

# 2004 TEDS Questionnaire

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

## *Part 1: Politics and Media*

A1. 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. 30-60 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

A1a. What about political talk shows on TV?

01. less than 30 minutes
02. 30-60 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

A1b. What about election news on the radio?

01. less than 30 minutes
02. 30-60 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

A1c. What about election news on the internet?

01. less than 30 minutes
02. 30-60 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
- A1d. What about election news in the newspapers?
- 01. less than 30 minutes
  - 02. 30-60 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
- A2. Which newspaper did you read most often? [only one response permitted]
- 01. China Times
  - 02. United Daily News
  - 03. Central Daily News
  - 04. Commercial Times
  - 05. The Commons Daily
  - 06. Min Sheng Daily
  - 07. Economic Daily News
  - 08. Youth Daily News
  - 09. Taiwan Times
  - 10. Liberty Times
  - 11. United Evening News
  - 12. China Times Express
  - 13. The Great News
  - 14. China Daily
  - 15. Taiwan Daily
  - 16. Taiwan News
  - 17. Apple Daily
- A3. During last year's Presidential election campaign, some people thought that the broadcast media didn't have any influence at all on which presidential candidate other voters voted for. Others thought that the broadcast media had a lot of influence on which presidential candidate other voters voted for. On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents no influence at all and 10 represents a lot of influence, how much influence do you think the broadcast media had during this election on the voting decisions of other voters?
- A4. How much influence did the broadcast media have on your voting decision?

*Part 2: Political Mobilization and Political Penetration*

- B1. 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]
- 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 at work
  06. members of an association
  07. classmates
  08. others
- B1b. Do these people who you commonly discuss politics or elections with support the same party?
01. all support the same party
  02. most support the same party
  03. about half and half [skip to B2]
  04. only a few support the same party [skip to B2]
  05. none support the same party [skip to B2]
- B1c. Which party is that?
01. KMT
  02. DPP
  03. NP
  04. PFP
  05. TAIP
  06. TSU
- B2. Were you concerned with the outcome of this presidential 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
- B3. During this year's presidential election, did any candidate or party worker personally ask you for your vote?
01. yes [go to B3a]
  02. no [skip to B3b]
- B3a. Which ticket were they asking you to support? [If both tickets asked for respondent's vote, interviewer should ask which ticket asked more times or made

a better impression.]

01. Chen and Lu
02. Lien and Soong
91. both about the same

B3b. Besides the candidate or party workers, who else personally asked you for your vote? [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
10. recorded telephone message
92. none [skip to B5]

B4. Among the people who asked for your vote in this presidential election, who had the biggest influence 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
10. recorded telephone message
11. candidate
12. party worker
92. none of them influenced me

B5. 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]

B5a. Did the associations that you participate in support any particular presidential candidate?

- 01. yes
  - 02. no [skip to B6]
- B5b. Which candidate was it?
- 01. Chen
  - 02. Lien
- B6. In the past five years, have you done any of the following things to express your opinion about what the government should or should not do?
- B6a. Have you contacted government officials, popular representatives, or other political figures, including contacting them face-to-face, writing letters, calling them on the telephone, or some other method?
- 01. yes
  - 02. no
- B6b. Have you participated in a protest, a march, or a demonstration?
- 01. yes
  - 02. no
- B6c. Have you united with other people who hold the same view and taken action together?
- 01. yes
  - 02. no
- B7. 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?
- B7a. Did you try to persuade others to vote for a certain candidate or party?
- 01. yes
  - 02. no [skip to B7b]
- B7aa. How often?
- 01. frequently
  - 02. sometimes
  - 03. seldom
- B7b. 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 your support in some other ways?
- 01. yes
  - 02. no [skip to B8]
- B7bb. How often did you do these things?
- 01. frequently

- 02. sometimes
  - 03. seldom
- B8. 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. discuss the pros and cons of various candidates with other people
  - 09. give money to a political party or candidate
  - 92. none of these

**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.**

*Part 3: Political Efficacy*

- C1. People like me can't possibly influence government policies.
- 01. strongly agree
  - 02. agree
  - 03. disagree
  - 04. strongly disagree
- C2. Government officials don't care about what people like me think.
- 01. strongly agree
  - 02. agree
  - 03. disagree
  - 04. strongly disagree
- C3. Politics and government are too complex and difficult for us average people to understand.
- 01. strongly agree
  - 02. agree
  - 03. disagree
  - 04. strongly disagree
- C4. When it comes to understanding important national matters, I'm not any worse than the average person.
- 01. strongly agree
  - 02. agree

- 03. disagree
  - 04. strongly disagree
- C5. It doesn't matter which political party governs Taiwan, the results will be the same.
- 01. strongly agree
  - 02. agree
  - 03. disagree
  - 04. strongly disagree
- C6. Central government officials don't understand local needs.
- 01. strongly agree
  - 02. agree
  - 03. disagree
  - 04. strongly disagree
- C7. Politics is a game played among a small number of politicians. Most of us have nothing to do with it, so it is not worthwhile to be concerned about politics.
- 01. strongly agree
  - 02. agree
  - 03. disagree
  - 04. strongly disagree
- C8. Nowadays politicians will do anything to gain power.
- 01. strong agree
  - 02. agree
  - 03. disagree
  - 04. strong disagree

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

*Part 4: Economic Evaluations*

- D1. 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
- D2. 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

- D3. 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

**People have different opinions about Chen Shui-bian's performance as president over the past four years. Please tell us your opinion about the following aspects:**

*Part 5: Governing Performance*

- E1. Concerning Chen Shui-bian's overall performance as president over the past four years, are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?
01. very satisfied
  02. somewhat satisfied
  03. somewhat dissatisfied
  04. very dissatisfied
- E2. Concerning the overall performance of Chen Shui-bian's governing team's ability to govern, are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?
01. very satisfied
  02. somewhat satisfied
  03. somewhat dissatisfied
  04. very dissatisfied
- E3. What do you think is the most important issue our country has faced over the past four years? [open-ended question]
- E3a. Over the past four years, do you think the government led by President Chen Shui-bian has done a good job on this problem?
01. very good
  02. good
  03. bad
  04. very bad
- E4. Overall, during Chen Shui-bian's four years as president, 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-straits relations
  - 09. resolving the unemployment problem
  - 10. handling educational reform
  - 11. other
  - 91. all good
  - 92. all bad
- E5. Overall, during Chen Shui-bian's four years as president, 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-straits relations
  - 09. resolving the unemployment problem
  - 10. handling educational reform
  - 11. other
  - 91. all good
  - 92. all bad

**Next, I'd like to ask your opinions about Taiwan's democratic politics.**

*Part 6: Opinions about Democracy*

- F1. Overall, do you feel satisfied or dissatisfied with the practice of democracy in Taiwan?
- 01. very satisfied
  - 02. somewhat satisfied
  - 03. somewhat dissatisfied
  - 04. very dissatisfied
- F2. 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 makes a difference who is in power and 5 means that it doesn't make a difference who is in power), where would you place yourself?
- F3. Some people say that no matter who people vote for, it won't make any difference to what happens. Others say that who 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?

- F4. Some people say, “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
- F5. Under Taiwan’s current electoral conditions, do you think that voters can use elections to make legislators truly reflect popular opinion? Do you think voters definitely can, probably can, probably cannot, or definitely cannot?
01. definitely can
  02. probably can
  03. probably cannot
  04. definitely cannot
- F6. Currently in Taiwan, how much do you think that individual liberties and human rights are respected? Are they very well respected, somewhat respected, not very respected, or not respected at all?
01. very well respected
  02. somewhat respected
  03. not very respected
  04. not respected at all
- F7. How common do you think corruption, including taking bribes and seeking kickbacks, is among political figures in Taiwan?
01. very common
  02. common
  03. uncommon
  04. very uncommon

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

*Part 7: Political Knowledge*

- G1. Who is the President of the PRC?
- G2. Who is the current President of the United States?
- G3. How many years is a legislator’s term?
- G4. Which body has the power to interpret the Constitution?
- G5. Who is the current Vice President of our country?

**Let’s return to questions about elections.**

*Part 8: Voting*

- H1. In this presidential election many people went to vote, while others , for various reasons, did not go to vote. Did you vote?
01. yes [skip to H1b]
  02. no [continue to H1a]
- H1a. Why didn't you vote? [open-ended response] [skip to H2]
- H1b. Which ticket did you vote for?
01. Chen and Lu [continue to H1c]
  02. Lien and Soong [continue to H1c]
  03. cast an invalid vote [skip to H1d]
- H1c. What was the main reason you voted for that ticket? [open-ended response] [skip to H2]
- H1d. What was the main reason you cast an invalid vote? [open-ended response]
- H2. When you were deciding how to vote, which of the following had the biggest influence on your decision?
01. media, news
  02. family, relatives, neighbors
  03. friends, colleagues
  04. party or campaign workers
  05. association or local faction
  06. none
- H3. 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 H3b]
  02. no [continue to H3a]
  91. can't remember [skip to H4]
- H3a. Why didn't you pick up your ballots? [open-ended response] [skip to H4]
- H3b. On the question of strengthening national defense, did you vote yes or no?
01. yes
  02. no
  03. cast an invalid vote
- H3c. On the question of pursuing peace negotiations with China, did you vote yes or no?
01. yes

02. no
  03. cast an invalid vote
- H4. Did you vote in the previous (2000) presidential election?
01. yes [continue to H4a]
  02. no [skip to H5]
- H4a. Which ticket did you vote for?
01. Soong and Chang
  02. Lien and Siew
  03. Li and Feng
  04. Hsu and Chu
  05. Chen and Lu
  06. cast an invalid vote
- H5. Did you vote in the 1996 presidential election?
01. yes [continue to H5a]
  02. no [skip to H6]
- H5a. Which ticket did you vote for?
01. Chen and Wang
  02. Lee and Lien
  03. Peng and Hsieh
  04. Lin and Hau
  05. cast an invalid vote
- H6. Do you remember which party's candidate you voted for in the last legislative election (2001)?
01. KMT
  02. DPP
  03. NP
  04. PFP
  05. TAIP
  06. TSU
  07. independent candidate
  91. can't remember
  92. was not eligible to vote at that time
  93. did not vote
- H7. Would you say that any of the parties in Taiwan represents your views reasonably well?
01. yes [continue to H7a]
  02. no [skip to H8]
- H7a. Which party represents your views best?
01. KMT

02. DPP
03. PFP
04. TSU
05. NP

H8. Regardless of how you feel about the parties, would you say that any of the presidential candidates in this election represents your views?

01. yes [continue to H8a]
02. no [skip to J1]

H8a. Which presidential candidate represents your views best?

01. Chen Shui-bian
02. Lien Chan
03. Lu Hsiu-lien
04. Soong Chu-yu

**People say that a president needs to have several qualities. Next I'm going to ask your opinions about several qualities of the two presidential candidates in this election.**

*Part 9: Candidate Image*

J1. First, let's look at getting things done. How good is Chen Shui-bian at getting things done?

01. very good at getting things done
02. good at getting things done
03. bad at getting things done
04. very bad at getting things done

J1a. What about Lien Chan? How good do you think he is at getting things done?

01. very good at getting things done
02. good at getting things done
03. bad at getting things done
04. very bad at getting things done

J2. Concerning incorruptness, how incorrupt do you think Chen Shui-bian is?

01. very incorrupt
02. incorrupt
03. not very incorrupt
04. not incorrupt at all

J2a. What about Lien Chan? How incorrupt is he?

01. very incorrupt
02. incorrupt
03. not very incorrupt
04. not incorrupt at all

- J3. Concerning sincerity and trustworthiness? How sincere and trustworthy do you think Chen Shui-bian is?
01. very sincere and trustworthy
  02. sincere and trustworthy
  03. not very sincere and trustworthy
  04. not sincere and trustworthy at all
- J3a. What about Lien Chan? How sincere and trustworthy is he?
01. very sincere and trustworthy
  02. sincere and trustworthy
  03. not very sincere and trustworthy
  04. not sincere and trustworthy at all
- J4. Concerning understanding the needs of the people? How well do you think Chen Shui-bian understands the needs of the people?
01. understands very well
  02. understands
  03. doesn't understand very well
  04. doesn't understand at all
- J4a. What about Lien Chan? How well does he understand the needs of the people?
01. understands very well
  02. understands
  03. doesn't understand very well
  04. doesn't understand at all
- J5. Concerning affinity with the people? How much do you think Chen Shui-bian has affinity with the people?
01. has a lot of affinity
  02. has affinity
  03. doesn't have much affinity
  04. doesn't have any affinity at all
- J5a. What about Lien Chan? How well does he have affinity with the people?
01. has a lot of affinity
  02. has affinity
  03. doesn't have much affinity
  04. doesn't have any affinity at all

**In this election, candidates from both tickets claimed they had the ability solve the major problems facing our country. Next, I'd like you to evaluate the ability of the candidates to solve problems or face challenges.**

*Part 10: Candidate Ability*

- K1. Do you think the candidates on the Chen Shui-bian ticket have the ability to promote ethnic harmony?
01. have great ability
  02. have the ability
  03. don't have much ability
  04. don't have any ability at all
- K1a. What about the candidates on the Lien Chan ticket?
01. have great ability
  02. have the ability
  03. don't have much ability
  04. don't have any ability at all
- K2. Do you think the candidates on the Chen Shui-bian ticket have the ability to maintain political stability?
01. have great ability
  02. have the ability
  03. don't have much ability
  04. don't have any ability at all
- K2a. What about the candidates on the Lien Chan ticket?
01. have great ability
  02. have the ability
  03. don't have much ability
  04. don't have any ability at all
- K3. Do you think the candidates on the Chen Shui-bian ticket have the ability to promote economic development?
01. have great ability
  02. have the ability
  03. don't have much ability
  04. don't have any ability at all
- K3a. What about the candidates on the Lien Chan ticket?
01. have great ability
  02. have the ability
  03. don't have much ability
  04. don't have any ability at all
- K4. Do you think the candidates on the Chen Shui-bian ticket have the ability to eliminate black and gold politics (gangster and money politics)?
01. have great ability
  02. have the ability
  03. don't have much ability
  04. don't have any ability at all

- K4a. What about the candidates on the Lien Chan ticket?
01. have greatability
  02. have the ability
  03. don't have much ability
  04. don't have any ability at all
- K5. Do you think the candidates on the Chen Shui-bian ticket have the ability to raise Taiwan's international status?
01. have greatability
  02. have the ability
  03. don't have much ability
  04. don't have any ability at all
- K5a. What about the candidates on the Lien Chan ticket?
01. have greatability
  02. have the ability
  03. don't have much ability
  04. don't have any ability at all
- K6. Do you think the candidates on the Chen Shui-bian ticket have the ability to promote democratic reforms?
01. have greatability
  02. have the ability
  03. don't have much ability
  04. don't have any ability at all
- K6a. What about the candidates on the Lien Chan ticket?
01. have greatability
  02. have the ability
  03. don't have much ability
  04. don't have any ability at all
- K7. Do you think the candidates on the Chen Shui-bian ticket have the ability to improve law and order?
01. have greatability
  02. have the ability
  03. don't have much ability
  04. don't have any ability at all
- K7a. What about the candidates on the Lien Chan ticket?
01. have greatability
  02. have the ability
  03. don't have much ability
  04. don't have any ability at all

- K8. Do you think the candidates on the Chen Shui-bian ticket have the ability to promote peaceful developments in cross-straits relations?
01. have great ability
  02. have the ability
  03. don't have much ability
  04. don't have any ability at all
- K8a. What about the candidates on the Lien Chan ticket?
01. have great ability
  02. have the ability
  03. don't have much ability
  04. don't have any ability at all
- K9. Do you think the candidates on the Chen Shui-bian ticket have the ability to resolve the unemployment problem?
01. have great ability
  02. have the ability
  03. don't have much ability
  04. don't have any ability at all
- K9a. What about the candidates on the Lien Chan ticket?
01. have great ability
  02. have the ability
  03. don't have much ability
  04. don't have any ability at all
- K10. Do you think the candidates on the Chen Shui-bian ticket have the ability to handle educational reform?
01. have great ability
  02. have the ability
  03. don't have much ability
  04. don't have any ability at all
- K10a. What about the candidates on the Lien Chan ticket?
01. have great ability
  02. have the ability
  03. don't have much ability
  04. don't have any ability at all
- K11. Different people have different opinions about the directions different candidates would lead the country to over the next four years. For some candidates, they might not worry at all. For other candidates, they might be very worried. What is your opinion? If a candidate doesn't make you worried at all, give him or her a maximum of 10 points. If a candidate makes you extremely worried, give him or her a minimum of 0 points. 5 points is an average score.

- K11a. How many points would you give Chen Shui-bian?
- K11b. How many points would you give Lu Hsiu-lien?
- K11c. How many points would you give Lien Chan?
- K11d. How many points would you give Soong Chu-yu?
- K12. We'd like to know how you feel about these candidates. If you like them very much, give them 10 points. If you dislike them very much, give them 0 points. 5 points is an average score.
- K12a. How many points would you give Chen Shui-bian?
- K12b. How many points would you give Lu Hsiu-lien?
- K12c. How many points would you give Lien Chan?
- K12d. How many points would you give Soong Chu-yu?
- K13. Did you watch any of the presidential debates on TV during this election campaign?
01. yes [continue to K13a]
  02. no [skip to M1a]
- K13a. Which candidate do you think performed better?
01. Chen
  02. Lien
  03. about the same

**Next, I'd like to ask you about some questions that people have different opinions about.**

*Part 11: Political Cleavages*

- M1a. Sometimes people will talk about the question of Taiwan independence or the unification with 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. This card lists eleven positions from independence (zero) to unification (ten). Which position do you occupy?
- M1b. What position do you think Chen Shui-bian occupies?
- M1c. What position do you think Lien Chan occupies?

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

*Part 12: National Identity and Ethnic Identity*

- 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 [skip to N2]
  02. both [continue to N1a]
  03. Chinese [skip to N2]
- N1a. Do you consider yourself as “Taiwanese and also Chinese,” “Chinese and also Taiwanese,” or both?
01. Taiwanese and also Chinese
  02. both
  03. Chinese and also Taiwanese
- N2. 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
- N3. 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. strong agree
  02. agree
  03. disagree
  04. strong disagree
- N3a. 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. strong agree
  02. agree

- 03. disagree
  - 04. strong disagree
- N4. 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. strong agree
  - 02. agree
  - 03. disagree
  - 04. strong disagree
- N4a. 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. strong agree
  - 02. agree
  - 03. disagree
  - 04. strong disagree
- N5. 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
- N6. 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

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

*Part 13: Party Identification*

- P1. Among the main political parties in our country, including the KMT, DPP, PFP, NP, and TSU, do you think of yourself as leaning toward any particular party?
- 01. yes [skip to P1b]
  - 02. no [continue to P1a]

- P1a. Do you feel yourself leaning a little more to one of the political parties than the others?
01. yes [continue to P1b, then skip to P2a]
  02. no [skip to P2a]
- P1b. Which party is that?
01. KMT
  02. DPP
  03. NP
  04. PFP
  05. TAIP (TAIP)
  06. TSU
- P1c. Do you lean very strongly, somewhat, or just a little to this party?
01. very strongly
  02. somewhat
  03. just a little
- P2a. 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?
- P2b. The DPP?
- P2c. The PFP?
- P2d. The NP?
- P2e. The TSU?
- P3. In this presidential election, some people thought it was a contest between two big camps, the pan-green camp and the pan-blue camp. Some people think they belong to the pan-green camp, while others think they belong to the pan-blue camp. Do you think of yourself as closer to the pan-green camp or the pan-blue camp?
01. strongly lean to the pan-green camp
  02. somewhat lean to the pan-green camp
  03. neutral
  04. somewhat lean to the pan-blue camp
  05. strongly lean to the pan-blue camp

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

*Part 14: Party Image*

- Q1a. 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
- Q1b. The DPP?
01. represents the interests of Taiwanese people
  02. represents the interests of Chinese people
  03. both
  04. neither
- Q1c. The PFP?
01. represents the interests of Taiwanese people
  02. represents the interests of Chinese people
  03. both
  04. neither
- Q1d. The TSU?
01. represents the interests of Taiwanese people
  02. represents the interests of Chinese people
  03. both
  04. neither
- Q1e. The NP?
01. represents the interests of Taiwanese people
  02. represents the interests of Chinese people
  03. both
  04. neither
- Q2a. Is the KMT a party which represents the interests of the rich and powerful or a party which represents the interests of average people?
01. represents the rich and powerful
  02. represents the interests of average people
  03. both
  04. neither
- Q2b. The DPP?
01. represents the interests of the rich and powerful
  02. represents the interests of average people
  03. both
  04. neither
- Q2c. The PFP?
01. represents the interests of the rich and powerful

- 02. represents the interests of average people
  - 03. both
  - 04. neither
- Q2d. The TSU?
- 01. represents the interests of the rich and powerful
  - 02. represents the interests of average people
  - 03. both
  - 04. neither
- Q2e. The NP?
- 01. represents the interests of the rich and powerful
  - 02. represents the interests of average people
  - 03. both
  - 04. neither
- Q3a. 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
  - 03. both
  - 04. neither
- Q3b. The DPP?
- 01. not corrupted
  - 02. engages in money politics and colludes with organized crime
  - 03. both
  - 04. neither
- Q3c. The PFP?
- 01. not corrupted
  - 02. engages in money politics and colludes with organized crime
  - 03. both
  - 04. neither
- Q3d. The TSU?
- 01. not corrupted
  - 02. engages in money politics and colludes with organized crime
  - 03. both
  - 04. neither
- Q3e. The NP?
- 01. not corrupted
  - 02. engages in money politics and colludes with organized crime
  - 03. both
  - 04. neither

- Q4a. Is the KMT a party that has the ability to govern?  
01. yes  
02. no
- Q4b. The DPP?  
01. yes  
02. no
- Q4c. The PFP?  
01. yes  
02. no
- Q4d. The TSU?  
01. yes  
02. no
- Q4e. The NP?  
01. yes  
02. no
- Q5a. In politics, sometimes people talk about the left and the right. This card lists eleven positions from the left (zero) to the right (ten). Which position does the KMT occupy?
- Q5b. The DPP?
- Q5c. The PFP?
- Q5d. The TSU?
- Q5e. The NP?
- Q5f. What position do you occupy?

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

*Part 15: Election Campaign*

- R1. Which of the following incidents had the biggest effect on your vote decision?
01. Wu Sue-jen buying and selling stocks
  02. the origins of Lien Chan's property
  03. Chen You-hao's political monetary contributions
  04. the question of the KMT's financial assets
  05. the March 19 shooting incident
  06. the February 28 Hand-In-Hand Rally

- 07. the March 13 Change the President, Save Taiwan Rally
  - 92. none had any influence [skip to R2]
- R1a. Which one had the second most effect?
- 01. Wu Sue-jen buying and selling stocks
  - 02. the origins of Lien Chan's property
  - 03. Chen You-hao's political contributions
  - 04. the question of the KMT's financial assets
  - 05. the March 19 shooting incident
  - 06. the February 28 Hand-In-Hand Rally
  - 07. the March 13 Change the President, Save Taiwan Rally
  - 08. none [skip to R2]
- R1a. Which one had the third most effect?
- 01. Wu Sue-jen buying and selling stocks
  - 02. the origins of Lien Chan's property
  - 03. Chen You-hao's political contributions
  - 04. the question of the KMT's financial assets
  - 05. the March 19 shooting incident
  - 06. the February 28 Hand-In-Hand event
  - 07. the March 13 Change the President, Save Taiwan march
  - 08. none
- R2. During this presidential election campaign, both the pan-blue and pan-green camps held several large-scale events. Did you participate in the pan-green camp's February 28 Hand-In-Hand event?
- 01. yes
  - 02. no
- R2a. Did you participate in the pan-blue camp's March 13 Change the President, Save Taiwan march?
- 01. yes
  - 02. no
- R3. Next, I'd like you to make some evaluations of this presidential election.
- R3a. First, 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 [continue to R3aa]
  - 02. intensified ethnic conflict [continue to R3aa]
  - 03. no influence in this area [skip to R3b]
- R3aa. How large was the influence?
- 01. very strong influence
  - 02. some influence

- R3b. 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 [continue to R3bb]
  02. strengthened Chinese unification [continue to R3bb]
  03. no influence in this area [skip to R3c]
  04. both were strengthened [skip to R3c]
- R3bb. How large was the influence?
01. very strong influence
  02. some influence
- R3c. 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 [continue to R3cc]
  02. damaged democracy [continue to R3cc]
  03. no influence in this area [skip to R3d]
- R3cc. How large was the influence?
01. very strong influence
  02. some influence
- R3d. 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 [continue to R3dd]
  02. caused social instability [continue to R3dd]
  03. no influence in this area [skip to R4]
- R3dd. How large was the influence?
01. very strong influence
  02. some influence
- R4. 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
- R5. After going through this presidential election, are you pessimistic or optimistic about Taiwan's future?
01. very optimistic
  02. optimistic
  03. neither optimistic not pessimistic
  04. pessimistic
  05. very pessimistic

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

- S1. Year of birth.
- S2. Father's ethnic background
01. Taiwanese Hakka
  02. Taiwanese Min-nan
  03. Mainlander
  04. Aboriginal
- S3. Mother's ethnic background
01. Taiwanese Hakka
  02. Taiwanese Min-nan
  03. Mainlander
  04. Aboriginal
- S4. Marital status
01. married
  02. separated
  03. widowed
  04. live together
  05. divorced [skip to S6]
  06. single [skip to S6]
- S5. Spouse's ethnic background
01. Taiwanese Hakka
  02. Taiwanese Min-nan
  03. Mainlander
  04. Aboriginal
- S6. 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

- S7. Religious belief
  - 01. none [continue to S7a]
  - 02. Buddhism [continue to S7a]
  - 03. Taoism [continue to S7a]
  - 04. Catholic [skip to S8]
  - 05. Protestant [skip to S8]
  - 06. Muslim [skip to S8]
  - 07. I-Kuan-Tao [skip to S8]
  
- S7a. Do you burn incense for the Earth God, Matsu, or some other spirits?
  - 01. yes
  - 02. no
  
- S8. Main occupation of respondent
  - [if unemployed or retired, continue to S8a]
  - [if homemaker or does unpaid work at home, skip to S8b]
  - [else, skip to S9]
  
- S8a. Main occupation of respondent before retirement or unemployment.
  
- S8b. Main occupation of respondent's spouse.
  
- S9. 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. homemaker
  - 09. disabled or unable to work
  
- S10. 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
  
- S11. Number of people in household.

- S11a. Number of children under age 18 in household.
- S12. 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)?
- S12a. In the past five years, how many trips have you taken to Mainland China (not including Hong Kong or Macau)?
- S13. Have you or any member of your family made investments, conducted business, or held employment in Mainland China?  
01. yes  
02. no
- S14. monthly household income  
01. under 25000  
02. 25001-36000  
03. 36001-45000  
04. 45001-53000  
05. 53001-62000  
06. 62001-71000  
07. 71001-83000  
08. 83001-100000  
09. 100001-130000  
10. over 130000
- S15. telephone number and mobile phone number
- S16. How many telephone lines does your household have? (only those used for voice communications)

**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 interviewer.]

- S17. respondent's gender  
01. male  
02. female
- S18. Language used to conduct interview  
01. Mandarin  
02. Taiwanese  
03. Hakka  
04. Mandarin and Taiwanese  
05. Mandarin and Hakka  
06. Taiwanese and Hakka

- T1. 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
- T2. During the interview, did the respondent do any of the following:
- T2a. Did the respondent ask to fill out the questionnaire him or herself?
01. yes
  02. no
- T2b. Did the respondent ask to see the questionnaire?
01. yes
  02. no
- T2c. Did the respondent seem to want to quit during the interview?
01. yes
  02. no
- T2d. Did the respondent say that there were too many questions?
01. yes
  02. no
- T2e. Did the respondent say that a question was unclear or something was not defined well?
01. yes, \_\_\_\_\_
  02. no
- T2f. Did the respondent think the questions were too hard?
01. yes, \_\_\_\_\_
  02. no
- T2g. Did the respondent think the questions were too sensitive?
01. yes, \_\_\_\_\_
  02. no

- T3. 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
- T4. 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
- T5. How sensitive do you think the respondent thought the questions were?
01. very sensitive
  02. fairly sensitive
  03. a little sensitive
  04. a little unsensitive
  05. fairly unsensitive
  06. very unsensitive
- T6. 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
- T7. 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
- T8. 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

- T9. The respondent answered questions:
01. by him or herself
  02. with his or her spouse
  03. a child also participated (child's age)
  04. with his or her entire family
  05. with other people present (specify)