

**TEDS2008P Questionnaire**  
(2008 Presidential Election in Taiwan)

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**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 don't want to answer a question, please tell me and we will skip that question.**

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***Part 1: Politics and Media***

A 1. During this year's presidential election campaign, some people spent a lot of time paying attention to all kinds of media news stories about the election, while others didn't have time to pay attention. On average, how much time did you spend each day during the campaign paying attention to news about the election 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. only paid attention every once in a while
- 07. paid no attention 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. only paid attention every once in a while
- 07. paid no attention 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. only paid attention every once in a while
07. paid no attention 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. only paid attention every once in a while
07. paid no attention at all
95. refuse to answer
96. it depends
98. don't know

A 2 . 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
90. other newspaper\_\_\_\_\_
95. refuse to answer
98. don't know

A 3 . 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 television\_\_\_\_\_
92. never
95. refuse to answer
98. don't know

A 4 . During this year's presidential election campaign, which political talk shows on television do you watch most frequently? (open ended question)

01. 2100 quan-min kai-jiang(2100 全民開講) ( TVBS )
02. xin-wen ye-zong-hui(新聞夜總會) ( TVBS )
03. sin-wun jian-yan-shih (新聞檢驗室) ( TVBS )
04. 2100 jhou-rih kai-jiang (2100 週日開講) ( TVBS )
05. xin-wen bu-yi-yang(新聞不一樣) ( TVBS )
06. da-hua xin-wen(大話新聞) ( Sanlih E-Television )
07. wen-qian xiao-mei-da(文茜小妹大) ( CTi Television )
08. sin-tai-wan sing-guang da-dao (新台灣星光大道) ( CTi Television )
09. tou-jia lai kai-jiang(頭家來開講) ( FTV )
10. sin-wun guan-ce-jhan (新聞觀測站) ( FTV )
11. guo-huei jhou-bao (國會週報) ( FTV )
12. lan-jie xin-wen ( 攔截新聞 ) ( Eastern Television )
13. huo-sian shuang-jiao (火線雙嬌) ( Eastern Television )
14. you-hua-hao-shuo(有話好說) ( Taiwan Public Television )
15. jian-fong duei-hua (尖峰對話) ( Taiwan Public Television )
90. other\_\_\_\_\_
92. never [skip to B1]
98. don't know[skip to B1]
95. refuse to answer [skip to B1]

A 4 a . Which one do you watch second most frequently? (open ended question)

01. 2100 quan-min kai-jiang(2100 全民開講) ( TVBS )
02. xin-wen ye-zong-hui(新聞夜總會) ( TVBS )
03. sin-wun jian-yan-shih (新聞檢驗室) ( TVBS )
04. 2100 hou-rih kai-jiang (2100 週日開講) ( TVBS )
05. xin-wen bu-yi-yang(新聞不一樣) ( TVBS )
06. da-hua xin-wen(大話新聞) ( Sanlih E-Television )
07. wen-qian xiao-mei-da(文茜小妹大) ( CTi Television )
08. sin-tai-wan sing-guang da-dao (新台灣星光大道) ( CTi Television )
09. tou-jia lai kai-jiang(頭家來開講) ( FTV )
10. sin-wun guan-ce-jhan (新聞觀測站) ( FTV )
11. guo-huei jhou-bao (國會週報) ( FTV )
12. lan-jie xin-wen (攔截新聞) ( Eastern Television )
13. huo-sian shuang-jiao (火線雙嬌) ( Eastern Television )
14. you-hua-hao-shuo(有話好說) ( Taiwan Public Television )
15. jian-fong duei-hua (尖峰對話) ( Taiwan Public Television )
90. other\_\_\_\_\_
92. never
98. don't know
95. refuse to answer

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

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***Part 2: Political Mobilization and Political Involvement***

B 1 . Do you commonly talk with other people about politics or elections? Is it often, sometimes, seldom, or never?

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

B 1 a . Whom 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 at work
06. members of an association
07. classmates
90. others\_\_\_\_\_
95. refuse to answer

B 2 . 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 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

B 3 . During this year's presidential election, did any candidate or party worker personally ask you for

your vote?

01. yes [continue to B3a]
02. no [skip to B3b]
95. refuse to answer [skip to B3b]

**B 3 a** . Which candidate were they asking you to support? [If both candidates asked for R's vote, I should ask which candidate asked more times or made a better impression.]

01. Frank HSIEH and SU Tseng-chang
02. MA Ying-jeou and Vincent SIEW
91. both about the same
95. refuse to answer
98. don't know

**B 3 b** . Besides the candidate or party workers, who else did ask you for your vote personally?

[multiple responses permitted]

01. campaign worker or volunteer
02. colleague or superior at work
03. member of your religious, social, or professional association
04. prominent local figure or clan member
05. village or ward head or executive official
06. neighbor
07. classmate or friend
08. relative or family member
09. faction member
10. recorded telephone message
11. cell phone message
90. others\_\_\_\_\_
92. none [if B3 answer "02.no" or "95. refuse to answer", skip to B5]
95. refuse to answer [if B3 answer "02.no" or "95. refuse to answer", skip to B5]

B 4 . Among these people who personally asked for your vote in this presidential election, who is most influential on your decision?

01. campaign worker or volunteer
02. colleague or superior at work
03. member of your religious, social, or professional association
04. prominent local figure or clan member
05. village or ward head or executive official
06. neighbor
07. classmate or friend
08. relative or family member
09. faction member
10. recorded telephone message
11. cell phone message
12. candidate
13. party worker
90. others\_\_\_\_\_
92. none of them influenced me
95. refuse to answer

B 5 . Do you often participate in the activities of certain associations? (For example women's, flower arranging, folk dancing, alumni, hometown, religious, senior citizens, farmers, labor associations or the Lion's Club or Jaycees.)

01. often
02. sometimes
03. seldom
04. never [skip to B6]
95. refuse to answer [skip to B6]

B 5 a . Did the associations that you participate in support any particular presidential candidate?

01. yes
02. no [skip to B6]
98. don't know [skip to B6]
95. refuse to answer [skip to B6]



B 5 b . Which candidate was it?

- 01. Frank HSIEH
- 02. MA Ying-jeou
- 98. don't know
- 95. refuse to answer

B 6 . During this year's presidential 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. persuade others to vote for particular candidate or party?
- 09. give money to a political party or candidate
- 10. purchase candidate' souvenirs.
- 11. hang or wear a flag or other symbol
- 12. be invited to participate candidate' rally
- 13. attend to candidate' rally
- 14. surf candidate' website
- 92. none of these
- 98 don't know
- 95. refuse to answer

B 7 . During the election campaign, would you say that there were major differences, minor differences, or no differences at all between candidates? **CSES Q17**

- 01. major differences
- 02. minor differences
- 03. no difference at all
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

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**People have different opinions about CHEN Shui-bian's performance during his presidency. Please tell us your opinion about the following aspects:**

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***Part3: Governing Performance***

C 1 . Concerning CHEN Shui-bian's overall performance during his presidency, are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied? **CSES 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 CHEN Shui-bian's eight-year presidency, in what area has he performed the best?

- 01. promoting ethnic harmony
- 02. maintaining political stability
- 03. promoting economic development
- 04. eliminating black and gold politics
- 05. raising Taiwan's international status
- 06. promoting democratic reforms
- 07. improving law and order
- 08. promoting peaceful developments in cross-Strait relations
- 09. social welfare
- 10. handling educational reform
- 11. handling financial reform
- 12. public infrastructure
- 13. personnel appointment
- 90. other\_\_\_\_\_
- 91. all good

- 92. all bad
- 98. don't know
- 95. refuse to answer

C 3 . Overall, during CHEN Shui-bian's eight-year presidency, in what area has he performed the worst?

- 01. promoting ethnic harmony
- 02. maintaining political stability
- 03. promoting economic development
- 04. eliminating black and gold politics
- 05. raising Taiwan's international status
- 06. promoting democratic reforms
- 07. improving law and order
- 08. promoting peaceful developments in cross-Strait relations
- 09. social welfare
- 10. handling educational reform
- 11. handling financial reform
- 12. public infrastructure
- 13. personnel appointment
- 90. other
- 91. all good
- 92. all bad
- 98. don't know
- 95. refuse to answer

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

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***Part 4: Political Efficacy***

D 1 . 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 . 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 . 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

D 4 . 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 . 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

D 6 . When the government decides important policies, do you think “popular welfare” is its first priority?

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

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

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***Part 5: Economic Evaluations***

E 1 . 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

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

***Part 6: Opinions about Democracy***

F 1 . Which of these four 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. an authoritarian regime – a dictatorship is preferable to any other kind of regime.
04. 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 2 . Overall, do you feel satisfied or dissatisfied with the practice of democracy in Taiwan? **CSES 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 3 . Some people say that it makes a difference who is in power. Others say that it doesn't make a difference who 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 Q4**

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95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

F 4 . 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 Q5**

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95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

F 5 . 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



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Next, we would like to ask a few questions. Do you know:

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***Part 7: Political Knowledge***

G 1 . Who is the current President of the United States? CSES Q24a

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

G 2 . Who is the current the premier of our country? CSES Q24b

- \_\_\_\_\_
- 03. 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 Q24c

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

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**Let's return to questions about elections**

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***Part 8: Voting Behavior***

H 1 . In this presidential election many people went to vote, while others, for various reasons, did not go to vote. Did you vote? CSES Q21

- 01. yes [continue to H1a]

- 02. no [skip to H1d]
- 91. forgot [skip to H1d]
- 95. refuse to answer [skip to H1d]

H 1 a . Which ticket did you vote for? **CSES Q21b**

- 01. Frank HSIEH and SU Tseng-chang [continue to H1b]
- 02. MA Ying-jeou and Vincent SIEW [continue to H1b]
- 94. cast an invalid vote [skip to H1c]
- 91. forgot [skip to H2]
- 98. don't know [skip to H2]
- 95. refuse to answer [skip to H2]

H 1 b . What was the main reason you voted for that ticket? [open-ended response] [skip to H2]

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

H 1 c . 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 d . If you had gone to vote, which ticket would you voted for? [skip to H3] **CSES Q21a**

- 01. Frank HSIEH and SU Tseng-chang [if H1 answer "02.no", skip to H1e]
- 02. MA Ying-jeou and Vincent SIEW [if H1 answer "02.no", skip to H1e]
- 98. don't know [if H1 answer "02.no", skip to H1e]
- 95. refuse to answer [if H1 answer "02.no", skip to H1e]
- 92. none of the candidate

H 1 e . Why didn't you vote? [open-ended response] [skip to H3]

- 
- 998. don't know

995. refuse to answer

H 2 . In the referendums held this time, many people picked up their ballots, and there were also many people who, for various reasons, did not pick up their ballots. Did you pick up your ballots?

- 01. yes [skip to H2b]
- 02. no [continue to H2a]
- 91. forgot [skip to H3]
- 95. refuse to answer [skip to H3]

H 2 a . Why didn't you pick up your ballots? [open-ended response] [skip to H3]

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95. refuse to answer

H 2 b . Which ballot do you pick up ? 「referendum to resume UN membership in the name of the Republic of China」 or 「referendum to join UN membership in the name of Taiwan」 ?

- 01. resuming UN in the name of the Republic of China
- 02. joining UN in the name of Taiwan
- 94. both
- 91. forgot
- 95. refuse to answer

H 3 . Which candidates did you vote for in the 2004 presidential election? **CSES Q23a**

- 01. CHEN Shui-bian and Anette LU
- 02. LIEN Chan and James SOONG
- 94. cast an invalid vote
- 93. didn't vote
- 91. forgot
- 92. not eligible to vote
- 95. Refuse to answer

H 4 . Which candidates did you vote for in the 2000 presidential election? **CSES Q23a**

01. SOONG - CHANG
02. LIEN -SIEW
03. LI-FENG
04. HSU-CHU
05. CHEN-LU
94. cast an invalid vote
93. didn't vote
91. forgot
92. not eligible to vote
95. Refuse to answer

H 5 . In the January legislative elections, in terms of the party list vote, which party did you vote for?

**CSES Q23b**

01. KMT
02. DPP
03. NP
04. TSU
05. Taiwan Farmer's party
06. Home party
07. Civil party
08. Green Party Taiwan
09. Third Society party
10. Hakka party
11. Taiwan Constitution Association
12. Non-Partisan Solidarity Union
91. forget
94. cast an invalid vote
95. refuse to answer
93. didn't vote [skip to H6]
92. not eligible to vote [skip to H6]

H 5 a . Which party's candidate did you vote for? **CSES Q23c**

01. KMT
02. DPP
04. PFP
06. TSU
07. Non-Partisan Solidarity Union
08. Independent
90. other\_\_\_\_\_
91. forgot
95. refuse to answer
98. don't know

H 6 . After this year's legislative elections, KMT won a majority of the seats in the legislature. In the presidential election, therefore, someone voted for DPP's candidate Frank HSIEH, someone voted for KMT's candidate MA Ying-jeou, and someone won't consider results of the legislative elections. When you went to vote in the presidential election, did you consider the results of legislative elections?

- 01. yes
- 02. no
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 98. don't know

H 7 . In the 2004 legislative election, 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
- 90. other\_\_\_\_\_
- 91. forgot
- 93. didn't vote
- 94. cast an invalid vote
- 92. not eligible to vote
- 95. refuse to answer

H 8 . Would you say that any of the parties in Taiwan represents your views reasonably well? **CSES Q7**

- 01. yes [continue to H8a]
- 02. no [skip to H9]
- 96. it's hard to say [skip to H9]
- 95. refuse to answer [skip to H9]



H 8 a . Which party represents your views best? CSES Q7a

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

H 9 . Regardless of how you feel about the parties, would you say that any of the presidential candidates in this election represents your views? CSES Q8

- 01. yes [continue to H9a]
- 02. no [skip to J1]
- 96. it's hard to say [skip to J1]
- 95. refuse to answer [skip to J1]

H 9 a . Which presidential candidate represents your views best? CSES Q8a

- 01.Frank HSIEH
- 02.MA Ying-jeou
- 98. don't know
- 95. refuse to answer
- 90. other\_\_\_\_\_

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Next, we would like to ask you to go back the presidential election in March, at that time, our country faced many problems, I'd like to you evaluate the ability of the president candidates to solve these problems.

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*Part 9: Candidate Capability*

J 1 . What has been the most important issue to you personally in this election? **CSES Q1a**

- \_\_\_\_\_
- 992. no [skip to J3]
  - 995. refuse to answer [skip to J3]
  - 998. don't know [skip to J3]

J 2 . What has been the second most important issue to you personally in this election? **CSES Q1b**

- \_\_\_\_\_
- 992. no
  - 995. refuse to answer
  - 998. don't know

J 3 . What do you think is the most important political problem facing Taiwan today? **CSES Q2a**

- \_\_\_\_\_
- 992. no [skip to J5]
  - 995. refuse to answer [skip to J5]
  - 998. don't know [skip to J5]

J 3 a . Which presidential candidate do you think is best in dealing with it? **CSES Q3a**

- 01. Frank HSIEH and SU Tseng-chang

- 02. MA Ying-jeou and Vincent SIEW
- 92. none of the candidate
- 95. refuse to answer
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

J 4 . What do you think is the second most important political problem facing Taiwan today? **CSES Q2b**

- 
- 992. no [skip to J5]
  - 995. refuse to answer [skip to J5]
  - 998. don't know [skip to J5]

J 4 a . Which presidential candidate do you think is best in dealing with it? **CSES Q3b**

- 01. Frank HSIEH and SU Tseng-chang
- 02. MA Ying-jeou and Vincent SIEW
- 92. none of the candidate
- 95. refuse to answer
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

J 5 . I'd like to ask you to evaluate capability of two presidential candidates using a scale ranging from 0 to 10. Rating 0 means that you think his capability is very poor, and rating 10 mean that you consider his capability is very good.

J 5 a . How would you rate Frank HSIEH using 0 to 10 scale?

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

J 5 b . How would you rate MA Ying-jeou?

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

**J 6** . 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 mean that you dislike him very much and rating 10 mean that you like him very much.

**J 6 a** . How would you rate Frank HSIEH using 0 to 10 scale? **CSES Q10a**

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

**J 6 b** . How would you rate SU Tseng-chang? **CSES Q10b**

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

**J 6 c** . How would you rate MA Ying-jeou? **CSES Q10c**

- 
- 96. it's hard to say

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

J 6 d . How would you rate Vincent SIEW? **CSES Q10d**

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

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

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***Part 10: Political Cleavages***

K 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. Other people say that Taiwan and China should unify immediately. Other people have opinions between these two positions. This card lists eleven positions from independence (0) to unification (10). Which position do you occupy? **CSES Q16**

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

K 1 a . What position do you think KMT occupies? **CSES Q14a**

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

K 1 b . What position do you think DPP occupies? CSES Q14b

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

K 1 c . What position do you think MA Ying-jeou occupies? CSES Q15a

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

K 1 d . What position do you think Frank HSIEH occupies? CSES Q15b

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

K 2 . 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? CSES Q16

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

K 2 a . What position do you think KMT occupies? CSES Q14a

- 
- 96. it's hard to say
  - 95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

K 2 b . What position do you think DPP occupies? CSES Q14b

\_\_\_\_\_

96. it's hard to say

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

K 2 c . What position do you think MA Ying-jeou occupies? CSES Q15a

\_\_\_\_\_

96. it's hard to say

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

K 2 d . What position do you think Frank HSIEH occupies? CSES Q15b

\_\_\_\_\_

96. it's hard to say

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

K 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 Q16

\_\_\_\_\_

96. it's hard to say

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

K 3 a . What position do you think KMT occupies? CSES Q14a

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

K 3 b . What position do you think DPP occupies? CSES Q14b

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

K 3 c . What position do you think MA Ying-jeou occupies? CSES Q15a

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

K 3 d . What position do you think Frank HSIEH occupies? CSES Q15b

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

K 4 . 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? CSES Q16



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

K 4 a . What position do you think KMT occupies? **CSES Q14a**

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

K 4 b . What position do you think DPP occupies? **CSES Q14b**

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

K 4 c . What position do you think MA Ying-jeou occupies? **CSES Q15a**

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

K 4 d . What position do you think Frank HSIEH occupies? **CSES Q15b**

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

K 5 . If government opens up the cross-Strait economic exchange, do you think Taiwan's economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

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

K 6 . If government opens up the cross-Strait economic exchange, do you think your own economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

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

K 7 . In politics, sometimes people talk about the left and the right. This card lists eleven positions from the left (0) to the right (10). Which position do you occupy? **CSES Q13**

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

K 7 a . What position do you think KMT occupies? **CSES Q11a**

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

K 7 b . What position do you think DPP occupies? **CSES Q11b**

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

K 7 c . What position do you think MA Ying-jeou occupies? **CSES Q12a**

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

K 7 d . What position do you think Frank HSIEH occupies? **CSES Q12b**

- 
- 96. never heard
  - 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 11: National Identity and Ethnic Identity***

M 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

M 2 . Some people said that "To love Taiwan we must support a regime that is governed by *Benshengren*."

Do you agree or disagree with the statement?

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

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

M 4 . Some people say, "If, after declaring for independence, Taiwan could maintain peaceful relations with the PRC, 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
96. it depends
95. refuse to answer
97. no opinion
98. don't know

M 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
96. it depends
95. refuse to answer
97. no opinion
98. don't know

M 5 . Some people say, “If the economic, social, and political conditions were about the same in both the mainland 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
96. it depends
95. refuse to answer
97. no opinion
98. don't know

M 5 a . Some people say, “Suppose that the gaps in economic, social, and political conditions were 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
96. it depends
95. refuse to answer
97. no opinion
98. don't know

M 6 . Over the past year or two, as the situation across the Taiwan Straits has changed, the PRC has continually increased its military capabilities against Taiwan. Concerning these military threats from the PRC, some people are worried, and other people are not worried. Are you worried or not worried?

01. very worried
02. a little worried
03. not too worried
04. not worried at all
96. it depends
95. refuse to answer
97. no opinion
98. don't know

M 7 . Over the past year or two, there have been many changes in the situation across the Taiwan Straits. Concerning whether the United States will continue to support Taiwan, some people are worried, and other people are not worried. Are you worried or not worried?

01. very worried
02. a little worried
03. not too worried
04. not worried at all
96. it depends
95. refuse to answer
97. no opinion
98. don't know

---

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

---

***Part 12: Party Identification***

N 1 . 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 Q20**

01. yes [skip to N1b]
02. no [continue to N1a]

- 98. don't know [skip to N1a]
- 95. refuse to answer [skip to N1a]

N 1 a . Do you feel yourself leaning a little more to one of the political parties than the others?

**CSES Q20a**

- 01. yes [continue to N1b]
- 02. no [skip to N2]
- 98. don't know[skip to N2]
- 95. refuse to answer[skip to N2]

N 1 b . Which party is that? CSES Q20b

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

N 1 c . Do you lean very strongly, somewhat, or just a little to this party? CSES Q20c

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

N 2 . Now we'd like to understand your opinions about each of the political parties. If 0 means you dislike a party very much, and 10 means you like that party very much, what number would you give the KMT? CSES Q9a

- \_\_\_\_\_
- 96. it depends
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 98. don't know

N 2 a . The DPP? CSES Q9b

- \_\_\_\_\_
- 96. it depends
  - 95. refuse to answer
  - 98. don't know



---

**Different people have different opinions about the KMT, DPP. What are your opinions?**

---

***Part 13: Party Image***

P 1 . Is the KMT a party which represents the interests of Taiwanese people or a party which represents the interests of Chinese people?

- 01. represents the interests of Taiwanese people
- 02. represents the interests of Chinese people
- 03. both
- 04. neither
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

P 1 a . What about the DPP?

- 01. represents the interests of Taiwanese people
- 02. represents the interests of Chinese people
- 03. both
- 04. neither
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

P 2 . Is the KMT a party which represents the interests of the rich and powerful or a party which represents the interests of ordinary people?

- 01. represents the rich and powerful
- 02. represents the interests of ordinary people
- 03. both
- 04. neither
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

P 2 a . What about the DPP?

01. represents the rich and powerful
02. represents the interests of ordinary people
03. both
04. neither
95. refuse to answer
98. don't know

P 3 . Is the KMT a party that is not corrupted or is it a party that engages in money politics and colludes with organized crime?

01. not corrupted
02. engages in money politics and colludes with organized crime
96. it depends
95. refuse to answer
98. don't know

P 3 a . What about the DPP?

01. not corrupted
02. engages in money politics and colludes with organized crime
96. it depends
95. refuse to answer
98. don't know

---

**Next, I'd like to ask you a few questions about this presidential election.**

---

#### ***Part 14 : Election Campaign***

Q 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
- 96. it depends
- 95. refuse to answer
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

Q 1 a . Do you think this presidential election strengthened the popular consciousness for Taiwan

independence, strengthened the popular consciousness for Chinese unification, or did it not have any influence in this area?

- 01. strengthened Taiwan independence
- 02. strengthened Chinese unification
- 03. no influence in this area
- 04. both were strengthened
- 96. it depends
- 95. refuse to answer
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

Q 1 b . Do you think this presidential election improved democracy in Taiwan, damaged democracy in

Taiwan, or did it not have any influence in this area?

- 01. improved democracy
- 02. damaged democracy
- 03. no influence in this area
- 96. it depends
- 95. refuse to answer
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

Q 1 c . Do you think this presidential election promoted social stability, caused social instability, or did it not have any influence in this area?

01. promoted social stability
02. caused social instability
03. no influence in this area
96. it depends
95. refuse to answer
97. no opinion
98. don't know

Q 1 d . Do you think ethnic problems in Taiwan will disappear gradually, get more and more worst, or remain the same after this presidential election?

01. be getting disappear
02. more and more worst
03. remain the same
96. it depends
95. refuse to answer
97. no opinion
98. don't know

Q 2 . Overall, did you think the electoral process in this presidential election was fair or not fair?

01. very fair
02. fair
03. unfair
04. very unfair
96. it depends
95. refuse to answer
97. no opinion
98. don't know

Q 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
05. very pessimistic
96. it depends
95. refuse to answer
97. no opinion
98. don't know



---

Next, we'd like to ask two questions about the political attitudes of you and your family.

---

***Part 15 : Political Attitudes***

R 1 . When your political positions are different from those of your family members, some people think you should hide your true attitudes while other people think you should express your true attitudes. Which do you agree with?

- 01. hide your true attitudes
- 02. express your true attitudes
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

R 2 . Since competition among Taiwan's political parties is so intense, are you worried that you might cause unnecessary problems for you or your family if you express your personal political positions?

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

---

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

---

**Part 16 : Personal Data**

S 1 . Year of birth. **CSES D1**

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

S 2 . Father's ethnic background **CSES 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 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 D3**

- 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

S 5 . Are you a member of a union? **CSES D5**

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

S 5 a . Whether or not a member of your household is a member of a union? **CSES 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 D7**

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

S 5 c . Are you a member of a farmers association? **CSES 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 D9**

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

S 6 . Do you attend religious services ordinarily? **CSES D23**

- 01. never
- 02. once a year
- 03. two to eleven times a year
- 04. once a month
- 05. two or three times a month
- 06. once a week/more than once a week
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

S 6 a . Whether or not and how strongly you hold religious beliefs? **CSES D24**

- 01. have no religious beliefs [skip to S6bb]
- 02. not very religious
- 03. somewhat religious
- 04. very religious
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

S 6 b . Religious belief **CSES D25**

- 01. none [continue to S6bb]
- 02. Buddhism [continue to S6bb]
- 03. Taoism [continue to S6bb]
- 04. Catholic [skip to S7]
- 05. Protestant [skip to S7]
- 06. Muslim [skip to S7]

- 07. I-Kuan-Tao [skip to S7]
- 90. other \_\_\_\_\_
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

S 6 bb . 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 . Main occupation of R **CSES 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
- 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 (Priv.)  
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 a . 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.)  
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 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 (Priv.)  
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
- 9999. skip

**S 7 b . Current employment status of R CSES D10**

- 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

**S 8 . Marital status CSES 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
- 90. other \_\_\_\_\_
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know



S 1 0 . Main occupation of R's spouse. CSES 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 a . 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.)  
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
- 9999. skip

**S 1 0 b . Current employment status of R's spouse CSES D15**

- 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
- 90. other \_\_\_\_\_
- 95. refuse to answer

**S 1 1 . Language 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 . Number of people in household **CSES D21**

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer [skip to S13]

S 1 2 a . Number of children under age 18 in household **CSES D22**

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

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

S 1 5 . Monthly household income **CSES D20**

- 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

S 1 6 . 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 1 7 . How many telephone lines does your household have? (only those used for voice communications)

- \_\_\_\_\_
95. Refuse to answer

---

**That is the end of our questions. Thank you very much for participating in our interview.**

---

**[The remaining questions should be filled out by the I.]**

S 1 8 . R's gender

01. male
02. female

S 1 9 . 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\_\_\_\_\_

T 1 . Before the interview started, did the R 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 R's 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 I
09. A family member opposed the R being interviewed
10. None of the above

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 c. Did the R seem to want to quit during the interview?

01. yes
02. no

T 2 d. Did the R say that there were too many questions?

01. yes
02. no

T 2 e. Did the R say that a question was unclear or something was not defined well?

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

T 2 f. Did the R think the questions were too hard?

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

T 2 g. Did the R think the questions were too sensitive?

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

T 3 . 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

T 4 . 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

T 5 . 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 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

T 7 . 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

T 8 . 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

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)

T 1 0 . Did a third person present at the interview do any of the following?

01. keep busy, but listen to the conversation between I and R
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