

## 四、正式問卷英文版（B 卷）



## **TEDS2004L Questionnaire(B)**

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

A1. During last year's legislative election campaign, when reading the election news in the newspapers, did you pay very close attention, pay moderately close attention, not pay very close attention, or not pay attention at all?

- 01. Very close attention
- 02. Moderately close attention
- 03. Not very close attention
- 04. No attention at all
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's depended
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

A2. Which newspaper did you read most often? [only one response permitted]

- 01. China Times
- 02. United Daily News
- 03. Central Daily News
- 04. Commercial Times
- 05. The Commons Daily
- 06. Min Sheng Daily
- 07. Economic Daily News
- 08. Youth Daily News
- 09. Taiwan Times
- 10. Liberty Times
- 11. United Evening News
- 12. China Times Express
- 13. The Great News
- 14. China Daily
- 15. Taiwan Daily
- 16. Taiwan News
- 17. Apple Daily
- 92. don't read

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

A3. During last year's legislative election campaign, when you watched election campaign news reports on TV, did you pay very close attention, pay moderately close attention, not pay close attention, or not pay attention at all?

01. Very close attention

02. Moderately close attention

03. Not very close attention

04. No attention at all

95. refuse to answer

96. it's depended

97. none opinion

98. don't know

A4. Which TV news did you watch most often? [only one response permitted]

01. Taiwan Television

02. China Television

03. Chinese Television

04. Formosa Television

05. TVBS

06. Sanlih E-Television

07. Eastern Television

08. CTi Television

09. Era Television

10. Gala Television

11. Super Television

12. Da-Ai Television

13. Taiwan Public Television

14. Star Television

92. don't watch

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

B1. Do you commonly talk with other people about politics or elections?

01. Often

02. Sometimes

03. Seldom

04. Never [skip to B2]

95. refuse to answer [skip to B2]

B1a. Who do you commonly talk about politics or elections with? Family members, relatives, friends, neighbors, colleagues at work, members of an association, classmates, or others? [multiple responses allowed]

- 01. family members
- 02. relatives
- 03. friends
- 04. neighbors
- 05. colleagues
- 06. members of an association
- 07. classmates
- 95. refuse to answer

B1b. Do these people who you commonly discuss politics or elections with support the same party?

- 01. all support the same party
- 02. most support the same party
- 03. about half and half [skip to B2]
- 04. only a few support the same party [skip to B2]
- 05. none support the same party [skip to B2]
- 98. don't know [skip to B2]

B1c. Which party is that?

- 01. KMT
- 02. DPP
- 03. NP
- 04. PFP
- 05. TAIP
- 06. TSU
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's depended
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

B2. Were you concerned with the outcome of this presidential election? Were you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned, or not concerned at all?

- 01. very concerned
- 02. somewhat concerned
- 03. not too concerned

- 04. not concerned at all
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's depended
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

B3. Among the people who asked for your vote in this presidential election, who had the biggest influence on your decision?

- 01 family members
- 02 friends
- 03 colleagues
- 04 relatives
- 05 neighbors
- 06 Ward chief
- 07 Neighborhood chief
- 08 members of KMT headquarter
- 09 members of DPP headquarter
- 10 members of NP headquarter
- 11 members of PFP headquarter
- 12 members of TAIP headquarter
- 13 members of TSU headquarter
- 14 candidate's assistants
- 15 candidate
- 16 association
- 17 religious groups
- 18 faction
- 19 self-determination
- 95. refuse to answer

B4. The following are a few ways in which voters might participate in an election. Thinking about this year's presidential election, did you do any of the following things?

B4a. Did you try to persuade others to vote for a certain candidate or party?

- 01. yes
- 02. no [skip to B4b]
- 95. refuse to answer [skip to B4b]

B4aa. How often?

- 01. frequently
- 02. sometimes

03. seldom

B4b. Did you express your support for a particular candidate or party? For example, did you participate in an election march or rally, hang or wear a flag or other symbol, or express your support in some other ways?

01. yes

02. no [skip to B5]

95. refuse to answer [skip to B5]

B4bb. How often did you do these things?

01. frequently

02. sometimes

03. seldom

B5. During this year's legislative election, did you do any of the following? [multiple responses permitted]

B5. During this year's legislative election, did you do any of the following? [multiple responses permitted]

01. read the official election notice

02. read candidates' leaflets, newsletters, or newspaper ads

03. watch candidate debates or campaign speeches on TV

04. do volunteer work in campaign for either a candidate or party

05. attend an election related gathering or banquet

06. join a candidate's support organization

07. remind your friends to watch candidate debates or campaign speeches on TV

08. discuss the pros and cons of various candidates with other people

09. give money to a political party or candidate

92 none of them [skip to C1]

95 refuse to answer [skip to C1]

98 don't know [skip to C1]

B6. Did you usually participate in these activities because you were interested in them, or did you only go because someone else invited you?

01. I was interested in them

02. Someone else invited me

03. Both

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

C1. People like me can't possibly influence government policies.

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's depended
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

C2. Government officials don't care about what people like me think.

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's depended
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

C3. Politics and government are too complex and difficult for us average people to understand.

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's depended
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

D1. The vast majority of decisions made by the government are correct.

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer



- 96. it's depended
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

D2. Government officials often waste taxpayers' money

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's depended
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

D3. Do you think that when the government decides important policies, its first priority is to protect the interests of the people?

- 01. Usually
- 02. Sometimes
- 03. Not very often
- 04. Never
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. depends on situation
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

D4. Do you believe what government officials say on TV or in newspapers?

- 01. Usually
- 02. Sometimes
- 03. Not very often
- 04. Never
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. depends on situation
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

E1. In our society, some people support changing "Republic of China" to "Republic of Taiwan." Do you think this kind of proposal will bring harm to our society?

- 01. certainly

- 02. perhaps
- 03. perhaps not
- 04. certainly not
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

E2. Concerning people who advocate "Republic of Taiwan," do you agree that the government should prohibit them from doing the following things?

E2a. Holding demonstrations or marches

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

E2b. Teaching in schools

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

E2c. Running for public office

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

E3. In our society, some people say that Taiwan should accept the Mainland's policy of "One Country, Two Systems." Do you think this kind of proposal will bring harm to our society?

- 01. certainly
- 02. perhaps

- 03. perhaps not
- 04. certainly not
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

E3a. When answered E3, the respondent had been suggested?

- 01. yes
- 02. no

E4. Concerning people who advocate accepting "One Country, Two Systems," do you agree that the government should prohibit them from doing the following things?

E4a. Holding demonstrations or marches

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

E4b. Teaching in schools

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

E4c. Running for public office

- 01. strongly agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strongly disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

F1. Would you say that over the past year, the state of the economy of Taiwan has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

- 01. better
- 02. about the same
- 03. worse
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's depended
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

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. better
- 02. about the same
- 03. worse
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's depended
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

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. better
- 02. about the same
- 03. worse
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's depended
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

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. better
- 02. about the same
- 03. worse
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's depended
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

G1. We would like you now to compare the present government led by Chen Shui-bian with the one led by the Kuomintang. Would you say that things are much better than before, somewhat better, somewhat worse, or much worse?

- 01. better
- 02. somewhat better
- 03. somewhat worse
- 04. much worse
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's depended
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

G2. What do you think is the most important issue our country has faced over the past four years? [open-ended question]

- 9995. refuse to answer [skip to G4]
- 9998. don't know [skip to G4]

G3a. Which party do you think can best resolve this problem?

- 01. KMT
- 02. DPP
- 03. NP
- 04. PFP
- 05. TAIP
- 06. TSU
- 91. All of them.
- 92. None of them.
- 95. Refused to answer.
- 98. Don't know.

G3b. Which branch of government do you think can best resolve this problem?

- 01. Presidential Hall
- 02. Executive Yuan
- 03. Legislative Yuan
- 04. Judicial Yuan
- 05. Examination Yuan
- 06. Control Yuan
- 91. Every government branch
- 92. None

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

G4. On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents very dissatisfied and 10 represents very satisfied. Concerning Chen Shui-bian's overall performance as president over the past four years, are you satisfied or dissatisfied?

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

G5. On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents very dissatisfied and 10 represents very satisfied. Concerning the Legislative Yuan's overall performance over the past three years, are you satisfied or dissatisfied?

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

G6. During the past year, which party in the Legislative Yuan has performed the best? Second best? Third?

01. KMT

02. DPP

03. NP

04. PFP

05. TSU

91. All performed equally well

92. All performed equally poorly

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

G7. In the district where you register, which legislator of the 5th Legislative Yuan had the best performance? [open-ended question]

999992. None [skip to G8]

999998. Don't Know [skip to G8]

999995. Refuse to answer [skip to G8]

G7a. Which aspect do you think he/she had the best performance?

01. law-making and oversight

02. district service

98. Don't know

95. Refuse to answer

G7b. Did you vote for the legislator?

01. Yes [skip to G8]

02. No

03. Didn't vote [skip to G8]

04. He/She didn't run for the election [skip to G8]

91. Forgot [skip to G8]

95. Refuse to answer [skip to G8]

G7c. Why didn't you vote for him/her?

01. He/she can win the election

02. He/she cannot win the election

03. Vote for another candidate to make more candidates elected

04. There is a better candidate

05. He/she is on party list

98. Don't know

95. Refuse to answer

G8. In the district where you register, which legislator of the 5th Legislative Yuan had the worst performance? [open-ended question]

999992. None

999998. Don't Know

999995. Refuse to answer

G9. When making the voting decision, some people pick their favorable party and then select their most favored candidate. Will you consider the party first?

01. Certainly will

02. Probably will

03. Probably will not

04. Certainly will not

95. refuse to answer

96. it depends

97. no opinion

98. don't know

H1. Ideally, which task do you think is the most important one for the legislators?

01. law-making

- 02. overseeing the administration
- 03. serve as a bridge between the government and people
- 04. examine the budget
- 05. district service
- 06. local projects and development
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

H2. In practice, which task do you think is the most important one for the legislators?

- 01. law-making
- 02. overseeing the administration
- 03. serve as a bridge between the government and people
- 04. examine the budget
- 05. district service
- 06. local projects and development
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it depends
- 97. no opinion
- 98. don't know

H3. Which of the following two statements do you agree with more? (1) The opposition parties should have a majority of the seats in the legislature so that they can provide checks and balances on the government. (2) The president's party should have a majority of seats in the legislature so that it can implement its policies.

- 01. The opposition parties should have a majority of the seats in the legislature so that they can provide checks and balances on the government.
- 02. The president's party should have a majority of seats in the legislature so that it can implement its policies.
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. depends on situation
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

H4. Which of the following three statements do you agree with more? (1) No matter the result of legislative elections, the president has the right to decide who the premier and cabinet ministers will be. (2) The premier and cabinet ministers should be



determined by negotiations between the president and legislature. (3) No matter the result of legislative elections, the legislature has the right to decide who the premier and cabinet ministers will be.

01 No matter the result of legislative elections, the president has the right to decide who the premier and cabinet ministers will be.

02 The premier and cabinet ministers should be determined by negotiations between the president and legislature.

03 No matter the result of legislative elections, the legislature has the right to decide who the premier and cabinet ministers will be.

95. refuse to answer

96. depends on situation

97. none opinion

98. don't know

H5. Overall, do you feel satisfied or dissatisfied with the practice of democracy in Taiwan?

01. very satisfied

02. somewhat satisfied

03. somewhat dissatisfied

04. very dissatisfied

95. refuse to answer

96. depends on situation

97. none opinion

98. don't know

Next , these are some descript, whether you agree or not?

H6. Democracy may have problems, but it is still the best system. Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

01. strongly agree

02. agree

03. disagree

04. strongly disagree

95. refuse to answer

96. it's depended

97. none opinion

98. don't know

H7. Elected representatives should all be highly educated people.

- 01. strong agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strong disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

H8. Women shouldn't participate in political activities like men do

- 01. strong agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strong disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

H9. Strong leadership is more important than a good legal system.

- 01. strong agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strong disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know r

H10. Government executives are the equivalent of the head of a household; all national matters large or small should be decided by them.

- 01. strong agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strong disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 97. none opinion

98. don't know

H11. If anyone's thinking isn't in the same vein, society will be chaotic.

01. strong agree

02. agree

03. disagree

04. strong disagree

95. refuse to answer

96. it's hard to say

97. none opinion

98. don't know

H12. Whether or not an idea should be allowed to flow through society should be decided by the government.

01. strong agree

02. agree

03. disagree

04. strong disagree

95. refuse to answer

96. it's hard to say

97. none opinion

98. don't know which party

H13. If a country has a lot of political parties, it will influence political stability.

01. strong agree

02. agree

03. disagree

04. strong disagree

95. refuse to answer

96. it's hard to say

97. none opinion

98. don't know which party

H14. In any society, if groups proliferate everywhere, it will influence stability and tranquility in that place.

01. strong agree

02. agree

03. disagree

- 04. strong disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

H15. If the government is often checked by the legislature, it can't possibly accomplish great things.

- 01. strong agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strong disagree things done
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

H16. When judges rule on important cases which influence law and order, they should accept the opinions of executive organs.

- 01. strong agree
- 02. agree
- 03. disagree
- 04. strong disagree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's hard to say
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

Next, I'd like you to make some evaluations of this legislative election.

J1a. First, do you think this legislative election helped to promote ethnic harmony, intensify ethnic conflict, or did it not have any influence in this area?

- 01. promoted ethnic harmony
- 02. intensified ethnic conflict
- 03. no influence in this area [skip to J2a]
- 95. refuse to answer [skip to J2a]
- 96. it's depended [skip to J2a]
- 97. none opinion [skip to J2a]

98. don't know [skip to J2a]

J1aa. How large was the influence?

01. very strong influence

02. some influence

95. refuse to answer

96. it's depended

97. none opinion

98. don't know

J2a. Do you think this legislative election brought about a decrease or increase in the extent of money politics and organized crime ("black gold"), or did it not have any influence in this area?

01. The extent of money politics and organized crime decreased

02. The extent of money politics and organized crime increased

03. no influence in this area [skip to J3a]

95. refuse to answer [skip to J3a]

96. it's depended [skip to J3a]

97. none opinion [skip to J3a]

98. don't know [skip to J3a]

J2aa. How large was the influence?

01. very strong influence

02. some influence

95. refuse to answer

96. it's depended

97. none opinion

98. don't know

J3a. Do you think this legislative election strengthened the popular consciousness for Taiwan independence, strengthened the popular consciousness for Chinese unification, or did it not have any influence in this area?

01. strengthened Taiwan independence

02. strengthened Chinese unification

03. no influence in this area [skip to J4a]

04. both were strengthened [skip to J4a]

95. refuse to answer [skip to J4a]

96. it's depended [skip to J4a]

97. none opinion [skip to J4a]

98. don't know [skip to J4a]

J3aa. How large was the influence?

01. very strong influence

02. some influence

95. refuse to answer

96. it's depended

97. none opinion

98. don't know

J4a. Do you think this legislative election improved democracy in Taiwan, damaged democracy in Taiwan, or did it not have any influence in this area?

01. improved democracy

02. damaged democracy

03. no influence in this area [skip to K1]

95. refuse to answer [skip to K1]

96. it's depended [skip to K1]

97. none opinion [skip to K1]

98. don't know [skip to K1]

J4aa. How large was the influence?

01. very strong influence

02. some influence

95. refuse to answer

96. it's depended

97. none opinion

98. don't know

K1. Who is the current Vice President of our country? [open-ended question]

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

K2. Who is the President of the PRC? [open-ended question]

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

K3. Who is the current President of the United States? [open-ended question]

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

K4. How many years is a legislator's term? [open-ended question]

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

K5. Which body has the power to interpret the Constitution? [open-ended question]

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

L1. Could you tell us where your voting booth was in the last year's election?  
[open-ended question]

98. don't know

91. refuse to answer

L2. Did you vote for the Legislative Yuan Election last year(in 2004)?

01. yes [skip to L2b]

02. no

91. forgot [skip to L3]

95. refuse to answer [skip to L3]

L2a. What was the reason you didn't vote? [open-ended question] [skip to L6]

95. refuse to answer

L2b. Which party did you vote for?

01. KMT

02. DPP

03. NP

04. PFP

05. TAIP

06. TSU

07. Independent Alliance

08. Independents

91. forgot

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

L2c. Which candidate did you vote for? [open-ended question]

999991. forgot

999995. refuse to answer

999998. don't know

L2d. What was the main reason you voted for this candidate? [open-ended question]

995. refuse to answer

998. Don't know which party

L3. In this election, some voters voted for the candidate they admired most without considering electoral developments. Other voters considered electoral developments and voted for the candidate who needed their vote the most. What did you do?

01. Voted for the candidate I admired most without considering electoral developments

02. Considered electoral developments and voted for the candidate who needed my vote the most

95. refuse to answer

96. it's hard to say

97. none opinion

98. don't know

L4. In this election, many voters hoped that their party could win more seats in their district, and so they were willing to vote according to the party's suggested vote rationing system. Did you do this?

01. yes [skip to L6]

02. no

95. refuse to answer

L5. There were also many voters who hoped that their party could win more seats in their district, and so they discussed how to vote with their family and friends and decided to distribute their votes among several candidates of the same party. Did you do this?

01. yes

02. no

95. refuse to answer

L6. Which party did you vote for in the 2001 Legislative Yuan Election?

01. KMT



- 02. DPP
- 03. NP
- 04. PFP
- 05. TAIP
- 06. TSU
- 91. forgot
- 93. don't vote [skip to L7]
- 95. refuse to answer [skip to L7]
- 98. don't know [skip to L7]

L6a. Which candidate did you vote for? [open-ended question]

- 999991. forgot
- 999995. refuse to answer
- 999998. don't know

L7. Did you vote for in the preceding presidential election (in 2004.)?

- 01. Yes
- 02. No [skip to L8]
- 91. forgot [skip to L8]
- 92. not qualified to vote [skip to L8]
- 95. refuse to answer [skip to L8]

L7a. Which candidate did you vote for?

- 01. Chen Shui-bian and Anette Lu
- 02. Lien Chan and James Soong
- 03. invalid vote
- 91. forgot
- 95. refuse to answer

L8. Did you vote for in the preceding presidential election (in 2000)?

- 01. Yes
- 02. No [skip to M1a]
- 91. forgot [skip to M1a]
- 92. not qualified to vote [skip to M1a]
- 95. refuse to answer [skip to M1a]

L8a. Which ticket did you vote for?

- 01. Soong-Chang
- 02. Lien-Siew
- 03. Li-Feng
- 04. Hsu-Chu
- 05. Chen and Lu
- 06. cast an invalid vote
- 91. forgot
- 95. refuse to answer

M1a. In our society people often talk about the question of Taiwan independence from or unification with China. Some people say that Taiwan should declare independence right away. Other people say that Taiwan and China should unify right away. Yet other people have opinions between these two positions. On this card, the position that Taiwan should immediately declare independence is at 0 on a scale from 0 to 10, and the position that Taiwan should immediately unify with the mainland is at 10. About where on this scale does your own view lie?

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

M1b. As you understand it, about where on this scale does the position of the KMT lie?

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

M1c. About where on this scale does the position of the DPP lie?

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

M1d. About where on this scale does the position of the PFP lie?

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

M1e. About where on this scale does the position of the TSU lie?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

M2a. Regarding the question of economic development versus environmental protection, some people in society emphasize environmental protection while others emphasize economic development. On this card, the position that emphasizes environmental protection is at 0 on a scale from 0 to 10, and the position that emphasizes economic development is at 10. About where on this scale does your own view lie?

\_\_\_\_\_

90. omit

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

M2b. As you understand it, about where on this scale does the position of the KMT lie?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

M2c. About where on this scale does the position of the DPP lie?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

M2d. About where on this scale does the position of the PFP lie?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

M2e. About where on this scale does the position of the TSU lie?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

M3a. Regarding the question of social welfare, some people believe that the government should merely maintain the current system in order not to increase people' tax. Other people believe that the government should promote social welfare,

even though it will lead to tax increase. On this card, the position that maintaining the current system is the most important thing is at 0 on a scale from 0 to 10, and the position that promoting social welfare is most important is at 10. About where on this scale does your own view lie?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

M3b. As you understand it, about where on this scale does the position of the KMT lie?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

M3c. About where on this scale does the position of the DPP lie?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

M3d. About where on this scale does the position of the PFP lie?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

M3e. About where on this scale does the position of the TSU lie?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

M4a. Looking at Taiwan's overall development, some people believe that large scale reform is the most important thing, even if it means sacrificing some social stability. Other people believe that stability is the most important and that reform should not be allowed to affect social stability. On this card, the position that large-scale reform is the most important thing is at 0 on a scale from 0 to 10, and the position that social stability is most important is at 10. About where on this scale does your own view lie?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

M4b. As you understand it, about where on this scale does the position of the KMT lie?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

M4c. About where on this scale does the position of the DPP lie?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

M4d. About where on this scale does the position of the PFP lie?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

M4e. About where on this scale does the position of the TSU lie?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

N1. In Taiwan, some people think they are Taiwanese. There are also some people who think that they are Chinese. Do you consider yourself as Taiwanese, Chinese or both?

01. Taiwanese [skip to P1]

02. both

03. Chinese [skip to P1]

95. refuse to answer [skip to P1]

98. don't know [skip to P1]

N1a. Do you consider yourself as Taiwanese and also Chinese, Chinese and also Taiwanese, or both?

01. Taiwanese and also Chinese

02. both

03. Chinese and also Taiwanese

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

P1. Concerning the relationship between Taiwan and mainland China, which of the following six positions do you agree with: 1) immediate unification, 2) immediate independence, 3) maintain the status quo, move toward unification in the future, 4) maintain the status quo, move toward independence in the future, 5) maintain the status quo, decide either unification or independence in the future, 6) maintain the status quo forever

01. immediate unification

02. immediate independence

03. maintain the status quo, move toward unification in the future

04. maintain the status quo, move toward independence in the future

05. maintain the status quo, decide either unification or independence in the future

06. maintain the status quo forever

95. refuse to answer

96. it's hard to say

97. none opinion

98. don't know

P2. Some people say that Taiwan should increase its trade and economic relations with the Mainland because it would help Taiwan's economy; but some people say that Taiwan should decrease its trade and economic relations with the Mainland because it would endanger Taiwan's national security. Which argument do you agree?

01. Taiwan should increase its trade and economic relations with the Mainland

02. Taiwan should decrease its trade and economic relations with the Mainland

95. refuse to answer

96. it's depended

97. none opinion

98. don't know

P3. If a declaration of independence by Taiwan would cause the Mainland to attack Taiwan, do you favor Taiwan independence?

01. strong disagree

02. disagree

03. agree

04. strong agree

95. refuse to answer

96. it's depended

97. none opinion

98. don't know

P4. If a declaration of independence by Taiwan would not cause Mainland China to attack Taiwan, do you favor Taiwan independence?

- 01. strong disagree
- 02. disagree
- 03. agree
- 04. strong agree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's depended
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

P5. Suppose that the gaps in economic, social, and political conditions were quite large. The two sides should still unify.

- 01. strong disagree
- 02. disagree
- 03. agree
- 04. strong agree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's depended
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

P6. If the economic, social, and political conditions were about the same in both the mainland and Taiwan, then the two sides should unify.

- 01. strong disagree
- 02. disagree
- 03. agree
- 04. strong agree
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's depended
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

P7. If Taiwan declares independence, do you think the Mainland will attack Taiwan?

- 01. Very possible
- 02. Possible
- 03. Not possible

- 04. Not possible at all
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's depended
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

P8. If the Mainland attacks Taiwan because Taiwan declared independence, do you think the US will send troops to help Taiwan?

- 01. Very possible
- 02. Possible
- 03. Not possible
- 04. Not possible at all
- 95. refuse to answer
- 96. it's depended
- 97. none opinion
- 98. don't know

Q1. Among the main political parties in our country, including the KMT, DPP, PFP, NP, and TSU, do you think of yourself as leaning toward any particular party?

- 01. yes [skip to Q1b]
- 02. no
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

Q1a. Do you feel yourself leaning a little more to one of the political parties than the others?

- 01. yes
- 02. no [skip to Q1b]
- 95. refuse to answer [skip to Q1b]
- 98. don't know [skip to Q1b]

Q1b. Which party is that?

- 01. KMT
- 02. DPP
- 03. NP
- 04. PFP
- 05. TAIP
- 06. TSU



95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

Q1c. Do you lean very strongly, somewhat, or just a little to this party?

01. very strongly

02. somewhat

03. just a little

95. refuse to answer

96. it's depended

97. none opinion

98. don't know

Q2a. Now we'd like to understand your opinions about each of the political parties. If zero means you dislike a party very much, and ten means you like that party very much, what number would you give the KMT?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

96. never heard before

98. don't know

Q2b. The DPP?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

96. never heard before

98. don't know

Q2c. The PFP?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

96. never heard before

98. don't know

Q2d. The TSU?

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

96. never heard before

98. don't know

Q3a. People have differing images of each political party. We would like to ask your images of the major parties. First, what is your first image when you think of the KMT?

98. don't know

95. refuse to answer

Q3b. What about the DPP?

98. don't know

95. refuse to answer

Q3c. What about the PFP?

98. don't know

95. refuse to answer

Q3d. What about the TSU?

98. don't know

95. refuse to answer

R1. In the past five years, have you done any of the following things to express your opinion about what the government should or should not do?

R1a. Have you contacted government officials, popular representatives, or other political figures, including contacting them face-to-face, writing letters, calling them on the telephone, or some other method?

01. yes

02. no

95. refuse to answer

R1b. Have you participated in a protest, a march, or a demonstration?

01. yes

02. no

95. refuse to answer

R1c. Have you united with other people who hold the same view and taken action together?

01. yes

02. no

95. refuse to answer

S1. Year of birth

95. refuse to answer

S2. Father's ethnic background

01. Taiwanese Hakka

02. Taiwanese Min-nan

03. Mainlander

04. Aboriginal

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

S3. Mother's ethnic background

01. Taiwanese Hakka

02. Taiwanese Min-nan

03. Mainlander

04. Aboriginal

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

S4. Marital status

01. married

02. separated

03. widowed

04. live together

05. divorced [skip to S6]

06. single [skip to S6]

95. refuse to answer [skip to S6]

S5. Spouse's ethnic background

01. Taiwanese Hakka

02. Taiwanese Min-nan

03. Mainlander

04. Aboriginal

95. refuse to answer

98. don't know

S6. Education level

- 01. illiterate
- 02. literate but no formal schooling
- 03. some primary school
- 04. primary school graduate
- 05. some junior high school
- 06. junior high school graduate
- 07. some high school or vocational school
- 08. high school or vocational school graduate
- 09. some technical college
- 10. technical college graduate
- 11. some university
- 12. university graduate
- 13. post-graduate education
- 95. refuse to answer

S7. Religious belief

- 01. none [continue to S7a]
- 02. Buddhism [continue to S7a]
- 03. Taoism [continue to S7a]
- 04. Catholic
- 05. Protestant
- 06. Muslim
- 07. I-Kuan-Tao
- 95. refuse to answer
- 98. don't know

S7a. Do you burn incense for the Earth God, Matsu, or some other spirits?

- 01. yes
- 02. no
- 04. ancestors
- 90. omit
- 99. skip

S8. Main occupation of respondent

- 0010. Servicemen
- 0020. Students
- 0031. housekeeping, without domestic crafting [skip to S8b]
- 0032. housekeeping, with domestic crafting [skip to S8b]

0033. housekeeping, helping familial business without pay [skip to S8b]  
0034. housekeeping, helping familial business with pay [skip to S8b]  
0040. never work before  
0050. Unemployment [continue to S8a]  
0060. Retired [continue to S8a]  
1010. Legislators and Government Administrators  
1021. Directors and Chief Executives(Pub.)  
1022. Directors and Chief Executives(Priv.)  
1031. Production and Operations Managers(Pub.)  
1032. Production and Operations Managers(Priv.)  
1091. Other Managers(Pub.)  
1092. Other Managers(Priv.)  
2011. Phys., Math. and Eng. Science Professionals(Pub.)  
2012. Phys., Math. and Eng. Science Professionals(Priv.)  
2021. Biol. Science and Health Professionals(Pub.)  
2022. Biol. Science and Health Professionals(Priv.)  
2031. Teachers(Pub.)  
2032. Teachers(Priv.)  
2041. Accountants and Business Professionals(Pub.)  
2042. Accountants and Business Professionals(Priv.)  
2051. Lawyers and Legal Professionals(Pub.)  
2052. Lawyers and Legal Professionals(Priv.)  
2061. Social Science and Related Professionals  
2062. Social Science and Related Professionals  
2091. Other Professionals(Pub.)  
2092. Other Professionals(Priv.)  
3011. Phys. and Eng. Science Associate Professionals(Pub.)  
3012. Phys. and Eng. Science Associate Professionals(Priv.)  
3021. Biol. Science and Health Associate Professionals(Pub.)  
3022. Biol. Science and Health Associate Professionals(Priv.)  
3031. Teaching and Related Associate Professionals(Pub.)  
3032. Teaching and Related Associate Professionals(Priv.)  
3041. Fin. and Business Services Associate Professionals(Pub.)  
3042. Fin. and Business Services Associate Professionals(Priv.)  
3051. Gov. Admin. Officials and Bus. Clerical Supervisors(Pub.)  
3052. Gov. Admin. Officials and Bus. Clerical Supervisors(Priv.)  
3061. Administrative Associate Professionals(Pub.)  
3062. Administrative Associate Professionals(Priv.)

3071. Customs, Tax and Related Gov. Associate Professionals(Pub.)  
3072. Customs, Tax and Related Gov. Associate Professionals(Priv.)  
3091. Other Associate Professionals(Pub.)  
3092. Other Associate Professionals(Pub.)  
4011. Office Clerks(Pub.)  
4012. Office Clerks(Priv.)  
4021. Customer Services Clerks(Pub.)  
4022. Customer Services Clerks(Priv.)  
5011. Personal Services Workers(Pub.)  
5012. Personal Services Workers(Priv.)  
5021. Protective Services Workers(Pub.)  
5022. Protective Services Workers(Priv.)  
5031. Models, Salespersons and Demonstrators(Pub.)  
5032. Models, Salespersons and Demonstrators(Priv.)  
6011. Agr., Animal Husbandry, Forestry and Fishing Workers(Pub.)  
6012. Agr., Animal Husbandry, Forestry and Fishing Workers(Priv.)  
7011. Extraction and Building Trades Workers(Pub.)  
7012. Extraction and Building Trades Workers(Priv.)  
7021. Metal, Machinery and Rel. Trades Workers(Pub.)  
7022. Metal, Machinery and Rel. Trades Workers(Priv.)  
7031. Precision, Handicraft, Print. and Rel. Trades Workers(Pub.)  
7032. Precision, Handicraft, Print. and Rel. Trades Workers(Priv.)  
7091. Other Craft and Rel. Trades Workers(Pub.)  
7092. Other Craft and Rel. Trades Workers(Priv.)  
8011. Stationary-plant and Rel. Operators(Pub.)  
8012. Stationary-plant and Rel. Operators(Priv.)  
8021. Machine Operators(Pub.)  
8022. Machine Operators(Priv.)  
8031. Assemblers(Pub.)  
8032. Assemblers(Priv.)  
8041. Drivers and Mobile-plant Operators(Pub.)  
8042. Drivers and Mobile-plant Operators(Priv.)  
9011. Sales and Services Elementary Occupations(Pub.)  
9012. Sales and Services Elementary Occupations(Priv.)  
9021. Production Laborers and Rel. Workers(Pub.)  
9022. Production Laborers and Rel. Workers(Priv.)  
9091. Other Elementary Occupations(Pub.)  
9092. Other Elementary Occupations(Priv.)

9995. refuse to answer

S8a. Main occupation of respondent before retirement or unemployment

0010. Servicemen

0020. Students

0031. housekeeping, without domestic crafting

0032. housekeeping, with domestic crafting

0033. housekeeping, helping familial business without pay

0034. housekeeping, helping familial business with pay

0040. never work before

0050. Unemployment

0060. Retired

1010. Legislators and Government Administrators

1021. Directors and Chief Executives(Pub.)

1022. Directors and Chief Executives(Priv.)

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1032. Production and Operations Managers(Priv.)

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2032. Teachers(Priv.)

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2042. Accountants and Business Professionals(Priv.)

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2052. Lawyers and Legal Professionals(Priv.)

2061. Social Science and Related Professionals

2062. Social Science and Related Professionals

2091. Other Professionals(Pub.)

2092. Other Professionals(Priv.)

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3012. Phys. and Eng. Science Associate Professionals(Priv.)

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3022. Biol. Science and Health Associate Professionals(Priv.)

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3032. Teaching and Related Associate Professionals(Priv.)  
3041. Fin. and Business Services Associate Professionals(Pub.)  
3042. Fin. and Business Services Associate Professionals(Priv.)  
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3072. Customs, Tax and Related Gov. Associate Professionals(Priv.)  
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3092. Other Associate Professionals(Pub.)  
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8022. Machine Operators(Priv.)  
8031. Assemblers(Pub.)  
8032. Assemblers(Priv.)



8041. Drivers and Mobile-plant Operators(Pub.)  
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9021. Production Laborers and Rel. Workers(Pub.)  
9022. Production Laborers and Rel. Workers(Priv.)  
9091. Other Elementary Occupations(Pub.)  
9092. Other Elementary Occupations(Priv.)  
9990. omit  
9995. refuse to answer  
9999. skip

S8b. Main occupation of respondent's spouse.

0010. Servicemen  
0020. Students  
0031. housekeeping, without domestic crafting  
0032. housekeeping, with domestic crafting  
0033. housekeeping, helping familial business without pay  
0034. housekeeping, helping familial business with pay  
0040. never work before  
0050. Unemployment  
0060. Retired  
0070. Spouse deceased  
1010. Legislators and Government Administrators  
1021. Directors and Chief Executives(Pub.)  
1022. Directors and Chief Executives(Priv.)  
1031. Production and Operations Managers(Pub.)  
1032. Production and Operations Managers(Priv.)  
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9091. Other Elementary Occupations(Pub.)  
9092. Other Elementary Occupations(Priv.)  
9990. omit  
9995. refuse to answer  
9999. skip

S9. Current employment status of respondent

01. employed full time (32 hours or more a week)  
02. employed part time (15 to 32 hours a week)  
03. employed less than part time (less than 15 hours a week)  
04. help out at home  
05. currently looking for employment  
06. student or currently in job training  
07. retired  
08. home duties  
09. disabled or unable to work  
95. refuse to answer

S10. Language usually spoken at home

01. Mandarin  
02. Taiwanese  
03. Hakka

- 04. Aboriginal language
- 05. other Chinese dialect
- 06. both Mandarin and Taiwanese
- 07. both Mandarin and Hakka
- 08. both Taiwanese and Hakka
- 09. both Mandarin and other Chinese dialect
- 95. refuse to answer

S11. Number of people in household

- 95. refuse to answer

S11a. Number of children under age 18 in household

- 95. refuse to answer

S12. In the past five years, how many trips have you taken to Mainland China (not including Hong Kong or Macau)?

- 95. refuse to answer

S12a. 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

S13. Have you or any member of your family made investments, conducted business, held employment, settled down or studied in Mainland China?

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

S14. monthly household income

- 01. under 25000
- 02. 25001-36000
- 03. 36001-45000
- 04. 45001-54000
- 05. 54001-62000
- 06. 62001-72000
- 07. 72001-84000
- 08. 84001-101000

09. 101001-132000

10. over 132001

95. refuse to answer

96. it's hard to say

98. don't know

S15. telephone number and mobile phone number

01. telephone number

02. mobile phone number

03. no telephone

04. don't want to give the number

S16. How many telephone lines does your household have? (only those used for voice communications)

\_\_\_\_\_

95. refuse to answer

ending hours\_\_\_\_\_ ending minutes\_\_\_\_\_

S17. respondent's gender

01. male

02. female

S18. Language used to conduct interview

01. Mandarin

02. Taiwanese

03. Hakka

04. Mandarin and Taiwanese

05. Mandarin and Hakka

06. Taiwanese and Hakka

T1. Before the interview started, did the respondent do any of the following?

[multiple responses permitted]

01. Claim he or she was too busy to be interviewed

02. Claim his or her family was too busy for him or her to be interviewed

03. Claim to be uninterested in surveys

04. Claim not to trust opinion surveys

05. Express doubt about how the survey would be used

- 06. Express doubt about whether respondents' opinions or personal information would be kept private
- 07. Express doubt about the surveying organization or project director
- 08. Express doubt about the identity of the interviewer
- 09. A family member opposed the respondent being interviewed
- 10. None of the above

T2. During the interview, did the respondent do any of the following:

T2a. Did the respondent ask to fill out the questionnaire him or herself?

- 01. yes
- 02. no

T2b. Did the respondent ask to see the questionnaire?

- 01. yes
- 02. no

T2c. Did the respondent seem to want to quit during the interview?

- 01. yes
- 02. no

T2d. Did the respondent say that there were too many questions?

- 01. yes
- 02. no

T2e. Did the respondent say that a question was unclear or something was not defined well?

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

T2f. Did the respondent think the questions were too hard?

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

T2g. Did the respondent think the questions were too sensitive?

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

T3. How cooperative was the respondent?

- 01. very cooperative
- 02. fairly cooperative
- 03. a little cooperative
- 04. a little uncooperative
- 05. fairly uncooperative
- 06. very uncooperative

T4. How well do you think the respondent understood the questions?

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

T5. How sensitive do you think the respondent thought the questions were?

- 01. very sensitive
- 02. fairly sensitive
- 03. a little sensitive
- 04. a little insensitive
- 05. fairly insensitive
- 06. very insensitive

T6. How interested do you think the respondent was in the contents of the survey?

- 01. very interested
- 02. fairly interested
- 03. a little interested
- 04. a little uninterested
- 05. fairly uninterested
- 06. very uninterested

T7. How trustworthy do you think the respondent's answers are?

- 01. most are untrustworthy
- 02. some are untrustworthy
- 03. most are trustworthy
- 04. all are trustworthy

T8. What do you think is the respondent's level of knowledge about general political matters?

- 01. very low
- 02. low
- 03. high
- 04. very high

T9. The respondent answered questions:

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