

Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study, 2001 (TEDS 2001)

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Abstract

Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study (TEDS) is a face-to-face survey interview project aiming at collecting data of voting behavior and changes in democratic values in Taiwan on a regular basis. TEDS 2001 was the first implementation of this long-term project immediately after the fourth Legislative Yuan (the Congress) election held on December 1, 2001. All the questions listed in the CSES Micro Questionnaire Module 2 are integrated into the TEDS 2001 questionnaire. The raw data and the related documents of TEDS 2001 were submitted to the CSES for deposit for CESE module 2. This paper briefly reports the TEDS 2001 project and offers some suggestions to the CSES Module 3.

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Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study, 2001 (TEDS 2001): A Brief Report

Background

Democratization in Taiwan in the past one and a half decades attracts attention worldwide. The first power transition from the long ruling Kuomintang (KMT) Party to the Democratic Progressive Party (DDP) in the year 2000 presidential election witnessed the flowering of this democratization process. However, the KMT still controlled the majority seats of the Legislative Yuan and the newly inaugurated DDP party formed the first divided government at the national level in Taiwan. It is not surprising that all political parties involved attempted to mobilize their support to preserve and gain seats in the Legislative Yuan election held in the December of 2001.

TEDS 2001 Project

TEDS 2001 project was carried out as an island-wide face-to-face survey interview during the period of late January to early April of 2002, immediately after the 2001 Legislative Yuan election. This post-election study, funded by the National Science Council and its Social Science Research Center, includes about 180 questions in its questionnaire probing respondents' political attitudes, voting behavior as well as demographic characteristics. During its planning stage, the nine-member TEDS Planning Committee, chaired by this author, demands for TEDS' incorporation into the cross-national CSES project. Therefore, all the questions listed in the CSES Micro Questionnaire Module 2 are meticulously integrated into the TEDS 2001 questionnaire. The raw data and the related documents of TEDS 2001 were then submitted to the CSES for deposit for CESE module 2 in the early July of 2003.

There are 2,022 completed interviews in TEDS 2001. The distributions of demographic characteristics in the population and the sample are listed as Table 1:

Table 1. Comparison of Sample to Population

	<u>Population</u>	<u>Sample Estimates</u>	
		Un-weighted	Weighted
<u>Age</u>			
20-29	24.08%	22.0%	23.3%
30-39	24.41%	23.2%	23.8%
40-49	22.21%	22.3%	22.4%

50-59	12.19%	13.5%	12.6%
60 and over	17.11%	19.0%	18.0%
<u>Education</u>			
Primary school and below	33.2%	27.2%	33.16%
Junior high school	16.5%	13.2%	16.51%
High or vocational school	27.2%	28.9%	27.22%
Technical college	11.9%	13.8%	11.91%
University degree and over	11.2%	16.9%	11.21%
<u>Gender</u>			
Male	50.81%	50.0%	50.6%
Female	49.19%	50.0%	49.4%

Greater details of the TEDS2001 study as well as its sample design and data collection are reported in the Appendices I and II of this paper.

Some Reflections

The PI and co-PIs of the TEDS 2001 project are proud to participate in the cross-national CESE project and deposit its results as part of the CSES Module 2. However, during the process of drafting its questionnaire and conducting the field interview, we do encounter some problems.

The most troublesome question involves left-right identification (Q20s). Although no doubt important for studying European politics, we suspect that most people in Taiwan do not perceive politics this way. Indeed many of our well-trained interviewers report that most of respondents seem to be confused by this batch of questions and either declined to answer or responded with great hesitation. The sample distributions of responses to these questions are listed in Table 2:

Table 2. Sample Distributions of Responses to Left-Right Questions (Q20)

Q20A LEFT-RIGHT-KUOMINTANG

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 LEFT	27	1.3	1.3	1.3
	1	9	.4	.4	1.7
	2	20	1.0	1.0	2.7
	3	67	3.3	3.3	6.0
	4	52	2.6	2.6	8.6
	5	274	13.5	13.5	22.1
	6	120	6.0	6.0	28.1
	7	124	6.1	6.1	34.2
	8	106	5.2	5.2	39.5
	9	36	1.8	1.8	41.3
	10 RIGHT	63	3.1	3.1	44.4
	97 MISSING	2	.1	.1	44.5
	98 DON'T KNOW	1069	52.9	52.9	97.4
	99 REFUSED	53	2.6	2.6	100.0
	Total	2022	100.0	100.0	

Q20B LEFT-RIGHT-DEMOCRATIC PROGRESSIVE PARTYjH

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 LEFT	47	2.3	2.3	2.3
	1	31	1.5	1.5	3.9
	2	79	3.9	3.9	7.8
	3	110	5.5	5.5	13.2
	4	122	6.1	6.1	19.3
	5	197	9.7	9.7	29.0
	6	96	4.7	4.7	33.7
	7	74	3.6	3.6	37.4
	8	65	3.2	3.2	40.6
	9	23	1.2	1.2	41.7
	10 RIGHT	38	1.9	1.9	43.6
	97 MISSING	2	.1	.1	43.7
	98 DON'T KNOW	1084	53.6	53.6	97.3
	99 REFUSED	55	2.7	2.7	100.0
	Total	2022	100.0	100.0	

Q20C LEFT-RIGHT-PEOPLE FIRST PARTY_iH

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 LEFT	32	1.6	1.6	1.6
	1	28	1.4	1.4	3.0
	2	25	1.2	1.2	4.2
	3	68	3.4	3.4	7.6
	4	82	4.1	4.1	11.7
	5	267	13.2	13.2	24.9
	6	111	5.5	5.5	30.4
	7	77	3.8	3.8	34.1
	8	73	3.6	3.6	37.8
	9	31	1.5	1.5	39.3
	10 RIGHT	28	1.4	1.4	40.6
	97 MISSING	2	.1	.1	40.7
	98 DON'T KNOW	1144	56.5	56.5	97.3
	99 REFUSED	55	2.7	2.7	100.0
	Total	2022	100.0	100.0	

Q20D LEFT-RIGHT-NEW PARTY_iH

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 LEFT	43	2.1	2.1	2.1
	1	33	1.6	1.6	3.8
	2	45	2.2	2.2	6.0
	3	68	3.4	3.4	9.3
	4	67	3.3	3.3	12.7
	5	239	11.8	11.8	24.5
	6	74	3.6	3.6	28.1
	7	55	2.7	2.7	30.8
	8	53	2.6	2.6	33.4
	9	36	1.8	1.8	35.2
	10 RIGHT	53	2.6	2.6	37.9
	97 MISSING	2	.1	.1	38.0
	98 DON'T KNOW	1196	59.1	59.1	97.1
	99 REFUSED	58	2.9	2.9	100.0
	Total	2022	100.0	100.0	

Q20E LEFT-RIGHT-TAIWAN SOLIDARITY UNION_iH

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0 LEFT	75	3.7	3.7	3.7
	1	57	2.8	2.8	6.5
	2	73	3.6	3.6	10.1
	3	73	3.6	3.6	13.8
	4	74	3.7	3.7	17.4
	5	219	10.8	10.8	28.2
	6	57	2.8	2.8	31.1
	7	50	2.5	2.5	33.5
	8	42	2.1	2.1	35.6
	9	20	1.0	1.0	36.6
	10 RIGHT	29	1.4	1.4	38.0
	97 MISSING	2	.1	.1	38.2
	98 DON'T KNOW	1195	59.1	59.1	97.2
	99 REFUSED	56	2.8	2.8	100.0
	Total	2022	100.0	100.0	

As can be seen, more than half of respondents answer “don’t know” to these questions. Fortunately, these questions are placed at the K section of the TEDS 2001 questionnaire, the second to the last section. Therefore, they should have only minor impact on respondents’ answers to the rest of the questions.

Suggestions for Module 3

We do suggest, based on our experiences with TEDS 2001, that the type of left-right ideology questions (Q20) should be treated as *optional* in CSES Module 3. That is, for those countries whose citizens do not conceive politics from left-right viewpoints, this group of questions can be excluded from their questionnaire.

Appendix I

Prepared by: Professor Chi HUNAG

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Comparative Study of Electoral Systems Module 2: Macro Report

Version 2002-10-23

Country (Date of Election): Taiwan (the Republic of China), December 1, 2001

NOTE TO THE COLLABORATORS: The information provided in this report contributes to an important part of the CSES project- your efforts in providing these data are greatly appreciated!
Any supplementary documents that you can provide (i.e. electoral legislation, party manifestos, electoral commission reports, media reports) are also appreciated, and will be made available with this report to the CSES community on the CSES web page.

Part I: Data Pertinent to the Election at which the Module was Administered

1. Report the number of portfolios (cabinet posts) held by each party in cabinet, *prior* to the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all".)

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Portfolios</u>
Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)	All

1a. What was the size of the cabinet before the election?...21 (including premier and vice premier)

2. Report the number of portfolios (cabinet posts) held by each party in cabinet, *after* the most recent election. (If one party holds all cabinet posts, simply write "all").

<u>Name of Political Party</u>	<u>Number of Portfolios</u>
Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)	All

2a. What was the size of the cabinet after the election? ...21 (including premier and vice premier)

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3. Political Parties (most active during the election in which the module was administered and receiving at least 3% of the vote):

Party Name/Label	Year Party Founded	Ideological Family	European Parliament Political Group (where applicable)	International Party Organizational Memberships
A. Kuomintang (KMT)	1894	Right Liberal		IDU (PDU)
B. Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)	1986	Left Liberal		Liberal International
C. People First Party (PFP)	2000	Right Liberal		
D. Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU)	2001			
E.				
F.				

Ideological Party Families: (These are suggestions only. If a party does not fit well into this classification scheme, please provide an alternative and some explanation).

Ecology Parties	Liberal Parties	Agrarian Parties
Communist Parties	Right Liberal Parties	Ethnic Parties
Socialist Parties	Christian Democratic	Regional Parties
Social Democratic	Parties	Other Parties
Parties	Conservative Parties	Independents
Left Liberal Parties	National Parties	Single Issue Parties

The following lists provide examples of political groups and organizations that a particular party might belong to. Please report any and all international affiliations for each party.

European Parliament Political Groups:

European People's Party
 European Democrats
 Party of European Socialists
 European Liberal, Democrat and Reform Party
 Confederal Group of European United Left
 Nordic Green Left
 Greens
 European Free Alliance
 Europe for the Nations
 Europe of Democracies and Diversities

International Party Organizations:

Asia Pacific Socialist Organization
 Caribbean Democratic Union
 Christian Democratic International
 Christian Democratic Organization of America
 Council of Asian Liberals and Democrats
 Democratic Union of Africa
 Eastern European Social Democratic Forum
 Green Movement
 Humanist Party
 International Communist Union
 International Democrat Union
 International League of Democratic Socialists
 Liberal International
 Natural Law Party
 Pacific Democratic Union
 Organization of African Liberal Parties
 Socialist International
 Socialist Inter-Africa

3a. Were there any significant parties not represented in parliament *before* the election?

3b. Were there any significant parties not represented in parliament *after* the election?

New Party (founded in 1993).

3c. Were there any other non-represented parties or independent actors whom you believe to have had a significant effect on the election?

4a. Ideological Positions of Parties

Please indicate Parties A-F's positions on a left-right dimension (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator). If this dimension is not appropriate, please provide an explanation of the salient cleavages, and parties' relative positions.

Party Name	LEFT										RIGHT											
A. Kuomintang.....	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
B. Democratic Progressive Party	0	1	2	3	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
C. People First Party.....	0	1	2	3	4	5	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
D. Taiwan Solidarity Union	0	1	2	3	4	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E. New Party.....	0	1	2	3	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
F.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

4aa. Do you believe there would be general consensus on these placements among informed observers in your country

No.

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4b. If you have asked respondents to rank political parties on an alternative dimension, other than the left-right dimension, please also provide your own rankings of the parties on this dimension.

Name of dimension:Taiwan Independence vs. China Reunification.....

Label for left hand position:Taiwan Independence.....

Label for right hand position:China Reunification.....

Party Name	LEFT										RIGHT											
A. Kuomintang.....	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
B. Democratic Progressive Party	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
C. People First Party.....	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
D. Taiwan Solidarity Union	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
E. New Party.....	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
F.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

4bb. Do you believe there would be general consensus about these placements among informed observers in your country

Positive.

5. In your view, what are the five most salient factors that affected the outcome of the election (e.g. major scandals; economic events; the presence of an independent actor; specific issues)?

1. Ethnic Identity: Chinese vs. Taiwanese (Mainlanders vs. Taiwanese)
2. National Identity: Taiwan Independence vs. China Reunification
3. Anti-money Politics (Anti-corruption)
4. CHEN Shui-bian's Leadership: Pro-CHEN vs. Anti-CHEN
5. Political Stability: Pro-Stability vs. Pro-Change

5a. Do you believe there would be general consensus about the importance of these factors among informed observers in your country?

Positive.

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6. Electoral Alliances:
Sometimes, electoral alliances are made at the constituency level as, for example, in

Finland.

Documenting who is allied with whom, and how, in each constituency is a large task and we do

not expect you to do more than make some general reference to the existence of constituency-level

alliances. Sometimes, electoral alliances are made at the national level -- these are the alliances that we would like you will identify. Information is sought on who is allied with whom

and on the nature of the electoral alliance.

a) Were electoral alliances permitted during the election campaign?

No ... Yes , and the following alliances were formed:

<u>Alliance Name</u>	<u>Participant Parties</u> (please indicate dominant members '*')
Alliance	
1:
Alliance	
2:
Alliance	
3:
Alliance	
4:
Alliance	
5:

7. Party Leaders and Presidential Candidates

In legislative elections, please report the leader of each party.

In presidential elections, list presidential candidates and their parties. If candidates were endorsed by more than one party, please indicate this below.

<u>Party of Candidate</u>	<u>Name of Party Leader or Presidential Candidate</u>
A. Kuomintang.....Lien

CHAN.....
 B. Democratic Progressive PartyFrank
 HSIEH.....
 C. People First Party..... James C. Y.
 SOONG.....
 D. Taiwan Solidarity UnionChu-wen
 HUANG.....
 E. New Party..... Chi-ta
 HSIEH.....
 F.

Part II: Data on Electoral Institutions

If possible, please supplement this section with copies of the electoral law, voters' handbooks, electoral commission reports, and/or any other relevant materials.

A. QUESTIONS ABOUT ELECTORAL DISTRICTS.

Definitions: An electoral district is defined as a geographic area within which votes are counted and seats allocated. If a district cannot be partitioned into smaller districts within which votes are counted and seats allocated, it is called primary. If it can be partitioned into primary districts,

and during the counting process there is some transfer of votes and/or seats from the primary districts to the larger district, then the larger district is called secondary. If a district can be partitioned into secondary districts (again with some transfer of votes and/or seats), it is called tertiary.

In some electoral systems, there are electoral districts that are geographically nested but not otherwise related for purposes of seat allocation. In Lithuania, for example, there are 71 single-member districts that operate under a majority runoff system, and also a single nationwide district that operates under proportional representation (the largest remainders method with the Hare quota). Neither votes nor seats from the single-member districts transfer to the nationwide district, however. The two processes are entirely independent (with voters having one vote in each district). In this case, the nationwide district, although it contains the 71 single-member districts, is not considered to be secondary. It is primary. One might say that there are two segments to the electoral system in such cases.

1. How many segments (as just defined) are there in the electoral system?

- 1 segment
- 2 segments
- more than 2 ... ~...

Please answer the following questions (questions 2 through 11) for each segment of each directly elected house of the legislature:

2. How many primary electoral districts are there?29....

3. For each primary electoral district, how many members are elected from each district? (If district variation exists, answer 3a)

As few as 1 and as many as 13 under SNTV electoral system.

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3a. If districts elect varying number of members, please list the districts, indicating the number of members elected from that district. (Attach separate sheets, as required).

<u>District</u>	<u>Number of Members</u>
-----------------	--------------------------

See the attached sheet.

4. How many secondary electoral districts are there? ...None...

5. How many tertiary electoral districts are there? ...None...

B. QUESTIONS ABOUT VOTING.

6. Exactly how are votes cast by voters?
One vote for candidate.

6a. How many votes do they or can they cast? ...One...

6b. Do they vote for candidates, for lists, or for both? (Explain)

Candidate only.

7. Are the votes transferable? ...No....

8. If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated?

9. Are there any other features of voting that should be noted?

C. QUESTIONS ABOUT CONVERTING VOTES INTO SEATS.

10) Exactly how are votes converted into seats?

10a) Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats? If so, what is the threshold?

District Magnitudes of the 2001 Legislative Yuan Election in Taiwan

<u>District</u>	<u>Number of Members</u>
Taipei City (District 1)	10
Taipei City (District 2)	10
Kaohsiung City (District 1)	6
Kaohsiung City (District 2)	5
Taipei County (District 1)	8
Taipei County (District 2)	10
Taipei County (District 3)	9
Keelung City	3
Yilan County	4
Taoyuan County	13
Hsinchu County	3

Hsinchu City	3
Miaoli County	4
Taichung County	11
Taichung City	7
Nantou County	4
Changhua County	10
Yunlin County	6
Chiayi County	4
Chiayi City	2
Tainan County	8
Tainan City	6
Kaohsiung County	9
Pingtung County	7
Taitung County	1
Hualien County	2
Penghu County	1
Kinmen County	1
Lienchiang County	1
Total: 29 districts	168

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10b) What electoral formula or formulas are used?

11) If there are lists, are they closed, open, or flexible? please code below

- a.) closed?
- b) flexible, but in practice virtually closed?
- c) flexible?
- d) flexible, but in practice virtually open? or
- e) open?

Definitions: A list is closed if the seats that are awarded to that list are always occupied by the candidates in order of their appearance on the list (i.e., if the list gets x seats then necessarily the top x names on the list get the seats). A list is open if the question of which candidates on the list get the seats that are awarded to the list is determined solely by the votes that each candidate receives. A list is flexible if parties place their candidates in the order they would like to see them elected, but voters can, with varying degrees of ease, change this order through votes they cast for individual candidates.

Please repeat questions 2 through 11 of this section for each segment of each directly elected house of the legislature.

D. QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES OF ELECTORAL ALLIANCE.

Definitions: A joint list refers to one on which candidates of different parties run together.

Apparentement refers to a legal agreement between two or more lists to pool their votes for the purposes of an initial seat allocation, with seats initially allocated to the alliance then reallocated to the lists in the alliance.

12) What are the possibilities of alliance in the system?

No.

12a. Can parties run joint lists?Yes~.....No

12b. Is there apparentement or linking of lists?Yes~.....No

12c. Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party?YesNo

12d. Do parties withdraw their lists or candidates in some constituencies, urging their supporters there to vote for an ally's list or candidate?YesNo

12e. Other?

13. Are joint lists possible?No....

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13a. If joint lists are possible, are they subject to different regulations than single-party lists?

For example, higher thresholds, different numbers of candidates that may appear on the list, etc.

14. If appurement is possible, what lists can participate in such agreements:

lists of the same party in the same constituency?

lists of the same party from different constituencies?

lists of different parties in the same constituency?

15) If candidates can run with the endorsement of more than one party, is this reflected on the ballot?

..... No.

..... No party endorsements are indicated on the ballot paper

..... Yes, candidate s name appears once, together with the names of all supporting parties

..... Yes, candidate s name appears as many times as there are different parties endorsing

him or her, each time with the name of the endorsing party

..... Yes, other (please explain)

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Part III: Data on Regime Type

Below are various questions about the type of regime--presidential, parliamentary, semi-presidential--in your country. There are two potential problems with these questions that should be noted at the outset. First, in some countries there may be a discrepancy between the *de jure* (or legal) situation and the *de facto* (or practical)situation. For example, in Great Britain the Queen still possesses a legal right to veto legislation, but this right has not been

exercised since 1707. In the case of such obviously obsolete powers, please answer according to the *de facto* situation. Otherwise, describe the *de jure* situation. A second potential problem is that the questions may not be phrased optimally for the situation in your particular country. In such cases, please answer as best you can, providing some indication of the difficulties as you see them.

A. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE HEAD OF STATE.

Definitions: The Head of State is typically the highest ranking official in the executive branch of government. Often, this position is held by a president or a monarch, and may be more ceremonial than effective. The Head of Government is usually the highest ranking official in the legislative branch of government. In some systems, this may be someone other than the Head of State (i.e. the prime minister in the Westminster systems), while in other cases, the roles of the Head of State and Head of Government are combined (i.e. in the United States, the president serves as both the Head of State and the Head of Government).

1. Who is the Head of State?

- ... ~ ... President
- Monarch
- Prime Minister serves as ceremonial head of state
- Other (please specify)

2. How is the head of state selected?

- .. ~ .. Direct election
- Indirect election
- Birth right
- Divine right

..... Other
(Explain)

2a. If by direct election, by what process?

..... Plurality election
..... Run-off or two-ballot system
..... Other
(Explain)

If by run-off system, how are the candidates selected for the final round?

..... The (#) candidates with the highest vote totals advance to the second round
..... Any candidate with at least% of the popular vote advances to the second round

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2b. If by indirect election, by what process?

..... Electoral college
..... Selection by the legislature
..... Other
(Explain)

If by electoral college, how are electors chosen?.....

.....
.....

Does the electoral college deliberate? Yes No

What is the voting procedure used by the electoral college?

If by the legislature, by which chamber(s) of the legislature? What is the voting

procedure used?

3. Does the Head of State have the following powers? [Check all that apply.]

3a. Introduce legislation?Yes ...~...No

3b. Require expedited action on specific legislation? (i.e., set a deadline by which the legislature is required to act on the bill)?Yes ...~...No

Definitions: A Head of State possesses a partial veto when he or she can target specific clauses

of a piece of legislation for veto, while promulgating the rest. In the U.S., such vetoes are

sometimes called line item vetoes. A Head of State possesses a package veto when he or she

can veto the entire piece of legislation submitted by the legislature, but cannot veto some parts

and accept others.

3c. Package veto? ...~... NoYes, and the requirement to override the veto is

3d. Partial veto? ...~... NoYes, and the requirement to override the veto is

3e. Issue decrees with the power of law?Yes ...~...No

3f. Emergency powers? ...~... Yes No

3g. Negotiate treaties and international agreements? ...~... NoYes, provided the following

additional requirements are met:

3h. Commander of the armed forces? ...~...YesNo

3j. Initiate referenda or plebiscites?Yes ...~...No

3k. Refer legislation to the judicial branch for review of constitutionality? ...~...YesNo

3m. Convene special legislative sessions? ...~...YesNo

B. QUESTIONS ABOUT THE HEAD OF GOVERNMENT.

Definitions: In some countries, the Head of Government is directly elected, in elections that may or may not occur concurrently with legislative elections. In these cases, the Head of Government is said to be elected independently of the legislature. In others, the Head of Government is the leader of the governing party or governing coalition in the legislature, and so, the selection of the Head of Government depends upon the distribution of seats in the legislature. In these cases, the Head of Government is not elected independently of the legislature.

1. Is the Head of Government elected independently of the legislature? Yes ...~... No

1a. Is the Head of Government also the Head of State? Yes ...~... No

1b. If the Head of Government is not elected independently of the legislature, how is the Head of Government selected?
...~... Appointed by the head of state alone
..... Appointed by the legislature alone
..... Nominated by the head of state, and approved by the legislature

..... Nominated by the legislature, and approved by the head of state

..... Other (Explain):

2. What authorities does the Head of Government have over the composition of the cabinet?

[Check all that apply.]

..... Names ministers and assigns portfolios alone

..~. Nominates ministers for approval by the president

..... Reviews and approves ministerial nominations made by the president

..... Dismisses ministers and reassigns portfolios at own discretion

..... Other (Explain):

3. What authorities does the Head of Government have over the policy making process?

[Check all that apply.]

..~. Chairs cabinet meetings

..~. Determines schedule of issues to be considered by the legislature

..~. Determines which alternatives will be voted on by the legislature, and in which order

..~. Refers legislative proposals to party or legislative committees

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..... Calls votes of confidence in government

..... Other (Explain):

C. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE CABINET

1. By what method(s) can the cabinet be dismissed? [Check all that apply.]

..... By the head of state **acting** alone

..~. By the prime minister **acting** alone

..~. By majority vote of the legislature where a majority of all legislators is required

..... By majority vote of the legislature where a majority of those legislators voting is required

..... By some combination of the above, acting in concert (Explain)

..... Other (Explain):

D. QUESTIONS REGARDING THE LEGISLATURE

1. Can the legislature be dissolved prior to regularly scheduled elections?NoYes,

..~.. By the head of state **acting** alone (Only when a vote-of-no-confidence is passed.)

..... By the prime minister **acting** alone

..... By majority vote of the legislature

..~.. By some combination of the above, acting in concert (Explain):

The prime minister can ask the president to dissolve the Congress (the Legislative Yuan) when a vote-of-no-confidence is passed.

..... Other (Explain):

2. If the legislature can be dissolved prior to regularly scheduled elections, are there restrictions

on when and how the legislature can be dissolved?

[Check all that apply.]

.....On the timing of dissolution (e.g. not within one year after a legislative election) (Explain)

..~..As a response to action/inaction by the legislature (e.g. only when the legislature has

censured the cabinet; only if the legislature fails to pass the budget) (Explain)

..... Other (Explain):

3. Is there a second chamber of the legislature? ..~.. No Yes, it is:

..... directly elected

..... indirectly elected through the following process

3a. If there is a second chamber and it is indirectly elected, are those who choose its members:

..... wholly regional and/or local officials?

..... partly regional and/or local officials?

..... not necessarily regional and/or local officials?

3b. If there is a second chamber, does it have specific and exclusive legislative powers (i.e. the power to reject the executive's proposed budget)? No..... Yes,

3c. If there is a second chamber, does it have the power to remove the cabinet or censure its ministers? Yes No

E. FEDERALISM

1. Is there a constitutionally guaranteed division of power between the central government and regional and/or local governments? Yes .. No

2. Does the central government have the power to remove elected officials of regional and/or local governments? Yes .. No

F. REFERENCES.....

Please list any resources that were consulted in the preparation of this report, or that the CSES community may find especially helpful in understanding the political system described

here.

CSES Module 2:

Sample Design and Data Collection Report

Country (Date of Election): Taiwan (the Republic of China), December 1, 2001

Type of Election (e.g. presidential; parliamentary; legislative): Legislative

Organization that Conducted the Survey Field Work: The Committee of the Taiwan's Election and Democratization Study

Investigators Responsible for Data Collection

Name: Chi HUANG.....	Name:
Department of Political Science	
National Chung-Cheng University.....
Address: 160 San-Hsing, Ming-Hsiung.....	Address:
Chia-Yi, 621.....
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.....
.....
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E-mail: polch@ccu.edu.tw.....	E-mail:

Name:	Name:
.....
Address:	Address:
.....
.....
.....
.....
Fax:	Fax:
Phone:	Phone:
E-mail:	E-mail:

Languages used in Interviews: (Please provide copies of all survey instruments, and translation for those that were not conducted in English).

.....Chinese Mandarin, Chinese Minnan (Taiwanese), and Chinese Hakka.....

.....

A. Study Design

Post-Election Study

Pre-/Post-Election Panel Study

Date Post-Election Interviewing Began: ...January 2002.....

Date Post-Election Interviewing Ended: ...April 2002.....

If Panel Study:

Date Pre-Election Interviewing Began:

Date Pre-Election Interviewing Ended:

Mode of (post-election) interview:

In person, face-to-face

Telephone

Mail or self-completion supplement

B. Sample Design and Sampling Procedures

1. Eligibility Requirements

a) Age: Minimum...20... Maximum.....

b) Citizenship: Yes No

c) Other requirements:

2. Sample Frame:

a) Were any regions of the country excluded from the sample frame?

No Yes ...Kinmen County and Lienchiang County (Matsu) which are two small off-shore islands.....

.....
.....

b) Were institutionalized persons excluded from the sample?

No Yes ...Those who are not eligible to vote.....

.....
.....

c) Were military personnel excluded from the sample?

No Yes :

.....
.....

d) If interviews were conducted by telephone:

What is the estimated percentage of households without a phone: ___%

Were unlisted telephone numbers included in the population sampled?

Yes No

Were substitution methods used for unproductive sample points? No Yes :

.....
.....
.....

e) Were other persons excluded from the sample frame: No Yes :

.....
.....
.....

f) Estimated total (a + b + c + d + e) percentage of the eligible population excluded from the sample frame: 2%

2. Sample Selection Procedures:

a) What were the primary sampling units? Were the primary sampling units randomly selected? No Yes (Please Describe):

...Boroughs () and villages () at the township-level and neighborhoods ()

at the urban level.....

b) Were there further stages of selection? No Yes (Please Describe):

...Based on the official information released by the Interior Department, we employ the principal component analysis and cluster analysis to divide the 329 township-level units into 9 strata. Subsequently, according to the probabilities proportional to size (PPS), we randomly select approximately 12 respondents from each sampled borough or village and 4 respondents from every selected neighborhood.....

c) How were individual respondents identified?

...Simple random

sampling.....

e) Under what circumstances was a sample line designated non- sample?

(Check all that apply)

Non-residential sample point

All members of household are ineligible

Housing unit is vacant

No answer at housing unit after ...3... visits

Other, explain:

f) Were non-sample replacement methods used? No Yes

(Please Describe): ...After 3 visits without success, the sampled respondent was replaced by the supplement sample according to the identical socio-demographic characteristics (i.e., area, sex, and age) of the first-sampled respondent.

For surveys conducted by telephone:

Was the sample a random digit dial sample? Yes No

Was the sample a listed sample? Yes No

Was the sample a dual frame? No Yes with % list frame and % RDD

For surveys conducted by mail:

Was the sample a listed sample? Yes No (Please Describe):.....

.....

.....

4. Compliance

a) Prior to the study was:

a letter sent to respondent? No Yes (Please Include with Deposit)

payment sent to respondent? No Yes , in the amount of:.....

a token gift sent to respondent? No Yes (Please Describe):

...Beauty Kit (about NT\$ 100.00, or US\$ 3.00).....

any other incentives used? No Yes (Please Describe):

.....
.....
.....

b) During the Field Period

How many contacts were made with the selected sample before declaring it non-sample? ...3

times.....

How many contacts were made with the selected sample before declaring it non-interview? ...3 times.....

Maximum number of days over which a household was contacted: ...3 times.....

Did interviewers vary the time of day at which they re-contacted the household?

No Yes (Please Describe): ...According to the information provided by the family members or neighbors, the interviewer tried to re-contact the respondent....

c) Refusal Conversion

Was an effort made to persuade respondents who were reluctant to be interviewed? No Yes (Please Describe):

.....
.....

Were respondents who were reluctant to be interviewed sent a letter persuading them to take part? No Yes (Please Describe/ Include with Deposit):

.....

Was payment offered to respondents who were reluctant to take part? No
 Yes , in the amount of:

Were respondents who were reluctant to take part turned over to a more experienced interviewer? Yes No

What was the maximum number of re-contacts used to persuade respondent to be interviewed? ...2.....

.....

Were any other methods used to persuade respondents reluctant to be interviewed to take part? No Yes (Please Describe): ...[When interviewers indicated that respondents were slightly, even moderately, reluctant to be interviewed, then supervisors of interviewers will try to persuade the respondents.](#).....

.....

5. Response Rate (to first wave if a panel study)

Total number of sample lines issued:	<u>2,042 (plus 41231 for replacement)</u>
Number of refusals:	<u>1,120</u>
Number never contacted (no-contact):	<u>1,170</u>
Other non-response:	<u>615</u>
Number of lines of non-sample:	<u>773</u>
Total number of completed interviews:	<u>2,022</u>
Response Rate:	<u>35.385%</u>

Panel Attrition (NOTE: Complete only if CSES questionnaire is administered as part of a 2-wave panel study):

Total number of respondents in Wave I of the study:

Number of Wave I respondents re-interviewed

in wave containing CSES

Module:

Percent total panel attrition:

Panel attrition by age and education: (% re-interviewed):

18-25%	None %
26-40%	Incomplete primary %
41-65%	Primary completed %
65 & over%	Incomplete secondary %
		Secondary completed %
		University incomplete %
		University degree %

6. Sample Weights

a) Are weights included in the data-file? No Yes (Please Describe their Construction): ...The data-file is weighted by the factors of gender, age, education level, and area (based on the level of socio-economic development).

.....

b) Are the weights designed to compensate for disproportionate probability of selection at the person or household level? No Yes (Please Describe):

.....

.....

c) Are the weights designed to match known demographic characteristics of the population? No Yes (Please Describe): ...The aggregative indexes of gender, age, and socio-economic development are based on the official documents released by the Interior Department. In addition, since the information of education released by the official documents might be underestimated, the index of education comes from the adjusted estimations of Professor Yung-tai HUNG of Political Science, National Taiwan University.

d) Are the data weighted to correct for non-response? No Yes (Please Describe):

.....

7. a) Please describe the interviewers (age, level of education, and years of experience):
 ...Interviewers: College and graduate students from social science departments.
 ...Supervisors: Experienced interviewers, most of them graduate students, from National Cheng-Chi University, National Chung-Cheng University, and National Sun Yat-Sen University.

b) Description of interviewer training:
 ...One full-day training session for interviewers and on-site practice.....

XIV. Comparison of Sample to Population

Characteristic	Population Estimates	Sample Estimates	
		Unweighted	Weighted
<u>Age</u>			
20-29	24.08%	22.0%	23.3%
30-39	24.41%	23.2%	23.8%
40-49	22.21%	22.3%	22.4%

50-59	12.19%	13.5%	12.6%
60 and over	17.11%	19.0%	18.0%
<u>Education</u>			
Primary school and below	33.2%	27.2%	33.16%
Junior high school	16.5%	13.2%	16.51%
High or vocational school	27.2%	28.9%	27.22%
Technical college	11.9%	13.8%	11.91%
University degree and over	11.2%	16.9%	11.21%
<u>Gender</u>			
Male	50.81%	50.0%	50.6%
Female	49.19%	50.0%	49.4%

Questionnaire

- A1. Thinking about the last election, how much time did you spend on following the campaign in newspapers everyday? (under 30 minutes, 31-60minutes, 1-1.5 hours, 1.5-2 hours, over 2 hours, sometimes, never)
- A2.
- A3.
- A4.
- A5.
- A6. Thinking about the last election, how much time did you spend on following the campaign on radio everyday? (under 30 minutes, 31-60minutes, 1-1.5 hours, 1.5-2 hours, over 2 hours, sometimes, never)
- A7. Thinking about the last election, how closely did you spend on following the campaign on the Internet everyday? (under 30 minutes, 31-60minutes, 1-1.5 hours, 1.5-2 hours, over 2 hours, sometimes, never)
- B1. How often do you discuss political matters with other people (including friends and relatives)? (often, sometimes, seldom, never)
- B1a. Whom do you discuss political matters with? (families, relatives, friends, neighbors, colleagues, association, classmates, others)
- B1b.
- B2. Were you concerned with the outcome of this Legislative Yuan Election? (very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned, not concerned at all, do not know, refuse to answer)
- B3. During the legislator election last year,
- B3a.
- B3b.
- B3c.
- B3d. Did any party activist ask you to vote for a particular candidate?
- B3e. Did the owner of the firm that you work for ask you to vote for a particular candidate?
- B3f. Did the association or organization that you belong to ask you to vote for a particular candidate?
- B3g. Did any community leaders ask you to vote for a particular candidate?
- B3h. Did any government officials ask you to vote for a particular candidate?
- B3i. Did your neighbor ask you to vote for a particular candidate?

- B3j. Did your classmates or friends ask you to vote for a particular candidate?
- B3k. Did your relative or family member ask you to vote for a particular candidate?
- B4. Did you often participate in the activities of certain associations? (often, sometimes, seldom)

B4a.

B4b.

B5.

B6. Think about the last election, did you do any of the following things:

B6a. Try to persuade others to vote for a certain candidate or party? (yes, no)

B6aa. How often? (frequently, sometimes, seldom)

B6b. Have you express your support to a particular candidate or party? (yes, no)

B6bb. How often? (frequently, sometimes, seldom)

B7. Have you participated in any of these political activities campaigning for a particular candidate?

01.

02. read candidates' leaflets, newsletters, or other relevant news reports

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. attend an election rally

07. remind your friends of watching candidate debates or campaign speeches on TV

08.

09. give money to a political party or candidate

B8.

C1. People like me can't possibly influence government policies. (strong agree, agree, disagree, strong disagree)

C2. Government officials don't care about what people like me think. (strong agree, agree, disagree, strong disagree)

C3. Some people say that politics and government are very complex and hard to understand. (strong agree, agree, disagree, strong disagree)

C4. I think I have the ability to participate in politics. (strong agree, agree, disagree, strong disagree)

C5.

C6. The decisions made by government officials are always correct. (strong agree, agree, disagree, strong disagree)

- C7.
- C8.
- C9. Do you think that the government place great importance on interests of people when making important decisions? (often, sometimes, seldom, never)
- C10. Do you believe what government officials say on TV or in newspapers? (strongly believe, believe, don't believe, not believe at all)
- D1. Would you say that over the past twelve months, the state of economy on Taiwan has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse? (gotten better, stayed the same, gotten worse, it depends, do not know)
- D1a.
- D2. Would you say that in the forthcoming year, the state of economy on Taiwan will get better, stay about the same, or get worse? (get better, stay about the same, get worse)
- D3. Would you say that over the past twelve months, the state of economy in your household has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse? (gotten better, stayed the same, gotten worse, it depends, do not know)
- D4. Would you say that in the forthcoming year, the state of economy in your household will get better, stay about the same, or get worse? (get better, stay about the same, get worse)
- E1.
- E2.
- E3.
- E4. Compared to the KMT government before, would you say that today (much better than before, better, much the same, a little worse, much worse)
- E4a.
- E4b.
- E5. Compared to the situation under KMT government, how would you compare conditions today as political corruption? (much better than before, better, much the same, a little worse, much worse)
- E6. Compared to the situation under KMT government, how would you compare conditions today as cross-strait relations? (much better than before, better, much the same, a little worse, much worse)
- E7. Compared to the situation under KMT government, how would you compare conditions today as economic development? (much better than before, better,

- much the same, a little worse, much worse)
- E8. Compared to the situation under KMT government, how would you compare conditions today as ethnic problems? (much better than before, better, much the same, a little worse, much worse)
- E9. Compared to the situation under KMT government, how would you compare conditions today as social welfare problems? (much better than before, better, much the same, a little worse, much worse)
- E10. Compared to the situation under KMT government, how would you compare conditions today as problems like environmental protection? (much better than before, better, much the same, a little worse, much worse)
- F1. Overall, do you feel satisfied or dissatisfied with the practice of democracy in Taiwan? (very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied, not satisfied at all)
- 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.
- F5. Did this election stabilize ethnic harmony or rile up ethnic tension?
- F5a. To what degree?
- F6.
- F7.
- F8.
- F9. This election brought about an improvement in Taiwan's democracy?
- F10.
- F11. It is best if elected representatives are highly educated people. (strong agree, agree, disagree, strong disagree)
- F12. Women shouldn't participate in political activities like men do. (strong agree, agree, disagree, strong disagree)
- F13. Strong leadership is more important than a good legal system. (strong agree, agree, disagree, strong disagree)
- F14. Government executives are the equivalent of the head of a household; all

- national matters large or small should be decided by them. (strong agree, agree, disagree, strong disagree)
- F15. If anyone's thinking isn't in the same vein, society will be chaotic. (strong agree, agree, disagree, strong disagree)
- F16. Whether or not an idea should be allowed to flow through society should be decided by the government. (strong agree, agree, disagree, strong disagree)
- F17. If a country has a lot of political parties, it will influence political stability. (strong agree, agree, disagree, strong disagree)
- F18. In any society, if groups proliferate everywhere, it will influence stability and tranquility in that place. (strong agree, agree, disagree, strong disagree)
- F19. If the government is often checked by the legislature, it can't possibly accomplish great things. (strong agree, agree, disagree, strong disagree)
- F20. When judges rule on important cases which influence law and order, they should accept the opinions of executive organs. (strong agree, agree, disagree, strong disagree)

- G1.
G2.
G3.
G4.
G5.

- H1. Did you cast a ballot in the 2001 Gubernatorial Election?
H1a. The reason for not to cast a ballot?
H1b. Which party did you vote for?
H1c. Whom did you vote for?
H1d. The reason for voting for this candidate.
- H2. Which party did you vote for in the preceding Gubernatorial Election (in 1997)?
H2a. Whom did you vote for?
- H3. Did you cast a ballot in the 2001 Legislative Yuan Election?
H3a. The reason for not to cast a ballot?
H3b. Which party did you vote for?
H3c. Whom did you vote for?
H3d. The reason for voting for this candidate.
- H4.
H5.

- H5a.
- H6.
- H7. Which party did you vote for in the preceding Legislative Yuan Election (in 1997)?
- H7a. Whom did you vote for?
- H8. Did you cast a ballot in the 1996 Presidential Election?
- H8a. Whom did you vote for?
- H9. Did you cast a ballot in the preceding Presidential Election (in 2000)?
- H9a. Whom did you vote for?
- H10a. How well did PFP perform over the past years? (very good job, good job, bad job, very bad job)
- H10b. How well did KMT perform over the past years? (very good job, good job, bad job, very bad job)
- H10c. How well did NP perform over the past years? (very good job, good job, bad job, very bad job)
- H10d. How well did Shin-liang Shiu perform over the past years? (very good job, good job, bad job, very bad job)
- H10e. How well did DPP perform over the past years? (very good job, good job, bad job, very bad job)
- H11. Would you say that any of the parties in Taiwan represents your views reasonably well? (yes, no)
- H11a. Which party represents your view best?
- H12. Regardless of how you feel about the parties, would you say that any of the individual party leaders/presidential candidates represents your view? (yes, no)
- H12a. Which party leader/presidential candidate represents your view best?
- J1a. Sometimes people will talk about the question of Taiwan independence or unification of China. The card lists eleven positions from independence to unification. Which position do you occupy?
- J1b. According to your understanding, what is the position of the KMT.
- J1c. The DPP.
- J1d. The PFP.
- J1e. The NP.
- J1f. The TSU.
- J2a. In the perspective on economic development and environmental protection, some people emphasize environmental protection while some emphasize

economic development in the society. The card lists eleven positions from 0 which means the perspective on environmental protection to 10 which means the perspective on economic development. Which position do you occupy?

J2b. According to your understanding, what is the position of the KMT.

J2c. The DPP

J2d. The PFP.

J2e. The NP.

J2f. The TSU.

J3a.

J3b. The KMT.

J3c. The DPP.

J3d. The PFP.

J3e. The NP.

J3f. The TSU.

J4a. Sometimes people will talk about reform and maintenance of the status quo in politics. The card lists eleven positions from reform to maintenance of the status quo. Which position do you occupy?

J4b. The KMT.

J4c. The DPP.

J4d. The PFP.

J4e. The NP.

J4f. The TSU.

J5.

J5a.

J6.

J6a.

J7.

J8. In society, people have different opinion on the performance of president and Legislative Yuan last year. In this card, there are eleven positions from 0 that means people are very unsatisfied with the performance to 10 that means people are satisfied with the performance. What level would you rate the performance of president Chen last year?

J8a. What level would you rate the performance of Legislative Yuan last year?

J8b.

J9.

J9a.

- K1. In Taiwan, some people think they are Taiwanese. There are also some people who think that they are Chinese. Do you think you are Taiwanese, Chinese or both Taiwanese and Chinese? (Taiwanese, both, Chinese)
- K1a. Do you think that you are “Taiwanese and also Chinese,” “Chinese and also Taiwanese,” or both? (Taiwanese and also Chinese, both, Chinese and also Taiwanese)
- K2.
- K3. If, after declaring independence, Taiwan could maintain peaceful relations with the PRC, then Taiwan should establish a new, independent country. (strong agree, agree, disagree, strong disagree)
- K4. If economic, social, and political conditions were about the same in both the mainland and Taiwan, then the two sides should unify. (strong agree, agree, disagree, strong disagree)
- K5a.
- K5b.
- K5c.
- K5d.
- K5e.
- K5f.
- K5g.
- K5h. China’s history belongs to China. We want to create a history which belongs to Taiwan. (strong agree, agree, disagree, strong disagree)
- K6. Do you think of yourself as close to any particular party? (yes, no)
- K6a. Do you feel yourself a little closer to one of the political parties than the others? (yes, no)
- K6b. Which Party do you feel closest to?
- K6c. Do you feel very close to this party, somewhat close, or not very close?
- K7a. Now we’d like to understand your opinions about each of the political parties. On the card, there are eleven positions from like to dislike: 0 is strong dislike and 10 is strong like. After I read out a party’s name, please tell me your choice. First, the KMT.
- K7b. The DPP.
- K7c. The PFP.
- K7d. The NP.
- K7e. The TSU.
- K8a. In political matters, people talk of “the Left” and “the Right.” Where would you place KMT on this scale, generally speaking? (1 to 10 scale)
- K8b. Using the same scale, where would you place the DPP?

- K8c. Using the same scale, where would you place the PFP?
- K8d. Using the same scale, where would you place the NP?
- K8e. Using the same scale, where would you place the TSU?
- K9. What do you think has been the most important issue facing our country over the last two years?
- K9a. And thinking about that issue, how good or bad a job do you think the government led by President Chen has done over the past two years?
- K10. Now thinking about the performance of the government led by President Chen in general, how good or bad a job do you think it has done over the past two years?
- K11.
- K12. Over the past five years or so, have you done any of the following things to express your views about something the government should or should not be doing?
- K12a. contacted a politician or government official either in person, or in writing, or some other way? (Yes, No)
- K12b. taken part in protest, march or demonstration? (Yes, No)
- K12c. worked together with people who shared the same concern? (Yes, No)
- K13. How much respect is there for individual freedom and human rights nowadays in Taiwan? Do you feel there is (a lot of respect for individual freedom, some respect, not much respect, not respect at all)
- K14. How widespread do you think corruption such as bribe taking is amongst politicians in Taiwan? (very widespread, quite widespread, not very widespread, it hardly happens at all)
- K15. In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?

- L1. Age.
- L2.
- L3.
- L4. Respondent's marital status.
- L5.
- L6. Education of respondent
- L7. Religiosity (have no religious belief, not very religious, somewhat religious, very religious)
- L8. Religious denomination
- L8a.

- L9. Respondent member of a union (yes, no)
- L10. Someone else in house is member of a union (yes, no)
- L11. Private or public employment of respondent (public sector, private sector, none)
- L11a. Main occupation of respondent
- L12. Private or public employment of spouse (public sector, private sector, none)
- L12a. Main occupation of spouse
- L13. Private or public employment before retirement (public sector, private sector, none)
- L13a. Main occupation of respondent before retirement
- L14. Current employment status of respondent
- L15. Language usually spoken at home
- L16. Numbers of people in household
- L16a. Numbers of children under age 18 in household
- L17. Household income (under 26,000, 26,000-38,000, 38,000-48,000, 48,000-56,000, 56,000-65,000, 65,000-75,000, 75,000-86,000, 86,000-103,000, 103,000-150,000, over 150,000)
- L18.
- L19.
- L20. Sex
- L21. Language in use during the survey.