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?
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 you support in some other ways?
01. yes
02. no [skip to B8]

B7bb. How often did you do these things?
01. frequently
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-strait 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-strait 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]
   03. 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
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
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]

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

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

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

Concerning incorruptness, how incorrupt do you think Chen Shui-bian is?
01. very incorrupt
02. incorrupt
03. not very incorrupt
04. not corrupt at all

What about Lien Chan? How incorrupt is he?
01. very incorrupt
02. incorrupt
03. not very incorrupt
04. not corrupt 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 great ability
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 great ability
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 great ability
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 great ability
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 great ability
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 great ability
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 great ability
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-strait 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
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)