

### **TEDS2004L Retest-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

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

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]

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

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 you 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
- 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

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

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

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

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



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

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 L7]

95. refuse to answer [skip to L7]

L2a. What was the reason you didn't vote? [open-ended question] [skip to L7]

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

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

01. Yes

02. No [skip to N1]

91. forgot [skip to N1]

92. not qualified to vote [skip to N1]

95. refuse to answer [skip to N1]

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

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]

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

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

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