.)
- 8011. Stationary-plant and Rel. Operators(Pub.)
- 8012. Stationary-plant and Rel. Operators(Priv.)
- 8021. Machine Operators(Pub.)
- 8022. Machine Operators(Priv.)
- 8031. Assemblers(Pub.)
- 8032. Assemblers(Priv.)
- 8041. Drivers and Mobile-plant Operators (Pub.)
- 8042. Drivers and Mobile-plant Operators (Priv.)
- 9011. Sales and Services Elementary Occupations (Pub.)
- 9012. Sales and Services Elementary Occupations (Priv.)
- 9021. Production Laborers and Rel. Workers (Pub.)
- 9022. Production Laborers and Rel. Workers (Priv.)
- 9091. Other Elementary Occupations (Pub.)
- 9092. Other Elementary Occupations (Priv.)
- 9995, refuse to answer

### S 7 b · Main occupation of R before retirement or unemployment

- 0010. Servicemen
- 0020. Students
- 0031. housekeeping, without domestic crafting
- 0032. housekeeping, with domestic crafting
- 0033. housekeeping, helping familial business without pay
- 0034. housekeeping, helping familial business with pay
- 0040. never work before
- 0050. Unemployment
- 0060. Retired
- 1010. Legislators and Government Administrators
- 1021. Directors and Chief Executives (Pub.)
- 1022. Directors and Chief Executives (Priv.)
- 1031. Production and Operations Managers (Pub.)
- 1032. Production and Operations Managers (Priv.)
- 1091. Other Managers (Pub.)
- 1092. Other Managers (Priv.)
- 2011. Phys., Math. and Eng. Science Professionals (Pub.)
- 2012. Phys., Math. and Eng. Science Professionals (Priv.)
- 2021. Biol. Science and Health Professionals (Pub.)
- 2022. Biol. Science and Health Professionals (Priv.)
- 2031. Teachers (Pub.)
- 2032. Teachers (Priv.)
- 2041. Accountants and Business Professionals (Pub.)
- 2042. Accountants and Business Professionals (Priv.)
- 2051. Lawyers and Legal Professionals (Pub.)
- 2052. Lawyers and Legal Professionals (Priv.)
- 2061. Social Science and Related Professionals
- 2062. Social Science and Related Professionals
- 2091. Other Professionals (Pub.)
- 2092. Other Professionals (Priv.)
- 3011. Phys. and Eng. Science Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3012. Phys. and Eng. Science Associate Professionals (Priv.)
- 3021. Biol. Science and Health Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3022. Biol. Science and Health Associate Professionals (Priv.)
- 3031. Teaching and Related Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3032. Teaching and Related Associate Professionals (Priv.)
- 3041. Fin. and Business Services Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3042. Fin. and Business Services Associate Professionals (Priv.)
- 3051. Gov. Admin. Officials and Bus. Clerical Supervisors (Pub.)
- 3052. Gov. Admin. Officials and Bus. Clerical Supervisors (Priv.)

- 3061. Administrative Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3062. Administrative Associate Professionals (Priv.)
- 3071. Customs, Tax and Related Gov. Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3072. Customs, Tax and Related Gov. Associate Professionals (Priv.)
- 3091. Other Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3092. Other Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 4011. Office Clerks (Pub.)
- 4012. Office Clerks (Priv.)
- 4021. Customer Services Clerks (Pub.)
- 4022. Customer Services Clerks (Priv.)
- 5011. Personal Services Workers (Pub.)
- 5012. Personal Services Workers (Priv.)
- 5021. Protective Services Workers (Pub.)
- 5022. Protective Services Workers (Priv.)
- 5031. Models, Salespersons and Demonstrators (Pub.)
- 5032. Models, Salespersons and Demonstrators (Priv.)
- 6011. Agr., Animal Husbandry, Forestry and Fishing Workers (Pub.)
- 6012. Agr., Animal Husbandry, Forestry and Fishing Workers (Priv.)
- 7011. Extraction and Building Trades Workers (Pub.)
- 7012. Extraction and Building Trades Workers (Priv.)
- 7021. Metal, Machinery and Rel. Trades Workers (Pub.)
- 7022. Metal, Machinery and Rel. Trades Workers (Priv.)
- 7031. Precision, Handicraft, Print. and Rel. Trades Workers (Pub.)
- 7032. Precision, Handicraft, Print. and Rel. Trades Workers (Priv.)
- 7091. Other Craft and Rel. Trades Workers (Pub.)
- 7092. Other Craft and Rel. Trades Workers (Priv.)
- 8011. Stationary-plant and Rel. Operators (Pub.)
- 8012. Stationary-plant and Rel. Operators (Priv.)
- 8021. Machine Operators (Pub.)
- 8022. Machine Operators (Priv.)
- 8031. Assemblers (Pub.)
- 8032. Assemblers (Priv.)
- 8041. Drivers and Mobile-plant Operators (Pub.)
- 8042. Drivers and Mobile-plant Operators (Priv.)
- 9011. Sales and Services Elementary Occupations (Pub.)
- 9012. Sales and Services Elementary Occupations (Priv.)
- 9021. Production Laborers and Rel. Workers (Pub.)
- 9022. Production Laborers and Rel. Workers (Priv.)
- 9091. Other Elementary Occupations (Pub.)
- 9092. Other Elementary Occupations (Priv.)
- 9990. omit
- 9995. refuse to answer

### S 8 · Marital status CSES M3, D4

- 01. Married or live as married
- 02. Separated
- 03. Widowed
- 04. cohabit without legally marrying
- 05. Divorced [skip to S11]
- 06. Single [skip to S11]
- 95. refuse to answer [skip to S11]

### S 9 · Spouse's ethnic background

- 01. Taiwanese Hakka
- 02. Taiwanese Min-Nan
- 03. Mainlander
- 04. Aboriginal
- 05. Recent Mainland migrant
- 06. Recent Foreign migrant
- 90. other \_\_\_\_\_
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

### S 1 () · Current employment status of R's spouse CSES M3, D15

- 01. employed full time (32 hours or more a week) [continue to S10a]
- 02. employed part time (15 to 32 hours a week) [continue to S10a]
- 03. employed less than part time (less than 15 hours a week) [continue to S10a]
- 04. help out at home [continue to S10a]
- 05. currently looking for employment [skip to S10b]
- 06. student or currently in job training [skip to S11]
- 07. retired [skip to S10b]
- 08. home duties [continue to S10a]
- 09. disabled or unable to work [skip to S11]
- 90. other
- 95. refuse to answer [skip to S11]

#### S 1 0 a · Main occupation of R's spouse. CSESM3, D16~19

- 0010. Servicemen
- 0020. Students
- 0031. housekeeping, without domestic crafting
- 0032. housekeeping, with domestic crafting
- 0033. housekeeping, helping familial business without pay
- 0034. housekeeping, helping familial business with pay
- 0040. never work before
- 0050. unemployment [continue to S10a]
- 0060. Retired [continue to S10a]
- 0070. Spouse deceased
- 1010. Legislators and Government Administrators
- 1021. Directors and Chief Executives (Pub.)
- 1022. Directors and Chief Executives (Priv.)
- 1031. Production and Operations Managers (Pub.)
- 1032. Production and Operations Managers (Priv.)
- 1091. Other Managers (Pub.)
- 1092. Other Managers (Priv.)
- 2011. Phys., Math. and Eng. Science Professionals (Pub.)
- 2012. Phys., Math. and Eng. Science Professionals (Priv.)
- 2021. Biol. Science and Health Professionals (Pub.)
- 2022. Biol. Science and Health Professionals (Priv.)
- 2031. Teachers (Pub.)
- 2032. Teachers (Priv.)
- 2041. Accountants and Business Professionals (Pub.)
- 2042. Accountants and Business Professionals (Priv.)
- 2051. Lawyers and Legal Professionals (Pub.)
- 2052. Lawyers and Legal Professionals (Priv.)
- 2061. Social Science and Related Professionals
- 2062. Social Science and Related Professionals
- 2091. Other Professionals (Pub.)
- 2092. Other Professionals (Priv.)
- 3011. Phys. and Eng. Science Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3012. Phys. and Eng. Science Associate Professionals (Priv.)
- 3021. Biol. Science and Health Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3022. Biol. Science and Health Associate Professionals(Priv.)
- 3031. Teaching and Related Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3032. Teaching and Related Associate Professionals (Priv.)
- 3041. Fin. and Business Services Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3042. Fin. and Business Services Associate Professionals (Priv.)
- 3051. Gov. Admin. Officials and Bus. Clerical Supervisors (Pub.)

- 3052. Gov. Admin. Officials and Bus. Clerical Supervisors (Priv.)
- 3061. Administrative Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3062. Administrative Associate Professionals (Priv.)
- 3071. Customs, Tax and Related Gov. Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3072. Customs, Tax and Related Gov. Associate Professionals (Priv.)
- 3091. Other Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3092. Other Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 4011. Office Clerks (Pub.)
- 4012. Office Clerks (Priv.)
- 4021. Customer Services Clerks (Pub.)
- 4022. Customer Services Clerks (Priv.)
- 5011. Personal Services Workers (Pub.)
- 5012. Personal Services Workers (Priv.)
- 5021. Protective Services Workers (Pub.)
- 5022. Protective Services Workers (Priv.)
- 5031. Models, Salespersons and Demonstrators (Pub.)
- 5032. Models, Salespersons and Demonstrators (Priv.)
- 6011. Agr., Animal Husbandry, Forestry and Fishing Workers (Pub.)
- 6012. Agr., Animal Husbandry, Forestry and Fishing Workers (Priv.)
- 7011. Extraction and Building Trades Workers (Pub.)
- 7012. Extraction and Building Trades Workers (Priv.)
- 7021. Metal, Machinery and Rel. Trades Workers (Pub.)
- 7022. Metal, Machinery and Rel. Trades Workers (Priv.)
- 7031. Precision, Handicraft, Print. and Rel. Trades Workers (Pub.)
- 7032. Precision, Handicraft, Print. and Rel. Trades Workers (Priv.)
- 7091. Other Craft and Rel. Trades Workers (Pub.)
- 7092. Other Craft and Rel. Trades Workers (Priv.)
- 8011. Stationary-plant and Rel. Operators (Pub.)
- 8012. Stationary-plant and Rel. Operators (Priv.)
- 8021. Machine Operators (Pub.)
- 8022. Machine Operators (Priv.)
- 8031. Assemblers (Pub.)
- 8032. Assemblers (Priv.)
- 8041. Drivers and Mobile-plant Operators (Pub.)
- 8042. Drivers and Mobile-plant Operators (Priv.)
- 9011. Sales and Services Elementary Occupations (Pub.)
- 9012. Sales and Services Elementary Occupations (Priv.)
- 9021. Production Laborers and Rel. Workers (Pub.)
- 9022. Production Laborers and Rel. Workers (Priv.)
- 9091. Other Elementary Occupations (Pub.)
- 9092. Other Elementary Occupations (Priv.)
- 9990. omit

```
9991. without spouse 9995. refuse to answer
```

9999. skip

### S 1 0 b · Main occupation of R's spouse before his/her retirement or unemployment

- 0010. Servicemen
- 0020. Students
- 0031. housekeeping, without domestic crafting
- 0032. housekeeping, with domestic crafting
- 0033. housekeeping, helping familial business without pay
- 0034. housekeeping, helping familial business with pay
- 0040, never work before
- 0050. Unemployment
- 0060. Retired
- 1010. Legislators and Government Administrators
- 1021. Directors and Chief Executives (Pub.)
- 1022. Directors and Chief Executives (Priv.)
- 1031. Production and Operations Managers (Pub.)
- 1032. Production and Operations Managers (Priv.)
- 1091. Other Managers (Pub.)
- 1092. Other Managers (Priv.)
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- 2012. Phys., Math. and Eng. Science Professionals (Priv.)
- 2021. Biol. Science and Health Professionals (Pub.)
- 2022. Biol. Science and Health Professionals (Priv.)
- 2031. Teachers (Pub.)
- 2032. Teachers (Priv.)
- 2041. Accountants and Business Professionals (Pub.)
- 2042. Accountants and Business Professionals (Priv.)
- 2051. Lawyers and Legal Professionals (Pub.)
- 2052. Lawyers and Legal Professionals (Priv.)
- 2061. Social Science and Related Professionals
- 2062. Social Science and Related Professionals
- 2091. Other Professionals (Pub.)
- 2092. Other Professionals (Priv.)
- 3011. Phys. and Eng. Science Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3012. Phys. and Eng. Science Associate Professionals (Priv.)
- 3021. Biol. Science and Health Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3022. Biol. Science and Health Associate Professionals (Priv.)
- 3031. Teaching and Related Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3032. Teaching and Related Associate Professionals (Priv.)

- 3041. Fin. and Business Services Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3042. Fin. and Business Services Associate Professionals (Priv.)
- 3051. Gov. Admin. Officials and Bus. Clerical Supervisors (Pub.)
- 3052. Gov. Admin. Officials and Bus. Clerical Supervisors (Priv.)
- 3061. Administrative Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3062. Administrative Associate Professionals (Priv.)
- 3071. Customs, Tax and Related Gov. Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3072. Customs, Tax and Related Gov. Associate Professionals (Priv.)
- 3091. Other Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 3092. Other Associate Professionals (Pub.)
- 4011. Office Clerks (Pub.)
- 4012. Office Clerks (Priv.)
- 4021. Customer Services Clerks (Pub.)
- 4022. Customer Services Clerks (Priv.)
- 5011. Personal Services Workers (Pub.)
- 5012. Personal Services Workers (Priv.)
- 5021. Protective Services Workers (Pub.)
- 5022. Protective Services Workers (Priv.)
- 5031. Models, Salespersons and Demonstrators (Pub.)
- 5032. Models, Salespersons and Demonstrators (Priv.)
- 6011. Agr., Animal Husbandry, Forestry and Fishing Workers (Pub.)
- 6012. Agr., Animal Husbandry, Forestry and Fishing Workers (Priv.)
- 7011. Extraction and Building Trades Workers (Pub.)
- 7012. Extraction and Building Trades Workers (Priv.)
- 7021. Metal, Machinery and Rel. Trades Workers (Pub.)
- 7022. Metal, Machinery and Rel. Trades Workers (Priv.)
- 7031. Precision, Handicraft, Print. and Rel. Trades Workers (Pub.)
- 7032. Precision, Handicraft, Print. and Rel. Trades Workers (Priv.)
- 7091. Other Craft and Rel. Trades Workers (Pub.)
- 7092. Other Craft and Rel. Trades Workers (Priv.)
- 8011. Stationary-plant and Rel. Operators (Pub.)
- 8012. Stationary-plant and Rel. Operators (Priv.)
- 8021. Machine Operators (Pub.)
- 8022. Machine Operators (Priv.)
- 8031. Assemblers (Pub.)
- 8032. Assemblers (Priv.)
- 8041. Drivers and Mobile-plant Operators (Pub.)
- 8042. Drivers and Mobile-plant Operators (Priv.)
- 9011. Sales and Services Elementary Occupations (Pub.)
- 9012. Sales and Services Elementary Occupations (Priv.)
- 9021. Production Laborers and Rel. Workers (Pub.)
- 9022. Production Laborers and Rel. Workers (Priv.)

90	092. Other Elementary Occupations (Priv.)
99	990. omit
99	995. refuse to answer
99	999. skip
S I I · La	nguage usually spoken at home CSES D26
01.	Mandarin
02.	Taiwanese
03.	Hakka
04.	Aboriginal language
05.	other Chinese dialect
06.	both Mandarin and Taiwanese
07.	both Mandarin and Hakka
08.	both Taiwanese and Hakka
09.	both Mandarin and other Chinese dialect
90.	other
95.	refuse to answer
S 1 2 · Nu	mber of people in household CSES M3, D21
95.	refuse to answer [skip to S13]
0.1.0	V 1 6 1 11 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
S 1 2 a · 1	Number of children under age 18 in household CSES M3, D22
9:	5. refuse to answer

9091. Other Elementary Occupations (Pub.)

S 1 3 · In the past five years, how many foreign trips have you taken (including trips to Hong Kong, and Macau but not including trips to Mainland China)?
95. refuse to answer
S 1 3 a • In the past five years, how many trips have you taken to Mainland China (not including Hong Kong or Macau)?

- 95. refuse to answer
- S 1 4 · Have you or any member of your family made investments, conducted business, held employment, settled down or studied in Mainland China?
  - 01. Yes, at present
  - 02. Yes, in the past
  - 03. No, never
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 98. don't know
- S 1 5 · Monthly household income CSES M3, D20
  - 01. Under 25000
  - 02. 25001-36000
  - 03. 36001-45000
  - 04. 45001-55000
  - 05. 55001-64000
  - 06. 64001-75000
  - 07. 75001-87000
  - 08. 87001-100000
  - 09. 100001-130000
  - 10. Over 130001
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it's hard to say
  - 98. don't know

	How likely or unlikely do you think it is that your household's income could be severely reduced in the part twelve months? Very likely, compared likely, compared to likely.	
	in the next twelve months? Very likely, somewhat likely, somewhat unlikely, or very unlikely CSES M4, Q21	•
01.	very likely	
02.	somewhat likely	
03.	somewhat unlikely	
04.	very unlikely	
95.	refuse to answer	
96.	it depends	
98.	don't know	
	o compare differences in the economic situation of ordinary families in Taiwan and abroad	<b>,</b>
I would lik	xe to ask the following questions.	
0170		
<b>.</b>	• Do you or a member of your household own a home or an apartment? CSES M4 O22a	
51/a	· Do you or a member of your household own a home or an apartment? CSES M4, Q22a	
51/a		
51 ( a	<ul> <li>Do you or a member of your household own a home or an apartment? CSES M4, Q22a</li> <li>01. yes</li> <li>02. no</li> </ul>	
51 / a	01. yes 02. no	
51 ( a	01. yes 02. no	
51 ( a	<ul><li>01. yes</li><li>02. no</li><li>95. refuse to answer</li></ul>	
51 ( a	<ul><li>01. yes</li><li>02. no</li><li>95. refuse to answer</li></ul>	
	<ul><li>01. yes</li><li>02. no</li><li>95. refuse to answer</li></ul>	k?
S17b·	<ul><li>01. yes</li><li>02. no</li><li>95. refuse to answer</li><li>98. don't know</li></ul>	k?
S17b·	01. yes 02. no 95. refuse to answer 98. don't know  Do you or a member of your household own a business, a piece of property, a farm, or livestock  CSES M4, Q22b	k?
S17b·	<ul> <li>01. yes</li> <li>02. no</li> <li>95. refuse to answer</li> <li>98. don't know</li> <li>Do you or a member of your household own a business, a piece of property, a farm, or livestock</li> <li>CSES M4, Q22b</li> <li>01. yes</li> </ul>	k?
S17b·	<ul> <li>01. yes</li> <li>02. no</li> <li>95. refuse to answer</li> <li>98. don't know</li> <li>Do you or a member of your household own a business, a piece of property, a farm, or livestoc</li> <li>CSES M4, Q22b</li> <li>01. yes</li> <li>02. no</li> </ul>	k?
S17b·	01. yes 02. no 95. refuse to answer 98. don't know  Do you or a member of your household own a business, a piece of property, a farm, or livestock  CSES M4, Q22b  01. yes 02. no 95. refuse to answer	k?
S17b·	<ul> <li>01. yes</li> <li>02. no</li> <li>95. refuse to answer</li> <li>98. don't know</li> <li>Do you or a member of your household own a business, a piece of property, a farm, or livestoc</li> <li>CSES M4, Q22b</li> <li>01. yes</li> <li>02. no</li> </ul>	k?
S17b·	<ul> <li>01. yes</li> <li>02. no</li> <li>95. refuse to answer</li> <li>98. don't know</li> <li>Do you or a member of your household own a business, a piece of property, a farm, or livestock</li> <li>CSES M4, Q22b</li> <li>01. yes</li> <li>02. no</li> <li>95. refuse to answer</li> <li>98. don't know</li> </ul>	k?
S17b·	01. yes 02. no 95. refuse to answer 98. don't know  Do you or a member of your household own a business, a piece of property, a farm, or livestock  CSES M4, Q22b  01. yes 02. no 95. refuse to answer	k?
S17b·	<ul> <li>01. yes</li> <li>02. no</li> <li>95. refuse to answer</li> <li>98. don't know</li> <li>Do you or a member of your household own a business, a piece of property, a farm, or livestock</li> <li>CSES M4, Q22b</li> <li>01. yes</li> <li>02. no</li> <li>95. refuse to answer</li> <li>98. don't know</li> </ul>	k?

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

S 1 7 d $\cdot$ Do you or a member of your household have any savings? CSES M4, Q22d	1

01. yes

02. no

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

## At present, the economic situation globally is not good. Therefore, I would like to ask you two hypothetical questions.

- S 1 8 a · If you lost your job, how easy or difficult would it be to find another job in the next twelve months? CSES M4, Q23a
  - 01. very easy
  - 02. somewhat easy
  - 03. somewhat difficult
  - 04. very difficult
  - 91. not currently employed
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it depends
  - 98. don't know
- S 1 8 b · If your spouse/partner lost their job, how easy or difficult would it be for them to find another job in the next twelve months? CSES M4, Q23b
  - 01. very easy
  - 02. somewhat easy
  - 03. somewhat difficult
  - 04. very difficult
  - 91. not currently employed
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 96. it depends
  - 98. don't know
  - 89. not applicable

S 1 9 · Does the R leave his/her telephone number and mobile phone number to I?	
01. telephone number	
02. mobile phone number	
03. no telephone	
04. don't want to give the number	
S 2 0 · How many telephone lines does your household have? (only those used for v communications)	oice
95. Refuse to answer	
That is the end of our questions. Thank you very much for participating in our interview.	
That is the clit of our questions. Thank you very much for participating in our interview.	
[The remaining questions should be filled out by the I.]	
S 2 1 . R's gender	
01. male	
02. female	
S 2 2. Language used to conduct interview	
01. Mandarin	
02. Taiwanese	
03. Hakka	
04. Mandarin and Taiwanese	
05. Mandarin and Hakka	
06. Taiwanese and Hakka	
90. other	
90. otner	

$T\ 1$ · Before the interview started, did the R do any of the following? [multiple responses permitted]
<ul> <li>Claim he or she was too busy to be interviewed</li> <li>Claim his or her family was too busy for him or her to be interviewed</li> <li>Claim to be uninterested in surveys</li> <li>Claim not to trust opinion surveys</li> <li>Express doubt about how the survey would be used</li> <li>Express doubt about whether R's opinions or personal information would be kept private</li> <li>Express doubt about the surveying organization or project director</li> <li>Express doubt about the identity of the I</li> <li>A family member opposed the R being interviewed</li> <li>None of the above</li> </ul>
$T\ 2$ · During the interview, did the R do any of the following?
T 2 a · Did the R ask to fill out the questionnaire him or herself?
01. yes 02. no
T 2 b · Did the R ask to see the questionnaire?
01. yes 02. no
T $2  \mathrm{c}  \cdot  \mathrm{Did}$ the R seem to want to quit during the interview?
01. yes 02. no
$T\ 2\ d\ \cdot$ Did the R say that there were too many questions?
01. yes 02. no
$T\ 2\ e\ \cdot$ Did the R say that a question was unclear or something was not defined well?
01. yes, 02. no

02.	no
T 2 g	· Did the R think the questions were too sensitive?
	yes,
02.	no
Т 3 • 1	How cooperative was the R?
01.	very cooperative
02.	fairly cooperative
03.	a little cooperative
04.	a little uncooperative
05.	fairly uncooperative
06.	very uncooperative
Т4 • 1	How well do you think the R understood the questions?
01.	understood very well
02.	understood fairly well
03.	understood a little
04.	didn't understand a little
05.	didn't understand a fair amount
06.	didn't understand much at all
Т5·	How sensitive do you think the R thought the questions were?
01.	very sensitive
02.	fairly sensitive
03.	a little sensitive
04.	a little insensitive
05.	fairly insensitive
06.	very insensitive

 $T\ 2\ f\ \cdot\ Did$  the R think the questions were too hard?

01. yes, \_\_\_\_\_

T 6 · How interested do you think the R was in the contents of the survey?				
	01.	very interested		
	02.	fairly interested		
	03.	a little interested		
	04.	a little uninterested		
	05.	fairly uninterested		
	06.	very uninterested		
Τ	7 · F	How trustworthy do you think the R's answers are?		
	01.	most are untrustworthy		
	02.	some are untrustworthy		
	03.	most are trustworthy		
	04.	all are trustworthy		
Т	8 · V	What do you think is the R's level of knowledge about general political matters?		
	01.	very low		
	02.	low		
	03.	high		
	04.	very high		
Т	T 9 · The R answered questions:			
	01.	by him or herself		
	02.	with his or her spouse		
	03.	a child also participated (child's age is about)		
	04.	with his or her entire family		
	05.	with other people present (specify)		
Т	1 0	· Did a third person present at the interview do any of the following?		
	01. 02. 03. 04. 05. 90.	keep busy, but listen to the conversation between I and R be present part of the time, but not express opinion or otherwise interfere be present all of the time, but not express opinion or otherwise interfere during interview, express opinion or otherwise interfere with interview none of the above other		