

## TEDS2008L Panel Questionnaire

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**We are about to start today's interview. If you have any question during the interview, please tell me immediately and I will make it clear. If you do not want to answer any of my questions, please let me know and I will skip that question.**

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### **(1) Media Contact**

A1. During last year's legislative election campaign, when reading the election news in the newspapers, did you pay very close attention, pay moderately close attention, not pay very close attention, or not pay attention at all?

- 01. very close attention
- 02. moderately close attention
- 03. not very close attention
- 04. no attention at all
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

A2. Which newspaper did you read most often? [only one response permitted]

- 01. China Times
- 02. United Daily News
- 03. Liberty Times
- 04. Apple Daily
- 05. United Evening News
- 06. Commercial Times
- 07. The Commons Daily
- 08. Economic Daily News
- 09. Youth Daily News
- 10. Taiwan Times
- 11. China Daily
- 12. Taiwan News
- 13. Merit Times
- 14. other newspaper \_\_\_\_\_
- 90. other \_\_\_\_\_
- 92. didn't read any

- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

A3. During this year's legislative election campaign, when you watched election campaign news reports on TV, did you pay very close attention, pay moderately close attention, not pay close attention, or not pay attention at all?

- 01. very close attention
- 02. moderately close attention
- 03. not very close attention
- 04. no attention at all
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

A4. Which TV news did you watch most often? [only one response permitted]

- 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
- 14. Hakka Television
- 15. Taiwan Indigenous Television
- 90. other \_\_\_\_\_
- 92. didn't watch
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

## **(2) Social Network and Electoral Activities Participation**

B1. Do you commonly talk with other people about politics or elections?

- 01. often
- 02. sometimes
- 03. rarely
- 04. never [skip to B2]
- 95. refuse to answer [skip to B2]

B1a. Who do you commonly talk about politics or elections with? Family members, relatives, friends, neighbors, colleagues at work, members of an association, classmates, or others? [multiple responses allowed]

- 01. family members
- 02. relatives
- 03. friends
- 04. neighbors
- 05. colleagues
- 06. members of an association
- 07. classmates
- 90. other\_\_\_\_\_
- 95. refuse to answer

B1b. Do these people who you commonly discuss politics or elections with support the same party?

- 01. all are the same
- 02. most are the same
- 03. some are the same, some are different [skip to B2]
- 04. most are different [skip to B2]
- 05. all are different [skip to B2]
- 95. Refuse to answer [skip to B2]
- 98. Don't know [skip to B2]

B1c. 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

B2. Were you concerned with the outcome of this legislative election? Were you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned, or not concerned at all?

- 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

B3. Among the people who asked for your vote in this presidential election, who had the biggest influence on your decision?

- 01. family members
- 02. friends
- 03. colleagues
- 04. relatives
- 05. neighbors
- 06. ward chief
- 07. neighborhood chief
- 08. members of KMT headquarter
- 09. members of DPP headquarter
- 10. members of NP headquarter
- 11. members of PFP headquarter

- 12. members of TAIP headquarter
- 13. members of TSU headquarter
- 14. candidate's assistants
- 15. candidate
- 16. association
- 17. religious groups
- 18. faction
- 19. self-determination
- 95. refuse to answer

B4. The following are a few ways in which voters might participate in an election.  
Thinking about this year's presidential election, did you do any of the following things?

B4a. Did you try to persuade others to vote for a certain candidate or party?

- 01. yes
- 02. no [skip to B4b]
- 95. refuse to answer [skip to B4b]

B4aa. How often?

- 01. frequently
- 02. sometimes
- 03. seldom

B4b. Did you express your support for a particular candidate or party? For example, did you participate in an election march or rally, hang or wear a flag or other symbol, or express you support in some other ways?

- 01. yes
- 02. no [skip to B5]
- 95. refuse to answer [skip to B5]

B4bb. How often did you do these things?

- 01. frequently
- 02. sometimes
- 03. seldom

B5. During this year's legislative 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. watch candidate debates or campaign speeches on TV
04. do volunteer work in campaign for either a candidate or party
05. attend an election related gathering or banquet
06. join a candidate's support organization
07. remind your friends to watch candidate debates or campaign speeches on TV
08. discuss the pros and cons of various candidates with other people
09. give money to a political party or candidate
92. none of them [skip to C1]
95. refuse to answer [skip to C1]
98. don't know [skip to C1]

B6. Did you usually participate in these activities because you were interested in them, or did you only go because someone else invited you?

01. I was interested in them
02. someone else invited me
03. both
95. refuse to answer
98. don't know

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**In our society, different people have different opinions about politics. I'm going to read several statements, and I'd like you to tell me whether you agree or disagree with them.**

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**(3) Political Efficacy**

C1. People like me can't possibly influence over what the government does.

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. neither agree nor disagree
- 04. disagree
- 05. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

C2. Government officials don't care about what people like me think.

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. neither agree nor disagree
- 04. disagree
- 05. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

C3. Generally, politics seems so complicated that people like me cannot understand what is happening.

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. neither agree nor disagree
- 04. disagree
- 05. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

#### **(4) Political Trust**

D1. The vast majority of 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

D2. Government officials often waste taxpayers' money.

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

D3. Do you think that when the government decides important policies, its first priority is to protect the interests of the people?

- 01. Usually
- 02. Sometimes
- 03. Not very often
- 04. Never
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

D4. Do you believe what government officials say on TV or in newspapers?

- 01. strongly believe
- 02. somewhat believe
- 03. somewhat disbelieve
- 04. strongly disbelieve
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

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**Next, we would like to ask some questions about society and the economy.**

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### **(5) Economic Evaluation**

E1. Would you say that over the past year, the state of the economy of Taiwan has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

- 01. better
- 02. about the same
- 03. worse
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

E2. 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. about the same
- 03. worse
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

E3. 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. About the same
- 03. Worse
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

E4. 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. About the same
- 03. Worse
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

## **(6) Government Performance**

F1. On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents very dissatisfied and 10 represents very satisfied. Concerning Chen Shui-bian's overall performance as president over the past four years, are you satisfied or dissatisfied?

- 
- 95. refuse to answer
  - 98. don't know

F2. We would like you now to compare the present government led by Chen Shui-bian with the previous one led by the KMT. Would you say that things are much better than before, somewhat better, somewhat worse, or much worse?

- 01. better
- 02. somewhat better
- 03. somewhat worse
- 04. much worse
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

F3. On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents very bad and 10 represents very good, how would you rate the Legislative Yuan's overall performance over the past three years?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

F4. On the same scale, how would you rate the KMT's performance in the Legislative Yuan?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

F5. On the same scale, how would you rate the DPP's performance in the Legislative Yuan?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

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

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**(7) Party Performance**

G1. On 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's hard to say
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

G2. On 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's hard to say
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

G3. 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's hard to say
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

G4. On social 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's hard to say
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

G5. On fighting 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's hard to say
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

G6. On raising our international status, 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's hard to say
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

## (8) Understanding of Democracy

H1. Ideally, which task do you think is the most important one for the legislators?

01. Law-making
02. Overseeing the administration
03. Serve as a bridge between the government and people
04. Examine the budget
05. District service
06. Local projects and development
95. refuse to answer
96. it depends
97. no opinion
98. don't know

H2. In practice, which task do you think is the most important one for the legislators?

01. Law-making
02. Overseeing the administration
03. Serve as a bridge between the government and people
04. Examine the budget
05. District service
06. Local projects and development
95. refuse to answer
96. it depends
97. no opinion
98. don't know

H3. 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 depends

97. no opinion

98. don't know

H4. Which of the following three statements do you agree with more? (1) No matter the result of legislative elections, the president has the right to decide who the premier and cabinet ministers will be. (2) The premier and cabinet ministers should be determined by negotiations between the president and legislature. (3) No matter the result of legislative elections, the legislature has the right to decide who the premier and cabinet ministers will be.

01. No matter the result of legislative elections, the president has the right to decide who the premier and cabinet ministers will be.

02. The premier and cabinet ministers should be determined by negotiations between the president and legislature.

03. No matter the result of legislative elections, the legislature has the right to decide who the premier and cabinet ministers will be.

95. refuse to answer

96. it depends

97. no opinion

98. don't know

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**In our society, different people have different opinions about democracy. I'm going to read several statements, and I'd like you to tell me if you agree or disagree with each statement.**

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H5. Democracy may have problems, but it is still the best system. 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

H6. Elected representatives should all be highly educated people.

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

H7. Women shouldn't participate in political activities like men do.

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

H8. Strong leadership is more important than a good legal system.

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

H9. Government executives are the equivalent of the head of a household; all national matters large or small should be decided by them.

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

H10. If anyone's thinking isn't in the same vein, society will be chaotic.

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

H11. Whether or not an idea should be allowed to flow through society should be decided by the government.

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

H12. If a country has a lot of political parties, it will influence political stability.

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

H13. In any society, if groups proliferate everywhere, it will influence stability and tranquility in that place.

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

H14. If the government is often checked by the legislature, it can't possibly accomplish great things.

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

H15. When judges rule on important cases which influence law and order, they should accept the opinions of executive organs.

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

## (9) The New Electoral System

J1. Comparing the new electoral system with the old one, is it easier or harder to elect your ideal candidate?

- 01. much easier
- 02. a little easier
- 03. about the same
- 04. a little harder
- 05. much harder
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

J2. Comparing the new electoral system with the old one, does it decrease or increase divisions in our society?

- 01. decrease a lot
- 02. decrease a little
- 03. about the same
- 04. increase a little
- 05. increase a lot
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

J3. Comparing the new electoral system with the old one, does it decrease or increase vote buying?

- 01. decrease a lot
- 02. decrease a little
- 03. about the same
- 04. increase a little
- 05. increase a lot
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

J4. Comparing the new electoral system with the old one, does it decrease or increase people's willingness to vote?

- 01. decrease a lot
- 02. decrease a little
- 03. about the same
- 04. increase a little
- 05. increase a lot
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

J5. Comparing the new electoral system with the old one, is it better or worse for Taiwan's future democratic development?

- 01. much better
- 02. a little better
- 03. about the same
- 04. a little worse
- 05. much worse
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

J6. Comparing the new electoral system with the old one, is the quality of the elected legislators higher or lower?

- 01. much higher
- 02. a little higher
- 03. about the same
- 04. a little lower
- 05. much lower
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

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**Next, we would like to ask several questions. Do you know...**

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**(10) Political Knowledge**

K1. Who is the current Vice President of our country?(open ended question)

03. know but can't remember

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

K2. Who is the current President of the United States? (open ended question)

03. know but can't remember

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

K3. Who is the President of the PRC? (open ended question)

03. know but can't remember

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

K4. What body has the power to interpret the constitution?

03. know but can't remember

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

K5. How many years is the term of the legislators elected this year?

03. know but can't remember

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

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**Now, let's go back to questions about the election.**

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**(11) Voting**

L1. We find that some people are not able to vote. How about you? Did you vote in the recent general elections?

01. yes [skip to L1b]

02. no

91. forget [skip to L1c]

95. refuse to answer [skip to L1c]

L1a. What was the reason that you didn't vote?

\_\_\_\_\_ [skip to L2]

995. refuse to answer [skip to L2]

L1b. Which candidate did you vote for?

\_\_\_\_\_ [skip to L1d]

999991. forgot [continue to L1c]

999992. cast invalid vote [skip to L1g]

999995. refuse to answer [continue to L1c]

999998. don't know [continue to L1c]

L1c. Which party's candidate did you vote for?

01. KMT

02. DPP

03. NP

04. PFP

06. TSU

07. Non-Partisan Solidarity Union

08. Independent

91. forget

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

L1d. What was the main reason you voted for this candidate? [open-ended question]

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

L1e. When did you decide to vote for that candidate?

01. on election day

02. within the week before the election

03. a few weeks before the election

04. a month before the election

05. before the campaign started

06. I've always voted for that party (or candidate)

91. forget

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

L1f. Was this candidate the one you originally wanted to vote for?

01. yes

02. no

95. refuse to answer

L1g. Here is a list of all the parties that contested this election. Which party did you cast your at-large vote for?

01. KMT

02. DPP

03. NP

06. TSU

90. other\_\_\_\_\_

91. forget

92. cast invalid vote [skip to L2]

- 94. didn't vote [skip to L2]
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

L1h. When did you decide to vote for that party?

- 01. a long time ago
- 02. more than two months ago
- 03. more than one month ago
- 04. more than two weeks ago
- 05. a day or two before the election
- 06. on election day
- 90. other\_\_\_\_\_
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

L2. On the whole, how would you rate the freeness and fairness of this legislative election? Was it:

- 01. completely free and fair
- 02. free and fair, but with minor problems
- 03. free and fair, with major problems
- 04. neither free nor fair
- 95. refuse to answer
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

L3a. In the 2004 legislative election, which candidate did you vote for?

- \_\_\_\_\_ [skip to L4]
- 999991. forgot [skip to L3b]
- 999992. cast invalid vote [skip to L4]
- 999994. didn't vote [skip to L4]
- 999995. refuse to answer [skip to L3b]

L3b. Which party's candidate did you vote for?

- 01. KMT
- 02. DPP
- 03. NP
- 04. PFP
- 05. TAIP
- 06. TSU
- 07. Non-Partisan Solidarity Union
- 08. Independent
- 09. other\_\_\_\_\_
- 91. forget
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

L4. Which candidates 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. invalid vote
- 93. not eligible to vote
- 94. didn't vote
- 95. refuse to answer

L5. In the March presidential election, which candidates do you intend to vote for?

- 01. Frank Hsieh and Su Tseng-chang
- 02. Ma Ying-jeou and Vincent Siew
- 03. haven't decided yet
- 04. will not vote
- 05. invalid vote
- 06. refuse to answer

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

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**(12) Issue Positions**

M1. Looking at Taiwan's overall development, some people believe that large scale reform is the most important thing, even if it means sacrificing some social stability. Other people believe that stability is the most important and that reform should not be allowed to affect social stability. On this card, the position that large-scale reform is the most important thing is at 0 on a scale from 0 to 10, and the position that social stability is most important is at 10. About where on this scale does your own view lie?

---

95. Refuse to answer

98. Don't know

M2. 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?

---

95. Refuse to answer

98. Don't know

M3. Regarding the question of economic development versus environmental protection, some people in society emphasize environmental protection while others emphasize economic development. On this card, the position that emphasizes environmental protection is at 0 on a scale from 0 to 10, and the position that emphasizes economic development is at 10. About where on this scale does your own view lie?

---

95. Refuse to answer

98. Don't know

M4a. Sometimes people will talk about the question of Taiwan independence or the unification of China. Some people say that Taiwan should declare independence right away. Other people say that Taiwan and China should unify right away. Other people have opinions between these two positions. On this card, 0 represents immediate independence and 10 represents immediate unification. What is your position?

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95. Refuse to answer

98. Don't know

M4b. As you understand it, about where on this scale is the KMT's position?

---

95. Refuse to answer

98. Don't know

M4c. About where on this scale is the DPP's position?

---

95. Refuse to answer

98. Don't know

M4d. About where on this scale is the PFP's position?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. Refuse to answer

98. Don't know

M4e. About where on this scale is the TSU's position?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. Refuse to answer

98. Don't know

### **(13) Taiwanese, Chinese Identification**

N1. 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

#### **(14) Position on Unification and Independence**

P1. 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, move toward unification in the future, 4) maintain the status quo, 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
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

P2. Some people think that Taiwan should increase its trade and economic relations with the Mainland, while other people think that Taiwan should decrease its trade and economic relations with the Mainland. What is your opinion?

- 01. Taiwan should increase its trade and economic relations with the Mainland
- 02. Taiwan should decrease its trade and economic relations with the Mainland
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

## **(15) Political Parties**

Q1. Among the main political parties in our country, including the KMT, DPP, PFP, NP, and TSU, do you support any particular party?

01. yes [skip to Q1b]

02. no

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

Q1a. Relatively speaking, do you lean toward any particular party?

01. yes

02. no [skip to Q2a]

95. refuse to answer [skip to Q2a]

98. don't know [skip to Q2a]

Q1b. Which party is that?

01. KMT

02. DPP

03. NP

04. PFP

06. TSU

90. other \_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

Q1c. Do you lean toward this party strongly, moderately, or just a little bit?

01. strongly

02. moderately

03. just a little bit

95. refuse to answer

96. it's hard to say

97. no opinion

98. don't know

Q2a. Now we'd like to understand your opinions about each of the political parties. If zero means you dislike a party very much, and ten means you like that party very much, what number would you give the KMT?

\_\_\_\_\_

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

Q2b. The DPP?

\_\_\_\_\_

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

Q2c. The PFP?

\_\_\_\_\_

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

Q2d. The TSU?

\_\_\_\_\_

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

Q2e. The New Party?

---

95. refuse to answer

96. never heard before

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.**

---

### **(16) The Candidates**

R1a. What score do you give (candidate A) on constituency service?

\_\_\_\_\_

995. refuse to answer

996. it's hard to say

997. no opinion

998. don't know

R1b. What score do you give (candidate B) on constituency service?

\_\_\_\_\_

995. refuse to answer

996. it's hard to say

997. no opinion

998. don't know

R2a. What score do you give (candidate A) on fighting for our local welfare?

\_\_\_\_\_

995. refuse to answer

996. it's hard to say

997. no opinion

998. don't know

R2b. What score do you give (candidate B) on fighting for our local welfare?

\_\_\_\_\_

995. refuse to answer

996. it's hard to say

- 997. no opinion
- 998. don't know

R3a. What score do you give (candidate A) on being honest and incorrupt?

\_\_\_\_\_

- 995. refuse to answer
- 996. it's hard to say
- 997. no opinion
- 998. don't know

R3b. What score do you give (candidate B) on being honest and incorrupt?

\_\_\_\_\_

- 995. refuse to answer
- 996. it's hard to say
- 997. no opinion
- 998. don't know

R4a. What score do you give (candidate A) on ability to oversee the government?

\_\_\_\_\_

- 995. refuse to answer
- 996. it's hard to say
- 997. no opinion
- 998. don't know

R4b. What score do you give (candidate B) on ability to oversee the government?

\_\_\_\_\_

- 995. refuse to answer
- 996. it's hard to say
- 997. no opinion
- 998. don't know

R5a. What score do you give (candidate A) on ability to push through legislation?

\_\_\_\_\_

995. refuse to answer

996. it's hard to say

997. no opinion

998. don't know

R5b. What score do you give (candidate B) on ability to push through legislation?

\_\_\_\_\_

995. refuse to answer

996. it's hard to say

997. no opinion

998. don't know

R6a. What score do you give (candidate A) on insisting on political ideals?

\_\_\_\_\_

995. refuse to answer

996. it's hard to say

997. no opinion

998. don't know

R6b. What score do you give (candidate B) on insisting on political ideals?

\_\_\_\_\_

995. refuse to answer

996. it's hard to say

997. no opinion

998. don't know

---

**Here are some statements about how we govern our country. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with each statement. Do you agree/disagree strongly or not so strongly?**

---

**(17) Understanding and Evaluation of Democracy**

S1. Without political parties there can be no democracy.

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. neither agree nor disagree
- 04. disagree
- 05. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

S2. Political parties only serve to divide people

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. neither agree nor disagree
- 04. disagree
- 05. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

S3. Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion?

- 01. Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government.
- 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 government we have.
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion

98. don't know

S4. 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

S5. Overall, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Taiwan today?

Are you:

- 01. very satisfied
- 02. fairly satisfied
- 03. not very satisfied
- 04. not at all satisfied
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

S6a. People often talk about pan-blue or pan-green to distinguish between voters' political leanings. Do you think you belong to the pan-blue camp or pan-green camp?

- 01. pan-blue
- 02. pan-green
- 03. neither [continue to S6b]
- 04. don't agree with this categorization
- 90. other \_\_\_\_\_
- 94. haven't heard of this
- 95. refuse to answer

- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

S6b. If you don't feel you belong to one side, do you think you lean toward the pan-blue side or the pan-green side?

- 01. pan-blue
- 02. pan-green
- 03. neither

## (18) Cross-Straits Relations

T1. If a declaration of independence by Taiwan would cause the Mainland to attack Taiwan, do you favor Taiwan independence?

01. strongly oppose independence
02. somewhat oppose independence
03. somewhat support independence
04. strongly support independence
95. refuse to answer
96. it depends
97. no opinion
98. don't know

T2. If a declaration of independence by Taiwan would not cause Mainland China to attack Taiwan, do you favor Taiwan independence?

01. strongly oppose independence
02. somewhat oppose independence
03. somewhat support independence
04. strongly support independence
95. refuse to answer
96. it depends
97. no opinion
98. don't know

T3. Suppose that the gaps in economic, social, and political conditions were quite large. The two sides should still unify.

01. strongly oppose unification
02. somewhat oppose unification
03. somewhat support unification
04. strongly support unification
95. refuse to answer
96. it depends
97. no opinion
98. don't know

T4. If the economic, social, and political conditions were about the same in both the mainland and Taiwan, then the two sides should unify.

- 01. strongly oppose unification
- 02. somewhat oppose unification
- 03. somewhat support unification
- 04. strongly support unification
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

T5. If Taiwan declares independence, do you think whether the Mainland will attack Taiwan?

- 01. very possible
- 02. possible
- 03. not possible
- 04. Not possible at all
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

T6. If the Mainland attacks Taiwan because Taiwan declared independence, do you think whether the US will send troops to help Taiwan?

- 01. very possible
- 02. possible
- 03. not possible
- 04. Not possible at all
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

T7. To deal with the Mainland's military threats, do you think Taiwan should increase its military spending or rely on politics and diplomacy?

01. increase military spending
02. rely on politics and diplomacy
03. both are necessary
04. neither
95. refuse to answer
96. it depends
97. no opinion
98. don't know

T8. If the Mainland removes the missiles on its southeast coast, do you agree that Taiwan should reduce its purchases of military hardware from the USA?

01. strongly disagree
02. somewhat disagree
03. somewhat agree
04. strongly agree
95. refuse to answer
96. it depends
97. no opinion
98. don't know

T9. If Taiwan and the Mainland sign an agreement in which the Mainland agrees not to use military force against Taiwan and Taiwan agrees not to declare independence, would you approve of this agreement?

01. strongly disapprove
02. somewhat disapprove
03. somewhat approve
04. strongly approve
95. refuse to answer
96. it depends
97. no opinion
98. don't know

## **(19) Personal Data**

X1. Year of birth

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

X2. Father's ethnic background

01. Taiwanese Hakka

02. Taiwanese Min-nan

03. Mainlander

04. Aboriginal

90. other \_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

X3. Mother's ethnic background

01. Taiwanese Hakka

02. Taiwanese Min-nan

03. Mainlander

04. Aboriginal

90. other \_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

X4. Marital status

01. Married or live as married

02. Separated

03. Widowed

04. Divorced [skip to X6]

05. Single [skip to X6]

95. refuse to answer [skip to X6]

X5. Spouse's ethnic background

- 01. Taiwanese Hakka
- 02. Taiwanese Min-nan
- 03. Mainlander
- 04. Aboriginal
- 05. foreigner
- 06. from PRC
- 90. other \_\_\_\_\_
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

X6. Education level

- 01. illiterate
- 02. literate but no formal schooling
- 03. some primary school
- 04. primary school graduate
- 05. some junior high school
- 06. junior high school graduate
- 07. some high school or vocational school
- 08. high school or vocational school graduate
- 09. some technical college
- 10. technical college graduate
- 11. some university
- 12. university graduate
- 13. post-graduate education
- 90. other \_\_\_\_\_
- 95. refuse to answer

X7. Religious belief

- 01. None [continue to X7a]
- 02. Buddhism [continue to X7a]
- 03. Taoism [continue to X7a]
- 04. Catholic

- 05. Protestant
- 06. Muslim
- 07. I-Kuan-Tao
- 90. other \_\_\_\_\_
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

X7a. Do you burn incense for the Earth God, Matsu, or some other spirits?

- 01. Yes
- 02. No
- 90. other \_\_\_\_\_
- 95. refuse to answer

X8. Main occupation of respondent

- 0010. Servicemen
- 0020. Students
- 0031. housekeeping, without domestic crafting [skip to S8b]
- 0032. housekeeping, with domestic crafting [skip to S8b]
- 0033. housekeeping, helping familial business without pay [skip to S8b]
- 0034. housekeeping, helping familial business with pay [skip to S8b]
- 0040. never work before
- 0050. Unemployment [continue to S8a]
- 0060. Retired [continue to S8a]
- 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

X8a. Main occupation of respondent 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.)  
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2092. Other Professionals(Priv.)  
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3012. Phys. and Eng. Science Associate Professionals(Priv.)  
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3022. Biol. Science and Health Associate Professionals(Priv.)  
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3032. Teaching and Related Associate Professionals(Priv.)  
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3042. Fin. and Business Services Associate Professionals(Priv.)  
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3062. Administrative Associate Professionals(Priv.)  
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3072. Customs, Tax and Related Gov. Associate Professionals(Priv.)  
3091. Other Associate Professionals(Pub.)  
3092. Other Associate Professionals(Pub.)  
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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.)  
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7012. Extraction and Building Trades Workers(Priv.)  
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7022. Metal, Machinery and Rel. Trades Workers(Priv.)  
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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  
9999. skip

X8b. Main occupation of respondent's spouse.

- 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
- 0070. Spouse deceased
- 1010. Legislators and Government Administrators
- 1021. Directors and Chief Executives(Pub.)
- 1022. Directors and Chief Executives(Priv.)
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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

#### X9. Current employment status of respondent

- 01. employed full time (32 hours or more a week)
- 02. employed part time (15 to 32 hours a week)
- 03. employed less than part time (less than 15 hours a week)
- 04. help out at home
- 05. currently looking for employment
- 06. student or currently in job training
- 07. retired
- 08. home duties
- 09. disabled or unable to work
- 91. never employed
- 95. refuse to answer

#### X10. Language usually spoken at home

- 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

X11. Number of people in household

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer [skip to X12]

X11a. Number of children under age 18 in household

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

X12. In the past five years, how many trips have you taken to Mainland China (not including Hong Kong or Macau)?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

X12a. 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

X13. Have you or any member of your family made investments, conducted business, held employment, settled down or studied in Mainland China?

01. yes

02. no

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

X14. Monthly household income

- 01. Under 36000
- 02. 36001-47000
- 03. 47001-58000
- 04. 58001-65000
- 05. 65001-78000
- 06. 78001-88000
- 07. 88001-108000
- 08. 108001-138000
- 09. 138001-158000
- 10. Over 158001
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 98. don't know

X15. telephone number and mobile phone number

- 01. telephone number
- 02. mobile phone number
- 03. no telephone
- 04. don't want to give the number

X16. How many telephone lines does your household have? (only those used for voice communications)

- 
- 95. Refuse to answer

X17. Did you receive the notice about this interview that we sent in the mail?

- 01. yes
- 02. no
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

---

**This concludes our interview. Thank you very much for participating in our interview. Thank you.**

---

X18. Respondent's gender

- 01. Male
- 02. Female

X19. 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\_\_\_\_\_

Y1. Before the interview started, did the respondent do any of the following?  
[multiple responses permitted]

01. Claim he or she was too busy to be interviewed
02. Claim his or her family was too busy for him or her to be interviewed
03. Claim to be uninterested in surveys
04. Claim not to trust opinion surveys
05. Express doubt about how the survey would be used
06. Express doubt about whether respondents' opinions or personal information would be kept private
07. Express doubt about the surveying organization or project director
08. Express doubt about the identity of the interviewer
09. A family member opposed the respondent being interviewed
10. None of the above

Y2. During the interview, did the respondent do any of the following:

Y2a. Did the respondent ask to fill out the questionnaire him or herself?

01. yes
02. no

Y2b. Did the respondent ask to see the questionnaire?

01. yes
02. no

Y2c. Did the respondent seem to want to quit during the interview?

01. yes
02. no

Y2d. Did the respondent say that there were too many questions?

- 01. yes
- 02. no

Y2e. Did the respondent say that a question was unclear or something was not defined well?

- 01. yes, \_\_\_\_\_
- 02. no

Y2f. Did the respondent think the questions were too hard?

- 01. yes, \_\_\_\_\_
- 02. no

Y2g. Did the respondent think the questions were too sensitive?

- 01. yes, \_\_\_\_\_
- 02. no

Y3. How cooperative was the respondent?

- 01. very cooperative
- 02. fairly cooperative
- 03. a little cooperative
- 04. a little uncooperative
- 05. fairly uncooperative
- 06. very uncooperative

Y4. How well do you think the respondent 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

Y5. How sensitive do you think the respondent thought the questions were?

01. very sensitive
02. fairly sensitive
03. a little sensitive
04. a little insensitive
05. fairly insensitive
06. very insensitive

Y6. How interested do you think the respondent 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

Y7. How trustworthy do you think the respondent's answers are?

01. Most are untrustworthy
02. Some are untrustworthy
03. Most are trustworthy
04. All are trustworthy

Y8. What do you think is the respondent's level of knowledge about general political matters?

01. very low
02. low
03. high
04. very high

Y9. The respondent 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)

Y10. Did a third person present at the interview do any of the following:

01. keep busy, but listen to the conversation between interviewer and respondent
02. be present part of the time, but not express opinion or otherwise interfere
03. be present all of the time, but not express opinion or otherwise interfere
04. during interview, express opinion or otherwise interfere with interview
05. none of the above