

# TEDS2024 Questionnaire

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**We are ready to start today's interview; I will manage this interview with my tablet computer all the time. If, at any time during the interview, you feel something is not clear, please tell me immediately and I will read it again. If you do not want to answer a question, please tell me and we will skip that question.**

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## *Part 1: Politics and Media*

A1. How closely do you follow politics on TV, radio, newspapers, or the Internet? Very closely, fairly closely, not very closely, or not at all?

- 01. Very closely
- 02. Fairly closely
- 03. Not very closely
- 04. Not at all
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know

A2. Which TV news did you watch most often? (Including network news)

- 01. Taiwan Television
- 02. China Television
- 03. Chinese Television
- 04. Formosa Television
- 05. TVBS
- 06. Sanlih E-Television
- 07. Eastern Television
- 08. CTi Television
- 09. Era Television
- 10. Gala Television
- 11. Unique Satellite Television
- 12. Da-Ai Television
- 13. Taiwan Public Television
- 15. Hakka Television
- 16. Taiwan Indigenous Television
- 17. Local News Television Channel
- 18. Next TV
- 25. Global News (MOD)
- 90. Other television channel \_\_\_\_\_
- 92. Never
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 98. Don't know

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**Next, we would like to know about your usage of media to follow news about political parties or candidates during this election period.**

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A3a. We begin with the traditional media of television, radio and newspapers, but regardless of whether you use these media in the traditional ways or online. During the recent election campaign, in a typical week, how many days did you: Watch the news on a public television broadcaster?

CSES M6 Q02a

- 00. None/zero days
- 01. One day
- 02. Two days
- 03. Three days
- 04. Four days
- 05. Five days
- 06. Six days
- 07. Seven days
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 98. Don't know

A3b. Watch the news on a private television broadcaster? CSES M6 Q02b

- 00. None/zero days
- 01. One day
- 02. Two days
- 03. Three days
- 04. Four days
- 05. Five days
- 06. Six days
- 07. Seven days
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 98. Don't know

A3c. Listen to the news on the radio? CSES M6 Q02c

- 00. None/zero days
- 01. One day
- 02. Two days
- 03. Three days
- 04. Four days
- 05. Five days
- 06. Six days
- 07. Seven days
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 98. Don't know

A3d. Read newspapers, regardless of whether you read them in print or online? CSESM6 Q02d

- 00. None/zero days
- 01. One day
- 02. Two days
- 03. Three days
- 04. Four days
- 05. Five days
- 06. Six days
- 07. Seven days
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 98. Don't know

A3e. Visit online news sites? CSESM6 Q02e

- 00. None/zero days
- 01. One day
- 02. Two days
- 03. Three days
- 04. Four days
- 05. Five days
- 06. Six days
- 07. Seven days
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 98. Don't know

A3f. Use social media such as Facebook, Twitter, or Whatsapp to follow news about parties and candidates? CSESM6 Q02f

- 00. None/zero days
- 01. One day
- 02. Two days
- 03. Three days
- 04. Four days
- 05. Five days
- 06. Six days
- 07. Seven days
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 98. Don't know

A3f1. And how often during a typical day did you use social media such as Facebook, Twitter, or Whatsapp to follow news about parties and candidates - only about once per day, several times per day, or at least ten times per day? CSESM6 Q02g

01. Only about once per day
02. Several times per day (2-9 times)
03. At least ten times per day
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
98. Don't know

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**Next, let us turn to your discussion with other people.**

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***Part 2: Political Involvement***

B1. "How interested would you say you are in politics? Are you very interested, somewhat interested, not very interested, or not at all interested?" CSESM6 Q01

01. Very interested
02. Somewhat interested
03. Not very interested
04. Not at all interested
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know

B2a. Do you usually talk about politics or elections with other people? Is it often, sometimes, seldom, or never?

01. Often
02. Sometimes
03. Seldom
04. Never[skip to B3]
95. Refuse to answer[skip to B3]

B2b. Whom do you usually talk about politics or elections with? Family members, relatives, friends, neighbors, colleagues at work, members of an association, classmates, online friends, or others? [multiple responses permitted]

01. Family members
02. Relatives
03. Friends
04. Neighbors
05. Colleagues at work
06. Members of an association
07. Classmates
08. Online friends
90. Others \_\_\_\_\_
95. Refuse to answer



B2c. Do these people who you commonly discuss politics or elections with support the same party?

01. All support the same party
02. Most of them support the same party
03. About half and half [skip to B3]
04. Only a few support the same party [skip to B3]
05. None support the same party [skip to B3]
06. Discuss politics or elections with the only person
95. Refuse to answer [skip to B3]
98. Don't know [skip to B3]

B2d. Which party is that?

01. KMT
02. DPP
03. NP
04. PFP
06. TSU
09. Green Party Taiwan
13. Labor Party
17. Taiwan Statebuilding Party
19. New Power Party
25. Chinese Unionist Party
38. United Action Alliance
41. Taiwan People's Party
42. Taiwan Renewal Party
90. Others \_\_\_\_\_
91. Don't support any specific party
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know

B3. Were you concerned with the outcome of this presidential election? Were you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned, or not concerned at all? CSES M3 Q18

01. Very concerned
02. Somewhat concerned
03. Not too concerned
04. Not concerned at all
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know

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**Next, I would like to ask a few questions about the presidential and legislator election campaign.**

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B4. Did a party or presidential candidate seek your vote through any of the following individuals?

01. A recorded telephone messages
02. Campaign worker or volunteer
03. The candidate in person
04. Text message
05. Member of candidate's support organization
06. Village or ward head or executive official
07. Classmate or friend
08. Relative or family member
09. Member of a local assembly
10. Party worker
11. Prominent local figure or clan member
12. Neighbor
13. Community development association
14. Superior at work or colleagues at work
15. Member of your religious, social, or professional association
16. Factions
17. Cadre of farmers' association, fishers' association or irrigation association
18. Member of a local assembly
90. Others \_\_\_\_\_
92. None of them
95. Refuse to answer
98. Don't know

B5a. Did a legislative candidate in your district or party personally seek your vote through any of the following individuals?

01. A recorded telephone messages
02. Campaign worker or volunteer
03. The candidate in person
04. Text message
05. Member of candidate's support organization
06. Village or ward head or executive official
07. Classmate or friend
08. Relative or family member
09. Member of a local assembly
10. Party worker
11. Prominent local figure or clan member
12. Neighbor
13. Community development association
14. Superior at work or colleagues at work
15. Member of your religious, social, or professional association
16. Factions
17. Cadre of farmers' association, fishers' association or irrigation association
18. Member of a local assembly
90. Others \_\_\_\_\_

- 92. None of them [skip to B6]
- 95. Refuse to answer [skip to B6]
- 98. Don't know [skip to B6]

B5b. Which candidate were they mainly asking you to support?

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- 999995. Refuse to answer
  - 999998. Don't know

B6. During this year's 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. Watched candidate debates or campaign speeches on TV
- 04. Do volunteer work in campaign for either a candidate or party
- 05. Attended an election related gathering or banquet
- 06. Joined a candidate's support organization
- 07. Reminded your friends to watch candidate debates or campaign speeches on TV
- 08. Persuaded others to vote for particular candidate or party
- 09. Gave money to a political party or candidate
- 10. Purchased candidate's souvenirs.
- 11. Hang or wear a flag or other symbol
- 12. Were invited to participate in a candidate's rally
- 13. Attended a candidate's rally
- 14. Visited a candidate's website
- 92. None of these
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 98. Don't know

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**People have different opinions about Tsai Ing-wen's performance during her presidency. Please tell us your opinion about the following aspects.**

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***Part3: Governing Performance***

C1. Now thinking about the performance of the president Tsai Ing-Wen in general, how good or bad a job does you think the president did over the past 8 years? Has she done a very good job? A good job? A bad job? A very bad job? CSES M6 Q08a; CSES M5 Q09; CSES M3 Q06

01. Very good job
02. Good job
03. Bad job
04. Very bad job
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know

C2. And how good or bad a job do you think the president Tsai, Ing-Wen has done over the past 4 years in handling the consequences of the coronavirus pandemic? A very good job? A good job? A bad job? A very bad job? CSES M6 Q08b

01. Very good job
02. Good job
03. Bad job
04. Very bad job
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know

C3. How fairly or not do you think that all groups in society are treated in Taiwan: very fairly, quite fairly, not very fairly, or not well at all fairly? CSES M6 Q26a

01. Very fairly
02. Quite fairly
03. Not very fairly
04. Not well at all fairly
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know

C4. How well do you think that our political system guarantees adequate healthcare for all citizens: very well, quite well, not very well, or not well at all? CSES M6 Q26b

- 01. Very well
- 02. Quite well
- 03. Not very well
- 04. Not well at all
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know

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

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***Part 4: Political Efficacy and Political Trust***

D1. Some people say, "People like me don't have any say about what the government does."

- 01. Strongly agree
- 02. Agree
- 03. Disagree
- 04. Strongly disagree
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know

D2. Some people say, "Public officials do not care much about what people like me think."

- 01. Strongly agree
- 02. Agree
- 03. Disagree
- 04. Strongly disagree
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know

D3. Some people say, "Sometimes politics seems so complicated that a person like me cannot really understand what is going on."

- 01. Strongly agree
- 02. Agree
- 03. Disagree
- 04. Strongly disagree
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know

D4. Some people say, “Most decisions made by the government are correct.”

01. Strongly agree
02. Agree
03. Disagree
04. Strongly disagree
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know

D5. Some people say, “Government officials often waste a lot of money we pay in taxes.”

01. Strongly agree
02. Agree
03. Disagree
04. Strongly disagree
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know

D6. When the government decides important policies, do you think “public welfare” is its first priority?

01. Often
02. Sometimes
03. Seldom
04. Never
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know

D7. Voters have different considerations when voting. How often do you take a candidate's campaign pledges into account when voting?

01. Often
02. Sometimes
03. Seldom
04. Never
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know

D8. In elections, some people value candidates' performance of pledge fulfillment in the past while others value campaign pledges that will be implemented in the future. Which one do you value more?

- 01. Candidates' performance of pledge fulfillment in the past
- 02. Value campaign pledges that will be implemented in the future
- 03. Both of them
- 04. None of them
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know

D9. In the present election, candidates propose a lot of campaign pledges. I'd like to ask you to evaluate your understanding of campaign pledges using a scale ranging from 1 to 5, where 1 means you do not understand at all and 5 means that you understand very well. What would you rate your understanding of campaign pledges?

- 
- 95. Refuse to answer
  - 96. It depends
  - 97. No opinion
  - 98. Don't know

D10. In the present election, candidates propose a lot of campaign pledges. I'd like to ask you to evaluate the distinction between these campaign pledges using a scale ranging from 1 to 5, where 1 means these campaign pledges have no difference at all and 5 means that these campaign pledges are extremely different. What would you rate the distinction between these campaign pledges?

- 
- 95. Refuse to answer
  - 96. It depends
  - 97. No opinion
  - 98. Don't know

D11a. I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain institutions. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you trust it completely, trust it somewhat, not very much or not at all? Parliament CSES M6 Q07a

- 01. Trust it completely
- 02. Trust it somewhat
- 03. Do not trust it very much
- 04. Do not trust it at all
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know

D11b. Government CSES M6 Q07b

01. Trust it completely
02. Trust it somewhat
03. Do not trust it very much
04. Do not trust it at all
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know

D11c. The judiciary CSES M6 Q07c

01. Trust it completely
02. Trust it somewhat
03. Do not trust it very much
04. Do not trust it at all
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know

D11d. Scientists CSES M6 Q07d

01. Trust it completely
02. Trust it somewhat
03. Do not trust it very much
04. Do not trust it at all
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know

D11e. The political parties CSES M6 Q07e

01. Trust it completely
02. Trust it somewhat
03. Do not trust it very much
04. Do not trust it at all
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know

D11f. Traditional news media, such as newspapers, television or radio CSES M6 Q07f

01. Trust it completely
02. Trust it somewhat
03. Do not trust it very much
04. Do not trust it at all
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know

D11g. Social media, such as Facebook, Line or Instagram? CSES M6 Q07g

01. Trust it completely
02. Trust it somewhat
03. Do not trust it very much
04. Do not trust it at all
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know

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**Please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with each of the following statements:**

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D12. You feel you understand the most important political issues of this country. CSES M6 Q03

01. Strongly agree
02. Somewhat agree
03. Neither agree nor disagree
04. Somewhat disagree
05. Strongly disagree
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
98. Don't know

D13. Democracy is always and under all circumstances preferable to any other kind of government.  
CSES M6 Q04a

01. Strongly agree
02. Somewhat agree
03. Neither agree nor disagree
04. Somewhat disagree
05. Strongly disagree
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
98. Don't know

D14. The courts should be able to stop the government acting beyond its authority. CSES M6 Q04b

01. Strongly agree
02. Somewhat agree
03. Neither agree nor disagree
04. Somewhat disagree
05. Strongly disagree
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
98. Don't know

D15. Having a strong leader in government is good for COUNTRY even if the leader bends the rules to get things done. CSES M6 Q04c

01. Strongly agree
02. Somewhat agree
03. Neither agree nor disagree
04. Somewhat disagree
05. Strongly disagree
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
98. Don't know

D16. Policies to increase the representation of women in politics have gone too far. CSES M6 Q04d

01. Strongly agree
02. Somewhat agree
03. Neither agree nor disagree
04. Somewhat disagree
05. Strongly disagree
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
98. Don't know

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**Instead of elected politicians, the country would be run better if important political decisions were left up to:**

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D17a. Successful business leaders. CSES M6 Q05a

01. Strongly agree
02. Somewhat agree
03. Neither agree nor disagree
04. Somewhat disagree
05. Strongly disagree
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
98. Don't know

D17b. Independent experts. CSES M6 Q05b

01. Strongly agree
02. Somewhat agree
03. Neither agree nor disagree
04. Somewhat disagree
05. Strongly disagree
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
98. Don't know

D17c. Citizens in referendums. CSES M6 Q05c

01. Strongly agree
02. Somewhat agree
03. Neither agree nor disagree
04. Somewhat disagree
05. Strongly disagree
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
98. Don't know

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

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D18. On cross-Strait relations, which party do you think performed better?

01. DPP is better
02. KMT is better
03. Taiwan People's Party is better
04. Both DPP and KMT are pretty good
05. Both DPP and Taiwan People's Party are pretty good
06. Both KMT and Taiwan People's Party are pretty good
91. All of them
92. None of them
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know
95. Refuse to answer

D19. On improving economic development, which party do you think performed better?

01. DPP is better
02. KMT is better
03. Taiwan People's Party is better
04. Both DPP and KMT are pretty good
05. Both DPP and Taiwan People's Party are pretty good
06. Both KMT and Taiwan People's Party are pretty good
91. All of them
92. None of them
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know
95. Refuse to answer

D20. On social welfare, which party do you think performed better?

01. DPP is better
02. KMT is better
03. Taiwan People's Party is better
04. Both DPP and KMT are pretty good
05. Both DPP and Taiwan People's Party are pretty good
06. Both KMT and Taiwan People's Party are pretty good
91. All of them
92. None of them
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know
95. Refuse to answer

D21. On protecting sovereignty, which party do you think performed better?

01. DPP is better
02. KMT is better
03. Taiwan People's Party is better
04. Both DPP and KMT are pretty good
05. Both DPP and Taiwan People's Party are pretty good
06. Both KMT and Taiwan People's Party are pretty good
91. All of them
92. None of them
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know
95. Refuse to answer

D22. On anticorruption, which party do you think performed better?

01. DPP is better
02. KMT is better
03. Taiwan People's Party is better
04. Both DPP and KMT are pretty good
05. Both DPP and Taiwan People's Party are pretty good
06. Both KMT and Taiwan People's Party are pretty good
91. All of them
92. None of them
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know
95. Refuse to answer

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**Next, let us turn to your discussion with women in politics.**

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D23. The current percentage of women in parliament after the most recent election is 41.6 %. Would you say that the current percentage of women in parliament is too high, too low or about right?  
CSES M6 Q24

01. Too high
02. Too low
03. About right
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know

D24a. What do you think: Who is better suited for political leadership during a public health crisis: male politicians, female politicians, or both equally? CSES M6 Q25a

01. Always male political leaders
02. Usually male political leaders
03. Usually female political leaders
04. Always female political leaders
05. Both equally
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know
95. Refuse to answer

D24b. Who is better suited to lead the country during an economic crisis: always male political leaders, usually male political leaders, usually female political leaders, always female political leaders, or both equally? CSES M6 Q25b

01. Always male political leaders
02. Usually male political leaders
03. Usually female political leaders
04. Always female political leaders
05. Both equally
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know
95. Refuse to answer

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**Next, I would like to ask for your opinion on the Coronavirus pandemic.**

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***Part 5: Coronavirus pandemic***

E1a. How did the coronavirus pandemic affect how united society is in Taiwan: very positively, fairly positively, not at all, fairly negatively or very negatively? CSES M6 Q27a

01. Very positively
02. Fairly positively
03. Not at all
04. Fairly negatively
05. Very negatively
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know
95. Refuse to answer

E1b. How did the coronavirus pandemic affect the functioning of democracy here in Taiwan: very positively, fairly positively, not at all, fairly negatively or very negatively? CSES M6 Q27b

01. Very positively
02. Fairly positively
03. Not at all
04. Fairly negatively
05. Very negatively
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know
95. Refuse to answer

E1c. How has the coronavirus pandemic affected your personal economic situation: very positively, fairly positively, not at all, fairly negatively, or very negatively? CSES M6 Q27c

01. Very positively
02. Fairly positively
03. Not at all
04. Fairly negatively
05. Very negatively
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know
95. Refuse to answer

E2. To the best of your knowledge, have you or anyone living with you been infected with the coronavirus? CSES M6 Q27d

01. Yes
02. No
98. Don't know
95. Refuse to answer

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

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***Part 6: Economic Evaluations***

F1. Would you say that over the past twelve months, the state of the economy in Taiwan has gotten much better, gotten somewhat better, stayed about the same, gotten somewhat worse, or gotten much worse? CSES M6 Q09; CSES M5 Q11; CSES M4 Q03

01. Gotten much better
02. Gotten somewhat better
03. Stayed the same
04. Gotten somewhat worse
05. Gotten much worse
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know
95. Refuse to answer

F2. 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. Gotten much better
02. Gotten somewhat better
03. Stayed the same
04. Gotten somewhat worse
05. Gotten much worse
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know
95. Refuse to answer

F3. 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. Gotten much better
- 02. Gotten somewhat better
- 03. Stayed the same
- 04. Gotten somewhat worse
- 05. Gotten much worse
- 96. It depends
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

F4. Would you say that in the forthcoming year, your own household's economic condition will get better, stay about the same, or get worse?

- 01. Gotten much better
- 02. Gotten somewhat better
- 03. Stayed the same
- 04. Gotten somewhat worse
- 05. Gotten much worse
- 96. It depends
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

**Part 7: Opinions about Democracy**

G1. Which of these three statements is closest to your own opinion? CNEP B DemAuth

- 01. Democracy is preferable to any other kind of regime.
- 02. In some circumstances, an authoritarian regime – a dictatorship can be preferable to a democratic system.
- 03. For someone like me, it doesn't matter what kind of regime we have.
- 96. It depends
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

G2. Some people say that if the ruling party has been in power for a long time, it's time to give another party a chance. Others say that if the ruling party performs well, it should continue to govern, what position would you choose?



The ruling party has been in power for a long time, it's time to give another party a chance

The ruling party performs well, it should continue to govern

- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

G3. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means Taiwan is not at all democratic, and 10 means Taiwan is completely democratic, what position would you choose? CSES M6 Q6

- 
- 96. It's hard to say
  - 97. No opinion
  - 98. Don't know
  - 95. Refuse to answer

G4. On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the way democracy works in Taiwan? CSES M6 Q22

- 01. Very satisfied
- 02. Fairly satisfied
- 03. Not very satisfied
- 04. Not at all satisfied
- 96. It depends
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

G5. 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 big difference to what happens. Using the scale on this card, (where ONE means that voting won't make any difference to what happens and FIVE means that voting can make a big difference), where would you place yourself? CSES M6 Q15

- 
- 98. Don't know
  - 95. Refuse to answer

G6. Some people say that legislator elected by district should care about the interests of the whole country. Others say that legislator elected by district should care about the interests of district. Which statement do you agree with?

- 01. Interests of whole country
- 02. Interests of district
- 91. Both of them
- 96. It's hard to say
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

G7. How widespread do you think corruption such as bribe taking is among politicians in our country: very widespread, quite widespread, not very widespread, or it hardly happens at all?

01. Very widespread
02. Quite widespread
03. Not very widespread
04. It hardly happens at all
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know
95. Refuse to answer

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**Next, we would like to ask you some questions about a few individuals and government bodies.**

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***Part 8: Political Knowledge***

H1a. Who is the current president of the United States? CSES M3 Q24a

01. Joe Biden [skip to H2a]
02. Incorrect [skip to H2a]
03. I know but can't remember the name [continue to H1b]
98. Don't know [continue to H1b]
95. Refuse to answer [continue to H1b]

H1b. Which of the following is the current President of the United States?

01. Donald Trump
02. Barack Obama
03. Joe Biden
04. George Bush
05. I know but can't remember the name
98. Don't know
95. Refuse to answer

H2a. Who is the current premier of our country? CSES M3 Q24b

01. Chen, Chien-Jen / Cho, Jung-Tai (After May 20th) [skip to H3a]
02. Incorrect [skip to H3a]
03. I know but can't remember the name [continue to H2b]
04. Chen, Chien-Jen (After May 20th) [continue to H2b]
98. Don't know [continue to H2b]
95. Refuse to answer [continue to H2b]

H2b. Which of the following is the current premier of our country?

01. Su, Tseng-Chang
02. Chen, Chien-Jen
03. Cheng, Wen-Tsan
04. Lin, Chuan
05. I know but can't remember the name
06. Cho, Jung-tai
98. Don't know
95. Refuse to answer

H3a. What institution has the power to interpret the constitution? CSES M3 Q24c

01. Grand Justices/ Council of Grand Justices/ The Constitutional Court [skip to I1]
02. Incorrect [skip to I1]
03. I know but can't remember the name [continue to H3b]
98. Don't know [continue to H3b]

H3b. Which of the following is the institution that has the power to interpret the constitution?

01. Legislative Yuan
02. Supreme Court
03. The Constitutional Court
04. National Security Council
05. Council of Grand Justices
06. I know but can't remember the name
98. Don't know
95. Refuse to answer

---

**Let us return to questions about elections**

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***Part 9: Voting Behavior***

I1. In this presidential election on January 13<sup>th</sup> many people went to vote, while others, for various reasons, did not go to vote. Did you vote? CSES M6 Q10P1-a; CSES M5 Q12P1-a; CSES M4 Q5P1-a; CNEP H

01. Yes [continue to I2]
02. No [skip to I5]
91. Forgot [skip to I6]
95. Refuse to answer [skip to I6]

I2. Which ticket did you vote for? CSES M6 Q10P1-b; CSES M5 Q12P1-b; CSES M4 Q5P1-b

- 01. Ko, Wen-Je and Wu, Hsin-Ying [Continue To I2a]
- 02. Lai, Ching-Te and Hsiao, Bi-Khim [Continue To I2ba]
- 03. Hou, Yu-Ih and Jaw, Shau-Kong [Continue To I2ba]
- 89. Unable to pick up the ballot [skip to I3]
- 91. Forgot [skip to I3]
- 92. Not eligible to vote [skip to I3]
- 93. Didn't pick up the ballot [skip to I2f]
- 94. Cast an invalid vote [skip to I2e]
- 98. Don't know [skip to I3]
- 95. Refuse to answer [skip to I3]

I2a. What was the main reason you voted for the candidate? [open-ended response] [continue to I2b]

- 998. Don't know
- 995. Refuse to answer

I2b. Are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with your decision to vote for the candidate you voted for in the last election? CSES M6 Q11a

- 01. Very satisfied
- 02. Fairly satisfied
- 03. Not very satisfied
- 04. Not at all satisfied
- 96. It's hard to say
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

I2c. When did you decide which presidential candidate to vote for?

- 01. A long time ago
- 02. Around two months before the election
- 03. Around one months before the election
- 04. Around two weeks before the election
- 05. One or two days before the election
- 06. On election day
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 98. Don't know

I2d. Was this the candidate that you originally wanted to vote for?

- 01. Yes [skip to I3]
- 02. No [continue to I2d1]
- 95. Refuse to answer [continue to I2d1]

I2d1. Among the three candidates, which one did you originally want to vote for? CESC M6 Q11b  
[skip to I3]

- 01. Ko, Wen-Je and Wu, Hsin-Ying
- 02. Lai, Ching-Te and Hsiao, Bi-Khim
- 03. Hou, Yu-Ih and Jaw, Shau-Kong
- 91. Didn't intend to vote
- 92. None of them
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

I2e. Are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with your decision to vote blank/invalid in the last election? CESC M6 Q11b [skip to I3]

- 01. Very satisfied
- 02. Fairly satisfied
- 03. Not very satisfied
- 04. Not at all satisfied
- 96. It's hard to say
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

I2f. Are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with your decision not to pick up the ballot for president in the last election? CESC M6 Q11c

- 01. Very satisfied
- 02. Fairly satisfied
- 03. Not very satisfied
- 04. Not at all satisfied
- 96. It's hard to say
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

I3. In this legislative election, which candidate did you vote for? CSESM6 Q10LH-a; CSES M5 Q12LH-a, c; CSES M4 Q5LH-a, c; CNEP H VoteWhichRecent  
\_\_\_\_\_ [skip to I3a1]

- 999989. Unable to pick up the ballot [skip to I4]
- 999991. Forgot [continue to I3a]
- 999992. Not eligible to vote [skip to I4]
- 999994. Cast an invalid vote [skip to I3c]
- 999995. Refuse to answer [skip to I3a]
- 999996. Didn't pick up the ballot [skip to I3d]
- 999998. Don't know [continue to I3a]

I3a. Which party's candidate did you vote for?

01. KMT[continue to I3a1]
02. DPP[continue to I3a1]
03. NP [continue to I3a1]
04. PFP [continue to I3a1]
08. Independent
09. Green Party Taiwan [continue to I3a1]
13. Labor Party [continue to I3a1]
15. People's Democratic Party [continue to I3a1]
17. Taiwan Statebuilding Party [continue to I3a1]
19. New Power Party [continue to I3a1]
20. Social Democratic Party [continue to I3a1]
25. Chinese Unionist Party [continue to I3a1]
38. United Action Alliance [continue to I3a1]
41. Taiwan People's Party [continue to I3a1]
42. Taiwan Renewal Party [continue to I3a1]
44. Formosa Alliance [continue to I3a1]
47. Taiwan Revolutionary Party [continue to I3a1]
52. Revival of the Chinese Alliance [continue to I3a1]
53. Taiwan Manipulative Therapist Union Labor Party [continue to I3a1]
54. Law Justice Part [continue to I3a1]
55. China Union Party [continue to I3a1]
62. Chinese Patriotic Concentric Party [continue to I3a1]
63. Chinese Women's Party [continue to I3a1]
67. MiLingual Party [continue to I3a1]
68. The People Union Party [continue to I3a1]
69. Institutional Island of Saving the World [continue to I3a1]
70. Taiwan Mahjong Greatest Party [continue to I3a1]
71. Judicial Reform Party [continue to I3a1]
72. Economic Party [continue to I3a1]
73. Taiwan Obasan Political Equality Party [continue to I3a1]
74. Fou Kang Lian Meng Dang [continue to I3a1]
75. Taiwan Nationalist Party [continue to I3a1]
76. Zhong Hua Wen Hua Gong He Dang [continue to I3a1]
77. Family Basic Income [continue to I3a1]
91. Forgot [skip to I4]
95. Refuse to answer [skip to I4]
98. Don't know [skip to I4]

I3a1. What was the main reason you voted for that candidate?

001. The candidate's constituency service
002. The candidate's party
003. The candidate's image or ideas
004. The candidate's behavior in the legislature
990. Others \_\_\_\_\_
995. Refuse to answer
998. Don't know

I3b. Are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with your decision to vote for the candidate you voted for in the last election? CESC M6 Q11a [skip to I4]

- 01. Very satisfied
- 02. Fairly satisfied
- 03. Not very satisfied
- 04. Not at all satisfied
- 96. It's hard to say
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

I3c. Are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with your decision not to pick up the ballot for the legislative district in the last election? CESC M6 Q11b [skip to I4]

- 01. Very satisfied
- 02. Fairly satisfied
- 03. Not very satisfied
- 04. Not at all satisfied
- 96. It's hard to say
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

I3d. Are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with your decision not to pick up the ballot for the legislative district in the last election? CESC M6 Q11c [skip to I4]

- 01. Very satisfied
- 02. Fairly satisfied
- 03. Not very satisfied
- 04. Not at all satisfied
- 96. It's hard to say
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

I4. Here is a list of all the parties that contested this legislative election. Which party did you cast your at-large vote for? CSESM6 Q10LH-b; CSES M5 Q12LH-b

- 01. KMT[continue to I4a]
- 02. DPP[continue to I4a]
- 03. NP [continue to I4a]
- 04. PFP [continue to I4a]
- 06. TSU [continue to I4a]
- 09. Green Party Taiwan [continue to I4a]
- 17. Taiwan Statebuilding Party [continue to I4a]
- 19. New Power Party [continue to I4a]
- 25. Unionist Party [continue to I4a]
- 41. Taiwan People's Party [continue to I4a]
- 42. Taiwan Renewal Party [continue to I4a]
- 67. MiLinguall Party [continue to I4a]
- 68. The People Union Party [continue to I4a]
- 69. Institutional Island of Saving the World [continue to I4a]
- 71. Judicial Reform Party [continue to I4a]
- 73. Taiwan Obasan Political Equality Party [continue to I4a]
- 89. Unable to pick up the ballot [skip to I6]
- 91. Forgot [skip to I6]
- 92. Not eligible to vote [skip to I6]
- 94. Cast an invalid vote[skip to I4c]
- 96. Didn't pick up the ballot[skip to I4d]
- 98. Don't know [skip to I6]
- 95. Refuse to answer [skip to I6]

I4a. What was the main reason you voted for that party?

- 998. Don't know
- 995. Refuse to answer

I4b. Are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with your decision to vote for the party you voted for in the last election? CESC M6 Q11a [skip to I6]

- 01. Very satisfied
- 02. Fairly satisfied
- 03. Not very satisfied
- 04. Not at all satisfied
- 96. It's hard to say
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

I4c. Are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with your decision to vote blank/invalid in the last election? CESC M6 Q11b [skip to I6]

- 01. Very satisfied
- 02. Fairly satisfied
- 03. Not very satisfied
- 04. Not at all satisfied
- 96. It's hard to say
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

I4d. Are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with your decision not to pick up the ballot for at-large seats in the last election? CESC M6 Q11a [skip to I6]

- 01. Very satisfied
- 02. Fairly satisfied
- 03. Not very satisfied
- 04. Not at all satisfied
- 96. It's hard to say
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

I5. Are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied with your decision not to vote in the last election? CESC M6 Q11c

- 01. Very satisfied
- 02. Fairly satisfied
- 03. Not very satisfied
- 04. Not at all satisfied
- 96. It's hard to say
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

I6. In the constitutional amendment referendum held on November 26, 2022, concerning the voting rights for 18-year-olds, did you vote for yes or no?

- 01. Yes
- 02. No
- 91. Forget
- 92. Not eligible to vote
- 93. Didn't pick up the ballot
- 94. Cast an invalid vote
- 96. Didn't vote
- 95. Refuse to answer

I7a. In the January 2020 presidential election, who did you vote? CESC M6 Q14a; CSES M4 Q06a; CNEP Vote WhichPrevious

01. James C. Y. Soong and Yu, Hsiang
02. Daniel K. Y. Han and Simon S. C. Chang
03. Tsai, Ing-Wen and Lai, Ching-Te
89. Didn't pick up the ballot
91. Forget
92. Not eligible to vote [skip to J1a]
93. Didn't vote [skip to J1a]
94. Cast an invalid vote
95. Refuse to answer

I7b. In the January 2020 legislative election, which candidate did you vote for? CSESM6 Q14a; CSES M5 Q12LH-a, c; CSES M4 Q5LH-a, c; CNEP H VoteWhichRecent

- \_\_\_\_\_ [skip to I7d]
999991. Forgot [continue to I7c]
  999992. Not eligible to vote [skip to I7d]
  999994. Cast an invalid vote [skip to I7d]
  999995. Refuse to answer [skip to I7c]
  999996. Didn't pick up the ballot [skip to I7d]
  999998. Don't know [skip to I7c]
  999989. Household registration was not in this district [skip to I7d]

I7c. Which party's candidate did you vote for?

01. KMT
02. DPP
04. PFP
08. Independent
09. Green Party Taiwan
13. Labor Party
15. People's Democratic Party
16. Righteous Party
17. Taiwan Statebuilding Party
19. New Power Party
22. Taiwan Independent Party
25. Unionist Party
30. Taiwan Labor Party
34. Labour Party
36. China Production Party
37. Congress Party Alliance
38. United Action Alliance
39. Stabilizing Force Party
40. Interfaith Union
41. Taiwan People's Party
42. Taiwan Renewal Party
43. Sovereign State for Formosa & Pescadores Party
44. Formosa Alliance

- 45. Taiwan Action Party Alliance
- 47. Taiwan Revolutionary Party
- 48. Min Sheng Gong Yi
- 49. Taiwan Motive Force Party
- 50. Free Speech Coalition
- 51. Taiwan Animal Protection Party
- 52. Revival of the Chinese Alliance
- 53. Taiwan Manipulative Therapist Union Labor Party
- 54. Law Justice Party
- 55. China Union Party
- 56. Taiwan Public Interest Party
- 57. Round Party
- 58. Chinese Cultural Renaissance Zaili Party
- 59. Kinmen Gaochun Party
- 60. Chinese New Inhabitant Party
- 61. DeafNation Party
- 62. Chinese Patriotic Concentric Party
- 63. Chinese Women's Party
- 64. Care Life Party
- 65. China Peace Unify Party
- 66. Tianzhou Peaceful Unity Family Party
- 91. Forgot
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 98. Don't know

I7d. Here is a list of all the parties that contested the January 2020 legislative election Which party did you cast your at-large vote for? CSESM6 Q14b; CSES M5 Q13b; CSES M4 Q06b

- 01. KMT
- 02. DPP
- 03. NP
- 04. PFP
- 06. TSU
- 09. Green Party Taiwan
- 13. Labor Party
- 17. Taiwan Statebuilding Party
- 19. New Power Party
- 25. Unionist Party
- 37. Congress Party Alliance
- 38. United Action Alliance
- 39. Stabilizing Force Party
- 40. Interfaith Union
- 41. Taiwan People's Party
- 42. Taiwan Renewal Party
- 43. Sovereign State for Formosa & Pescadores Party
- 44. Formosa Alliance
- 45. Taiwan Action Party Alliance
- 91. Forgot
- 92. Not eligible to vote
- 93. Didn't pick up the ballot

- 94. Cast an invalid vote
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

**Part 10: Candidate Capability**

J1a. During the presidential election campaign, many different problems faced by our country were raised. What do you think is the most important political problem facing Taiwan today? CSES M3 Q02a

- 
- 992. None [skip to J2a]
  - 995. Refuse to answer [skip to J2a]
  - 998. Don't know [skip to J2a]

J1b. Which presidential candidate do you think is most capable of dealing with it? CSES M3 Q03a

- 01. Ko, Wen-Je and Wu, Hsin-Ying
- 02. Lai, Ching-Te and Hsiao, Bi-Khim
- 03. Hou, Yu-Ih and Jaw, Shau-Kong
- 91. All of them
- 92. None of them
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know

---

**I'd like to ask you to evaluate presidential candidates using a scale ranging from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly dislike that candidate and 10 means that you strongly like that candidate.**

---

J2a. What would you rate Lai, Ching-Te? CSESM6 Q17; CSES M5 Q16; CSES M4 Q10; CSES M3 Q10

- 
- 95. Refuse to answer
  - 96. It's hard to say
  - 97. No opinion
  - 98. Don't know

J2b. What would you rate Hou, Yu-Ih? CSESM6 Q17; CSES M5 Q16; CSES M4 Q10; CSES M3 Q10

- 
- 95. Refuse to answer
  - 96. It's hard to say
  - 97. No opinion
  - 98. Don't know

J2c. What would you rate Ko, Wen-Je? CSESM6 Q17; CSES M5 Q16; CSES M4 Q10; CSES M3 Q10

- 
- 95. Refuse to answer
  - 96. It's hard to say
  - 97. No opinion
  - 98. Don't know

---

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

---

J3a. What would you rate Lai, Ching-Te?

- \_\_\_\_\_  
95. Refuse to answer  
96. It's hard to say  
97. No opinion  
98. Don't know

J3b. What would you rate Hou, Yu-Ih?

- \_\_\_\_\_  
95. Refuse to answer  
96. It's hard to say  
97. No opinion  
98. Don't know

J3c. What would you rate Ko, Wen-Je?

- \_\_\_\_\_  
95. Refuse to answer  
96. It's hard to say  
97. No opinion  
98. Don't know

---

**If 0 means candidates are "completely incapable" of maintaining cross-strait peace, and 10 means that candidates are "completely able" to maintain cross-strait peace.**

---

J4a. What would you rate Lai, Ching-Te?

- \_\_\_\_\_  
95. Refuse to answer  
96. It's hard to say  
97. No opinion  
98. Don't know

J4b. What would you rate Hou, Yu-Ih?

- \_\_\_\_\_  
95. Refuse to answer  
96. It's hard to say  
97. No opinion  
98. Don't know

J4c. What would you rate Ko, Wen-Je?

- \_\_\_\_\_  
95. Refuse to answer  
96. It's hard to say  
97. No opinion  
98. Don't know

J5a. We would like to know your opinion concerning Taiwan's relationship with the United States and China. On this card, 10 stands for trying hard to build a close tie, 0 stands for keeping distance as much as possible, and 5 means maintaining the status quo. In terms of Taiwan's relations with the United States, which direction do you think Taiwan should move in the future?

- 
- 95. Refuse to answer
  - 96. It's hard to say
  - 97. No opinion
  - 98. Don't know

J5b. In terms of Taiwan's relations with China, which direction do you think Taiwan should move in the future?

- 
- 95. Refuse to answer
  - 96. It's hard to say
  - 97. No opinion
  - 98. Don't know

J6a. Regarding this election, some people say, "It's a choice between war and peace." Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

- 01. Strongly agree
- 02. Agree
- 03. Disagree
- 04. Strongly disagree
- 96. It's hard to say
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

J6b. Regarding this election, some people say, "It's a choice between democracy and authoritarianism." Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

- 01. Strongly agree
- 02. Agree
- 03. Disagree
- 04. Strongly disagree
- 96. It's hard to say
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

J7. In our society, some people think communist China will attack Taiwan, and some people think it will not. If 0 means that communist China will never attack Taiwan, and 10 means that communist China will definitely attack Taiwan, how likely do you think it?

- 
- 95. Refuse to answer
  - 98. Don't know

J8. If China attacks Taiwan, 0 means no resistance at all and 10 means strong resistance, what action do you think the government should take immediately?

95. Refuse to answer

96. It's hard to say

97. No opinion

98. Don't know

---

**Next, we would like to ask you some questions regarding the performance of Tsai, Ing-Wen 's administration since 2020.**

---

J9. How satisfied are you with Tsai, Ing-wen government's performance in handling the cross-strait relations since 2020?

01. Very satisfied

02. Satisfied

03. Not very satisfied

04. Not satisfied at all

96. It's hard to say

97. No opinion

98. Don't know

95. Refuse to answer

J10. How satisfied are you with Tsai, Ing-wen government's performance in handling the energy issues since 2020?

01. Very satisfied

02. Satisfied

03. Not very satisfied

04. Not satisfied at all

96. It's hard to say

97. No opinion

98. Don't know

95. Refuse to answer

J11. How satisfied are you with Tsai, Ing-wen government's performance in handling the egg shortage issue?

01. Very satisfied

02. Satisfied

03. Not very satisfied

04. Not satisfied at all

96. It's hard to say

97. No opinion

98. Don't know

95. Refuse to answer

---

**Below, we would like to find out your views on the style and approaches of the candidates.**

---

J14. Has any candidate ever made you feel angry?

- 01. Ko, Wen-Je
- 02. Lai, Ching-Te
- 03. Hou, Yu-Ih
- 91. All of them
- 92. None of them
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know

J15. Has any candidate ever made you feel afraid?

- 01. Ko, Wen-Je
- 02. Lai, Ching-Te
- 03. Hou, Yu-Ih
- 91. All of them
- 92. None of them
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know

J16. Has any candidate ever made you feel hopeful?

- 01. Ko, Wen-Je
- 02. Lai, Ching-Te
- 03. Hou, Yu-Ih
- 91. All of them
- 92. None of them
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know

J17. Has any candidate ever made you feel proud to be a Taiwanese?

- 01. Ko, Wen-Je
- 02. Lai, Ching-Te
- 03. Hou, Yu-Ih
- 91. All of them
- 92. None of them
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know

---

**Next, I'd like to know your opinions about the performance over the past four years of the legislator elected in your district in 2020. On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents she/he has done a very bad job, and 10 represents she/he has done a very good job.**

---

***Part 11: Evaluation of Legislative Candidates and the Legislative Yuan***

K1. How would you rate the performance of your legislator overall?

- \_\_\_\_\_  
95. Refuse to answer  
98. Don't know

K2. On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents very bad and 10 represents very good, how would you rate the Legislative Yuan's overall performance over the past four years?

- \_\_\_\_\_  
95. Refuse to answer  
98. Don't know

K3. On the same scale, how would you rate the DPP's performance in the Legislative Yuan?

- \_\_\_\_\_  
95. Refuse to answer  
98. Don't know

K4. On the same scale, how would you rate the KMT's performance in the Legislative Yuan?

- \_\_\_\_\_  
95. Refuse to answer  
98. Don't know

K5. On the same scale, how would you rate the Taiwan People's Party's performance in the Legislative Yuan?

- \_\_\_\_\_  
95. Refuse to answer  
98. Don't know

K6. On the same scale, how would you rate the New Power Party's performance in the Legislative Yuan?

- \_\_\_\_\_  
95. Refuse to answer  
98. Don't know

---

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

---

***Part 12: Political Cleavages***

M1. How has Taiwan's position in the world community changed over the past four years?

- 01. Better
- 02. Worse
- 03. About the same
- 96. It depends
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

M2. Generally speaking, do you believe that cross-strait relations have improved, deteriorated, or remained relatively unchanged over the past four years?

- 01. Improved
- 02. Deteriorated
- 03. Remained unchanged
- 96. It depends
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

M3. Do you worry about the possibility of military conflict between Taiwan and mainland China?

- 01. Very worried
- 02. A little worried
- 03. Not too worried
- 04. Not worried at all
- 96. It depends
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

M4. Have you ever felt upset about the frequent circling of Taiwan by China's warplanes and warships?

- 01. Very upset
- 02. Somewhat upset
- 03. Not very upset
- 04. Not upset at all
- 96. It depends
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

M5a. Sometimes people will talk about the question of Taiwan independence or the unification with China. Some people say that Taiwan should declare independence immediately. Others say that Taiwan and China should unify immediately. Still others have opinions between these two positions. This card lists eleven positions from independence (0) to unification (10). Which position do you occupy? CSESM6 Q19; CSES M5 Q20; CSES M4 Q13; CSES M3 Q16

- 
- 95. Refuse to answer
  - 96. It's hard to say
  - 98. Don't know

M5b. What position do you think KMT occupies? CSESM6 Q20a; CSES M5 Q19; CSES M4 Q14; CSES M3 Q14a

- 
- 95. Refuse to answer
  - 96. It's hard to say
  - 98. Don't know

M5c. What position do you think DPP occupies? CSESM6 Q20b; CSES M5 Q19; CSES M4 Q14; CSES M3 Q14a

- 
- 95. Refuse to answer
  - 96. It's hard to say
  - 98. Don't know

M5d. What position do you think Taiwan People's Party occupies? CSESM6 Q20e; CSES M5 Q19; CSES M4 Q14; CSES M3 Q14a

- 
- 95. Refuse to answer
  - 96. It's hard to say
  - 98. Don't know

M5e. What position do you think New Power Party occupies? CSESM6 Q20f; CSES M5 Q19; CSES M4 Q14; CSES M3 Q14a

- 
- 95. Refuse to answer
  - 96. It's hard to say
  - 98. Don't know

M6a. After 2020, the cross-Strait economic interactions have alienation. As a result of this, do you think Taiwan's economy has gotten better, worse or is about the same?

- 01. Better
- 02. Worse
- 03. About the same
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 97. No opinion
- 96. It's hard to say
- 98. Don't know

M6b. Thinking about your own economic situation. As a result of intensification of cross-Strait interactions, do you think it has gotten better, worse, or stayed about the same?

- 01. Better
- 02. Worse
- 03. About the same
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 97. No opinion
- 96. It's hard to say
- 98. Don't know

---

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

---

***Part 13: National Identity and Ethnic Identity***

N1a. 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 [continue to N1b]
- 02. Both [skip to N1c]
- 03. Chinese [continue to N1b]
- 95. Refuse to answer[skip to N1c]
- 98. Don't know[skip to N1c]

N1b. Do you feel very strongly or somewhat strongly that you are Taiwanese/Chinese?

- 01. Very strongly
- 02. Somewhat
- 95. Refuse to answer

N1c. Do you feel yourself leaning a little more to considering yourself Taiwanese or Chinese?

- 01. Lean to Taiwanese
- 02. Lean to Chinese
- 03. No
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 98. Don't know

N2. Do you believe that cross-Strait relations will become warmer, more tense, or remain unchanged?

- 01. Much warmer
- 02. Warmer
- 03. Unchanged
- 04. More tense
- 05. Much more tense
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know

N3. Regarding the issue of cross-Strait negotiation, some people say that we should continue using the 1992 Consensus as the basis of cross-Strait negotiation while other people say we should reject the 1992 Consensus. Which do you agree with?

01. Continue using the 1992 Consensus
02. Reject the 1992 Consensus
03. There is no "1992 Consensus"
04. Both support
05. Both don't support
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know

N4a. 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, and move toward unification in the future, 4) maintain the status quo, and 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
90. Other \_\_\_\_\_
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know

N5a. Some people say, "If Taiwan could still maintain peaceful relations with the PRC after declaring independence, then Taiwan should establish a new, independent country." Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

01. Strongly agree
02. Agree
03. Disagree
04. Strongly disagree
95. Refuse to answer
96. It depends
97. No opinion
98. Don't know

N5b. Some people say, “Even if PRC decides to attack Taiwan after Taiwan declares independence, Taiwan should still become a new country.” Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

- 01. Strongly agree
- 02. Agree
- 03. Disagree
- 04. Strongly disagree
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know

N6a. Some people say, “If the economic, social, and political conditions were about the same in both mainland China and Taiwan, then the two sides should unify.” Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

- 01. Strongly agree
- 02. Agree
- 03. Disagree
- 04. Strongly disagree
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know

N6b. Some people say, “Even if the gap between the economic, social, and political conditions in mainland China and Taiwan is quite large, the two sides should still unify.” Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

- 01. Strongly agree
- 02. Agree
- 03. Disagree
- 04. Strongly disagree
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know

---

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

---

***Part 14: Party Identification***

P1a. Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular party? CSES M6 Q23a

- 01. Yes [skip to P1c]
- 02. No [continue to P1b]
- 95. Refuse to answer [skip to P1b]
- 98. Don't know [skip to P1b]

P1b. Do you feel yourself a little closer to one of the political parties than the others? CSES M6 Q23b

- 01. Yes [continue to P1c]
- 02. No [skip to P2a]
- 95. Refuse to answer [skip to P2a]
- 98. Don't know [skip to P2a]

P1c. Which party do you feel closest to? CSES M6 Q23c

- 01. KMT
- 02. DPP
- 03. NP
- 04. PFP
- 06. TSU
- 09. Green Party Taiwan
- 13. Labor Party
- 17. Taiwan Statebuilding Party
- 19. New Power Party
- 25. Chinese Unionist Party
- 38. United Action Alliance
- 40. Interfaith Union
- 41. Taiwan People's Party
- 42. Taiwan Renewal Party
- 43. Sovereign State for Formosa & Pescadores Party
- 90. Others \_\_\_\_\_
- 95. Refuse to answer [skip to P2a]
- 98. Don't know [skip to P2a]

P1d. Do you feel very close to this party, somewhat close, or not very close? CSES M6 Q23d

- 01. Very close
- 02. Somewhat close
- 03. Not very close
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know

P2a. I like to know what you think about each of our political parties. After I read the name of a political party, please rate it on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you strongly dislike that party and 10 means that you strongly like that party. If I come to a party you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say so. The first party is KMT. CSESM6 Q16a; M5 Q15a; M4 Q09; M3 Q09a

---

95. Refuse to answer

96. Haven't heard of this party

98. Don't know

P2b. Using the same scale, where would you place DPP? CSESM6 Q16b; M5 Q15b; M4 Q09; M3 Q09a

---

95. Refuse to answer

96. Haven't heard of this party

98. Don't know

P2c. Using the same scale, where would you place Taiwan People's Party? CSESM6 Q16e; M5 Q15e

---

95. Refuse to answer

96. Haven't heard of this party

98. Don't know

P2d. Using the same scale, where would you place New Power Party? CSESM6 Q16f; M5 Q15e

---

95. Refuse to answer

96. Haven't heard of this party

98. Don't know

---

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

---

***Part 15: Personal Data***

Q1. Year of birth and Month of birth. CSESM6 D01b; CSES M5 D01b

Year: \_\_\_\_\_ , Month: \_\_\_\_\_

95. Refuse to answer

Q2. Father's ethnic background. CSESM6 D13; CSES M5 D13

- 01. Taiwanese Hakka
- 02. Taiwanese Min-Nan
- 03. Mainlander
- 04. Aboriginal
- 05. Recent mainland immigrant
- 06. Recent foreign immigrant
- 90. Other \_\_\_\_\_
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 98. Don't know

Q3. Mother's ethnic background. CSES M5 D13

- 01. Taiwanese Hakka
- 02. Taiwanese Min-Nan
- 03. Mainlander
- 04. Aboriginal
- 05. Recent mainland immigrant
- 06. Recent foreign immigrant
- 90. Other \_\_\_\_\_
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 98. Don't know

Q4a. Educational level. CSESM6 D03; CSES M5 D03

- 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 [continue to Q4b]
- 12. University graduate [continue to Q4b]
- 13. Post-graduate education [continue to Q4b]
- 90. Other \_\_\_\_\_
- 95. Refuse to answer

Q4b. Did you attend one of the following universities?

01. Public institute of technology or university of science and technology
02. Private institute of technology or university of science and technology
03. Public university (including university of education, normal university, sport university)
04. Private university
05. Military academy
06. Central Police University
07. University in mainland China (including Hong Kong and Macau)
08. University in other countries
98. Don't know
95. Refuse to answer
99. Skipped

Q5. Are you a member of a union? CSESM6 D05; CSES M5 D05

01. Yes
02. No
95. Refuse to answer
98. Don't know

Q6a. Religious belief. CSES M6 D10; CSES M5 D11

01. None [continue to Q6b]
02. Buddhist [continue to Q6b]
03. Taoist [continue to Q6b]
04. Catholic [skip to Q6c]
05. Protestant [skip to Q6c]
06. Muslim [skip to Q6c]
07. I-Kuan-Tao [skip to Q6c]
08. Traditional folk belief [continue to Q6b]
90. Other \_\_\_\_\_ [continue to Q6b]
95. Refuse to answer [continue to Q6b]
98. Don't know [continue to Q6b]

Q6b. Do you burn incense for the Earth God, Matsu, or some other spirits?

01. Yes
02. No
90. Other \_\_\_\_\_
95. Refuse to answer

Q6c. Religious services attendance. CSESM6 D11; CSES M5 D10

01. Never
02. Once a year
03. Two to eleven times a year
04. Once a month
05. Two or more times a month
06. Once a week/more than once a week
95. Refuse to answer
98. Don't know

Q7a. Current employment status of R. CSES M6 D06; CSES M5 D06

01. Employed full time (32 hours or more a week) [continue to Q7b]
02. Employed part time (15 to 32 hours a week) [continue to Q7b]
03. Employed less than part time (less than 15 hours a week) [continue to Q7b]
04. Help out at home [continue to Q7b]
05. Currently looking for employment [skip to Q7c]
06. Student or currently in job training [skip to Q8s]
07. Retired [skip to Q7c]
08. Home duties [continue to Q7b]
09. Disabled or unable to work [skip to Q8]
90. Other \_\_\_\_\_ [continue to Q7b]
95. Refuse to answer [skip to Q8]

Q7b. Main occupation of R. CSESM6 D07; CSES M5 D07, D08

Q7c. Main occupation of R before retirement or unemployment.

Q8. Marital status. CSES M6 D04; CSES M5 D04

01. Married or live as married
02. Separated
03. Widowed
04. Cohabit without legally marrying
05. Divorced [skip to Q11]
06. Single [skip to Q11]
95. Refuse to answer [skip to Q11]

Q9. Spouse's ethnic background.

01. Taiwanese Hakka
02. Taiwanese Min-Nan
03. Mainlander
04. Aboriginal
05. Recent mainland immigrant
06. Recent foreign immigrant
90. Other \_\_\_\_\_
95. Refuse to answer
98. Don't know

Q10a. Current employment status of R.

01. Employed full time (32 hours or more a week) [continue to Q10b]
02. Employed part time (15 to 32 hours a week) [continue to Q10b]
03. Employed less than part time (less than 15 hours a week) [continue to Q10b]
04. Help out at home [continue to Q10b]
05. Currently looking for employment [skip to Q10c]
06. Student or currently in job training [skip to Q11]
07. Retired [skip to Q10c]
08. Home duties [continue to Q10b]
09. Disabled or unable to work [skip to Q11]
11. Death [skip to Q10d]
90. Other \_\_\_\_\_ [continue to Q10b]
95. Refuse to answer [skip to Q11]

Q10b. Main occupation of R's spouse.

Q10c. Main occupation of R's spouse before his/her retirement or unemployment.

Q10d. Main occupation of R's spouse before his/her death?

Q11. Language usually spoken at home. CSES M6 D16; CSES M5 D16

01. Mandarin
02. Taiwanese
03. Hakka
04. Aboriginal language
05. Other Chinese dialect
06. Both Mandarin and Taiwanese
07. Both Mandarin and Hakka
08. Both Taiwanese and Hakka
09. Both Mandarin and other Chinese dialect
90. Other \_\_\_\_\_
95. Refuse to answer

Q12a. In the past five years, how many trips have you taken to Mainland China (not including Hong Kong or Macau)?

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

Q12b. In the past five years, how many foreign trips have you taken (including trips to Hong Kong, and Macau but not including trips to Mainland China)?

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

Q13. Have you or any member of your family made investments, conducted business, held employment, settled down or studied in Mainland China?

- 01. Yes, at present
- 02. Yes, in the past
- 03. No, never
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 98. Don't know

Q14a. Have any member of your family who is over 20 years old with the household register in Taiwan, but living abroad or in Mainland China for a long time?

- 01. Yes[continue to Q14b]
- 02. No

Q14b. Number of people who is over 20 years old with the household register in Taiwan, but living abroad or in Mainland China for a long time.

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

Q15. If we divide social class to upper, upper middle, middle, lower middle and lower, which do you think you are?

- 01. Upper
- 02. Upper middle
- 03. Middle
- 04. Lower middle
- 05. Lower
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know

Q16. Monthly household income. CSES M6 D09; CSES M5 D09

- 01. Under 31,000
- 02. 31,001-45,000
- 03. 45,001-56,000
- 04. 56,001-69,000
- 05. 69,001-78,000
- 06. 78,001-93,000
- 07. 93,001-108,000
- 08. 10,8001-132,000
- 09. 13,2001-164,000
- 10. Over 164,001
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It's hard to say/It depends
- 98. Don't know

Q17a. Country of birth. CSES M6 D09; CSES M5 D14

- \_\_\_\_\_  
95. Refuse to answer  
98. Don't know

Q17b. Was either or both of your parents born outside of our country? CSES M6 D15

- 01. Both of them
- 02. Only father
- 03. Only mother
- 04. Neither
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 98. Don't know

Q18a. Are you a resident of where your household is registered? CSES M6 D17

- 01. Yes [skip to Q19]
- 02. No [continue to Q18b]
- 95. Refuse to answer[skip to Q19]

Q18b. In which county/city and which township do you live? CSES M6 D17

- \_\_\_\_\_  
95. Refuse to answer  
98. Don't know

Q19. Does the R leave his/her telephone number and mobile phone number to I?

- 90. Telephone/Mobile Number: \_\_\_\_\_
- 95. Don't want to give the number

Q20. How many telephone lines does your household have? (only those used for voice communications)

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

Q21a. We would like to know what is your habit of phone use. Which statement do you match?

- 01. Only home phone [skip to Q22]
- 02. Mostly are home phones; a few are mobile phones
- 03. Half-half
- 04. Mostly are mobile phones; a few are home phones
- 05. Only mobile phone [skip out on Q21d]
- 06. Do not use home phone and mobile phone [skip to Q22]
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 96. It depends
- 97. No opinion
- 98. Don't know

Q21b. How many mobile numbers do you usually use?

- 98. Don't know
- 95. Refuse to answer

Q21c. Which telecom company does your mobile number belong to?

- 01. Chunghwa Telecom
- 02. Taiwan Mobile
- 03. FarEasTone (FET)
- 04. T-star Telecom
- 05. Asia Pacific Telecom
- 90. Others \_\_\_\_\_
- 95. Refuse to answer
- 98. Don't know

Q21d. Are there any mobile phone numbers transferred from home phone numbers?

- 01. A few
- 02. No
- 95. Refuse to answer

Q22. Finally, our teacher is interested in the Internet usage in Taiwan, may you provide us your most frequently used e-mail?

- 02. No
- 90. E-mail: \_\_\_\_\_
- 95. Refuse to answer

Q23. R's gender 【R self-reported】

- 01. Male
- 02. Female
- 03. Not clear

---

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

---

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

Q24. Language used to conduct interview.

- 01. Mandarin
- 02. Taiwanese
- 03. Hakka
- 04. Mandarin and Taiwanese
- 05. Mandarin and Hakka
- 06. Taiwanese and Hakka
- 90. Other \_\_\_\_\_

Q25. R's gender. CSES M6 D02; M5 D02

- 01. Male
- 02. Female

***Part I: In-house Sampling***

X1. Where did you conduct the in-house sampling/interview?

- 02. Doorway or balcony
- 03. Inside the house
- 04. Public area of building/community
- 05. Store (convenience store, cafe)
- 90. Others \_\_\_\_\_

X2. Did anyone accompany you to conduct the in-house sampling?

- 01. Yes, accompanied by someone, interviewer ID, \_\_\_\_\_
- 02. Yes, relationship with the interviewer: \_\_\_\_\_
- 03. No

X3. After entering the household, to what extent does the in-house sampling facilitator understand the in-house sampling procedure?

- 01. Understand the procedural and easily run it
- 02. Cannot understand the procedural until interviewer explained it
- 03. Cannot understand the procedural even though interviewer explained it
- 90. Others \_\_\_\_\_

X4. After contacting the facilitator, how much effort did you put to persuade him/her to agree to start the in-house sampling?

- 01. After the opening statement
- 02. Need little effort excepting opening
- 03. Need lots of effort
- 90. Others \_\_\_\_\_

X5. Does the facilitator try to refuse the in-house sampling? If so, at what stage?

- 01. Yes, in the very beginning of the procedure
- 02. Yes, in the middle of the procedure
- 03. Yes, after the completion of the procedure
- 04. Not at all

X6. To what extent do you think the household information provided by the facilitator?

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

X7. To what extent do you think the facilitator trust you?

01. Doesn't trust at all
02. Doesn't trust
03. Trusts
04. Trusts completely

X8. During the in-house sampling procedure, how many times do you need to explain?

01. Don't need to
02. Once or twice
03. Three to five times
04. Above six times

## ***Part II: Interview Record***

### Y1. Record Type

01. All by CAPI
02. Parts by paper and pencil interviewing, \_\_\_\_\_
03. All by paper and pencil interviewing, \_\_\_\_\_
90. Others \_\_\_\_\_

### Y2. Did you make an appointment for the interview?

01. Yes
02. No

### Y3. Do you read all the questions?

01. Yes, and do not show any question to R
02. Yes, but show some questions to R(Not the selection card)
03. Do not recite some questions
04. Do not recite all questions

### Y4. Before the interview, did the R do any of the following? [multiple responses permitted]

01. Claim s/he was too busy to be interviewed
02. Claim he/she has something to do for his/her family thus cannot be interviewed
03. Claim not interested in taking an interview
04. Claim not trust opinion surveys
05. Express doubt about how the survey data would be used
06. Express doubt about whether R's opinions or personal information would be kept private
07. Express doubt about the hosted organization of the survey or principal investigator of the survey
08. Express doubt about the identity of the interviewer
09. A family member opposed the R being interviewed
10. None of the above

### Y5. From your interview with the R, how much effort did you spend on persuading R until he/she agreed to take the interview?

01. Explain the opening statement (including the executive, the subject and self-introduction) after the start.
02. Need to clearly explain the content and purpose of this interview.
03. In addition to the above description, but also need to ask him to help again and again.

Y6. During the interview, did the R encounter any of the following situation that affect the interview?

01. Oral expression Impairment
02. Hearing Impairment
03. Intellectual Disability
04. Need to translate because of language barrier, and explain the translator's identity\_\_\_\_\_
05. Others\_\_\_\_\_
06. None of the above

Y7. During the interview, did the R do any of the following? Did the R ask to fill out the questionnaire by himself or herself?

07. Ask to fill out the questionnaire him or herself
08. Ask to see the questionnaire
09. Tend to quit the interview
10. Express too many questionnaires
11. None of the above

Y8. After the interview, did you present the voucher to the R?

01. Yes, and the R accepted the voucher.
02. Yes, but the R didn't accept the voucher
03. Yes, but the R presented the voucher to me.
04. No, because I have no voucher but have informed the project team to send
05. Others\_\_\_\_\_

Y9. How cooperative was the R?

01. Very cooperative
02. Fairly cooperative
03. A little cooperative
04. A little uncooperative
05. Fairly uncooperative
06. Very uncooperative

Y10. How well do you think the R understood the questions?

01. Understood very well
02. Understood fairly well
03. Understood a little
04. Didn't understand a little
05. Didn't understand a fair amount
06. Didn't understand much at all

Y11. How sensitive do you think the R thought the questions were?

01. Very sensitive
02. Fairly sensitive
03. A little sensitive
04. A little insensitive
05. Fairly insensitive
06. Very insensitive

Y12. How interested do you think the R was in the contents of the survey?

01. Very interested
02. Fairly interested
03. A little interested
04. A little uninterested
05. Fairly uninterested
06. Very uninterested

Y13. How trustworthy do you think the R's answers are?

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

Y14. What do you think is the R's level of knowledge about general political matters?

01. Very low
02. Low
03. High
04. Very high

Y15. The R answered questions:

01. Alone [skip to Z1]
02. With his or her spouse
03. A child also participated (Child's age is about:)
04. With his or her entire family
06. Colleagues
07. Relatives
08. Servant (housekeeper)
09. Grandchildren
10. Customer
11. Siblings
12. Friends
13. Neighbors
14. Administrator
15. Students
16. Employees
17. Chiefs of village
18. Police
90. Others \_\_\_\_\_

Y16. Did a third person present at the interview do any of the following:

01. Keep busy, but listen to the conversation between I and R
02. Be present part of the time, but not express opinion or otherwise interfere
03. Be present all of the time, but not express opinion or otherwise interfere
04. During interview, express opinion or otherwise interfere with interview
05. None of the above
90. Others \_\_\_\_\_

***Part III: Interviewer information***

Z1. Interviewer ID:

\_\_\_\_\_

Z2. Interviewer's gender

01. Male
02. Female