Project Title: Continuations and Changes of College Students’ Political Values and Attitudes

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Questionnaire Outline
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G. Political Support
H. Political Trust
J. Political Efficacy
K. Democratic Value
L. Political Knowledge
M Issue Position
N. Postmaterialism
P. Unification-Independence Attitude
Q. Political Participation
R. Party Support
S. Modernization
T. Political Tore lance
U. Family Background and Demographic Data
A. Mass media (all the questions in this section are repeatedly asked in Wave 1, 2, & 3)

A01
How often do you watch TV news?
1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

A02
When you watch TV news, how attentive are you?
1. Not attentive at all
2. Not too (Rarely) attentive
3. Somewhat attentive
4. Very attentive

A03
How often do you read political news in newspapers?
1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

A04
When you read political news in newspapers, how attentive are you?
1. Not attentive at all
2. Not too attentive
3. Somewhat attentive
4. Very attentive

A05
How often do you read political news in magazines?
1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

A06
When you read political news in magazines, how attentive are you?
1. Not attentive at all
2. Not too attentive
3. Somewhat attentive
4. Very attentive

A07
How often do you read political news in online newspaper?

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

A08
When you read political news in online newspapers, how attentive are you?

1. Not attentive at all
2. Not too attentive
3. Somewhat attentive
4. Very attentive

A09
How often do you read political news on bulletin board system (BBS)?

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

A10
When you read political news on BBS, how attentive are you?

1. Not attentive at all
2. Not too attentive
3. Somewhat attentive
4. Very attentive

A11
How often do you listen to political news on radio?

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often
A12
When you listen to political news on the radio, how attentive are you?

1. Not attentive at all
2. Not too attentive
3. Somewhat attentive
4. Very attentive

A13
How often do you read politics discussions on the net?

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

A14
When you read politics discussion on the net, how attentive are you?

1. Not attentive at all
2. Not too attentive
3. Somewhat attentive
4. Very attentive

A15
How often do you watch TV’s political talk shows?

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

A16
When you watch TV’s political talk shows, how attentive are you?

1. Not attentive at all
2. Not too attentive
3. Somewhat attentive
4. Very attentive

A17
Do you gain political knowledge or information from reports in the media?

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

A18
When you talk about political topics with others, do you quote reports in the media?

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

A19
Political reports in the media are so complicated that a person like me cannot understand.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

A20
I can express my opinions about political issues through media.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

A21
Political reports in the media do not play a just role.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

A22
News reports usually don’t reflect the truth of political events.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree
A23
Reports of political parties or political figures in the media are often biased.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

A24
I don’t think the news media would care about the general people’s thoughts.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

A25
Political reports in the media often provide the public with useful information.

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

A26
Generally speaking, do you accept the viewpoints of political comments in the media?

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

A27
Have you ever written to the newspaper to express your opinions about political issues?

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

A28
Have you ever called the radio or TV political commentary shows?

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

A29
Have you ever participated in the phone polls conducted by TV stations to express your opinions regarding political issues?

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

A30
Have you ever expressed your opinions or responded to political issues in online newspapers?

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

A31
Have you ever expressed your opinions or responded to political issues on bulletin board system (BBS)?

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

A32
Do you express your opinions or responded to political issues on the net?

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

A33
Where, for the most part, do you gain information regarding politics or government?

1. TV
2. Newspaper
3. Broadcast
4. Political commentary magazine
5. Online newspaper
A34
What is your primary motive to watch or listen to political news? (Select only one item)

1. Entertainment
2. To know other people’s viewpoints
3. To make me feel satisfied
4. To gain information
5. To increase the topics of conversation
6. To seek resources
8. Never want to watch
9. By accident
10. Accompanying family
11. For the rights and interests of the public
12. Interest
13. No other shows to watch

A35
If you find inconsistent reports of the same political event among TV, newspaper, political commentary magazine, radio, online newspaper, BBS, or political talk show, which medium would you believe?

1. TV
2. Newspaper
3. Political commentary magazine
4. Radio
5. Online newspaper
6. BBS Bulletin Board System
7. Political talk show
9. Myself
10. Parents, grandparents
11. Teachers

A36
If an event that is controversial or that is hard to understand happens in this society, which medium will help you understand the event?

1. TV
2. Newspaper
3. Political commentary magazine
4. Radio
5. Online newspaper
6. BBS Bulletin Board System
7. Political talk show
9. Myself
10. Teacher
11. Friend
12. Family
13. Research Journal

A37
On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents no trust at all and 10 represents a lot of trust, how much trust do you have on newspaper?

A38
How much trust do you have on TV news? (from 0 to 10)

A39
On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents extremely biased report of the mass media and 10 represents extremely fair report of the media, where do you think is the mass media in Taiwan?

A40
On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents the government taking complete control of the mass media and 10 represents the government allowing complete freedom of the press, where do you think is the government?

A41
Where is the government’s ideal position on this scale? (from 0 to 10)

B. School (all the questions in this section are repeatedly asked in Wave 1, 2, & 3, except for B24 & B25)

B01
Generally speaking, did your high school teachers encourage students to participate in discussion or to express opinions in the classroom? (Wave 1)
Generally speaking, do your teachers encourage students to participate in discussion or to express opinions in the classroom? (Wave 2)

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

B02
Did you participate in discussion or express opinions in the classroom? (Wave 1)
Do you participate in discussion or express opinions in the classroom? (Wave 2)

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

B03
Did your high school teachers discuss some controversies in school with students? (Wave 1)
Do your teachers discuss some controversies in school with students? (Wave 2)

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

B04
Did you participate in these discussions? (Wave 1)
Do you participate in these discussions? (Wave 2)

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

B05
Did your high school teachers discuss some social and political issues with you? (Wave 1)
Do your high school teachers discuss some social and political issues with you in the class or after class? (Wave 2)

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

B06
Did you participate in these discussions? (Wave 1)
Do you participate in these discussions? (Wave 2)

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

B07
When you were discussing politics with your high school teacher, did you argue because you had different views? (Wave 1)
When you were discussing politics with your teacher, did you argue because you had different views? (Wave 2)
1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

B08
Did you consult your high school teachers about your own personal issues? (Wave 1)
Do you consult your teachers about your own personal issues? (Wave 2)
1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

B09
When I was in high school, school did not care about the opinions expressed by student like me. (Wave 1)
School does not care about the opinions expressed by student like me. (Wave 2)
1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

B10
When I was in high school, school made policies without paying attention to students’ feelings. (Wave 1)
School makes policies without paying attention to students’ feelings. (Wave 2)
1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree
B11
When I was in high school, the management of school was so complicated that the general students could not understand. (Wave 1)
The management of school is so complicated that the general students could not understand. (Wave 2)
1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

B12
When you were in high school, did you make a statement in class meetings or club meetings? (Wave 1)
Do you make a statement in class meetings or club meetings? (Wave 2)
1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often
5. No Participation

B13
When you were in high school, did you participate or audit the discussion of the debate regarding public affairs or social issues held by the school? (Wave 1)
Do you participate or audit the discussion of the debate regarding public affairs or social issues held by the school? (Wave 2)
1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

B14
When you were in high school, did you give opinions regarding school affairs to school? (Wave 1)
Have you ever given opinions regarding school affairs to school? (Wave 2)
1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

B15
When you were in high school, did you participate in any political clubs in school? (Wave 1)
Do you participate in any political clubs in school? (Wave 2)
1. Yes
2. No
3. No political club in school

B16
When you were in high school, did you participate in any club in school (excluding political club and student association)? (Wave 1)
Do you participate in any club in school (excluding political club and student association)? (Wave 2)

1. Yes
2. No

B17
When you were in high school, did you serve as or run for the cadre member or the chair of a club (including student association)? (Wave 1)
Have you ever served as or run for the cadre member or the chair of a club (including student association)? (Wave 2)

1. Yes
2. No

B18
Do you think you were active in school club activities in high school? (Wave 1)
Do you think you were active in school club activities in high school? (Wave 2)

1. Not active at all
2. Not too active
3. Somewhat active
4. Very active

B20
Were you in any athletic teams in high school? (Wave 1)
Are you in any athletic teams in this school? (Wave 2)

1. Yes
2. No

B21
Taking courses relevant to the Constitution, number of units?

B22
Taking courses relevant to political science (including public administration, international relation, etc), number of units?

B23
Taking courses relevant to cross-Strait political economic relations, number of units?
B24
Do you talk with your teachers about candidates, political parties, or political issues? (asked in W2 and W3)

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

B25
Do you support the same political party as your teachers support? (asked in W2 & W3)

1. All the same
2. All different
3. I am different from them
4. None supports a party

C. Peer Group

C01
When you were in high school, did you discuss domestic and international news of importance with your classmates or friends? (Wave 1)
Do you discuss domestic and international news of importance with your classmates or friends? (Wave 2 & 3)

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

C02
When you were in high school, did you gain political information from the discussion with your classmates or friends? (Wave 1)
Do you discuss domestic and international news of importance with your classmates or friends? (Wave 2 & 3)

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

C03
Generally speaking, when you were in high school, did you accept the viewpoints of political
comments made by your classmates or friends? (Wave 1)
Generally speaking, do you accept the viewpoints of political comments made by your classmates or friends? (Wave 2 & 3)

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

C04
When you were in high school, did you quote your classmates’ or friends’ viewpoints when you had a conversation of politics? (Wave 1)
Do you quote your classmates’ or friends’ viewpoints when you have a conversation of politics? (Wave 2 & 3)

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

C05 When you were in high school, did you and your classmates argue in a conversation of politics because you had different views? (Wave 1)
Do you and your classmates argue in a conversation of politics because you have different views? (Wave 2 & 3)

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

C06
Do you talk with your friends or classmates about candidates, political parties, or political issues? (Wave 2 & 3)

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

C07
Do you support the same political party as your friends or classmates support? (Wave 2 & 3)

1. All the same
2. All different
3. I am different from them
4. None supports a party
D. Family

D01
Is your father or mother interested in public affairs? (Wave 1 & 2)

1. Not interested at all
2. Not very interested
3. Somewhat interested
4. Very interested

D02
Does your father or mother attend activities relevant to public affairs? (Wave 1 & 2)

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

D03
Does your father or mother discuss public affairs with you? (Wave 1 & 2)

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often

D04
Do your siblings discuss public affairs with you? (Wave 1 & 2)

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often
5. No sibling

D05
When you are discussing politics with your family, do you argue because you have different views? (Wave 1 & 2)

1. Never
2. Seldom
3. Sometimes
4. Often
D06
Does your father like the KMT? (Wave 1, 2 & 3)

1. Dislike very much
2. Dislike slightly
3. Like slightly
4. Like very much

D07
Does your father like the DPP? (Wave 1, 2 & 3)

1. Dislike very much
2. Dislike slightly
3. Like slightly
4. Like very much

D08
Does your father like the PFP? (Wave 1, 2 & 3)

1. Dislike very much
2. Dislike slightly
3. Like slightly
4. Like very much

D09
Does your father like the TSU? (Wave 1, 2 & 3)

1. Dislike very much
2. Dislike slightly
3. Like slightly
4. Like very much

D10
Does your mother like the KMT? (Wave 1, 2 & 3)

1. Dislike very much
2. Dislike slightly
3. Like slightly
4. Like very much

D11
Does your mother like the DPP? (Wave 1, 2 & 3)

1. Dislike very much
2. Dislike slightly
3. Like slightly
4. Like very much
94. Death

D12
Does your mother like the PFP? (Wave 1, 2 & 3)
1. Dislike very much
2. Dislike slightly
3. Like slightly
4. Like very much
94. Death

D13
Does your mother like the TSU? (Wave 1, 2 & 3)
1. Dislike very much
2. Dislike slightly
3. Like slightly
4. Like very much
94. Death

D14
Are you close to your father? (Wave 2)
1. Very aloof
2. Somewhat aloof
3. Somewhat close
4. Close
5. Not together with father

D15
Are you close to your mother? (Wave 2)
1. Very aloof
2. Somewhat aloof
3. Somewhat close
4. Very close
5. No together with mother

D16
Overall, who has a final say on important things in your family? (Wave 2)
1. Father
2. Mother
3. Parents
4 Grandfather and Grandmother
5 Brothers and Sisters
6 Myself
7 All Family
96 Depends

D17
Do you have any influence on important things of your family? (Wave 2)

1 Not at all
2 Little
3 A little
4 A lot

D18
Do you talk with your family about candidates, parties, or political issues? (Wave 2 & 3)

1 Never
2 Seldom
3 Sometimes
4 Often

D19
Do you support the same party as your family support? (Wave 2 & 3)

1 All the same
2 All different
3 I am different from them
4 None supports a party

E. National identity (all the questions in this section are repeatedly asked in Wave 1, 2, & 3)

E01
When you say “our country,” to which of the following do you refer?

1. Mainland and Taiwan
2. Taiwan
3. Mainland
5. Republic of China
6. Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, and Matsu, as well as Green island and Orchid Island
7. ROC, Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, and Matsu
8. Cultural China
9. China
10. Taiwanese and Chinese culture
E02
When we say “our territory,” what do you mean by that?

1. Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, and Matsu
2. Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, and Matsu, as well as Mainland
3. Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, and Matsu + Diaoyutai Island
4. China
5. ROC
6. Taiwan

E03
When we say “people of my country,” to which of the following do you refer?

1. People in mainland and people in Taiwan
2. People in Taiwan
3. People in mainland
4. People of ROC
5. Chinese
6. People in Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, and Matsu,
7. People who live here and have ID.
8. People in Taiwan and Overseas Chinese

E04
When you say “culture of my country,” to which of the following do you refer?

1. Culture in mainland and culture in Taiwan
2. Culture in Taiwan
3. Culture in mainland
4. Culture in Taiwan and culture in mainland
5. Culture in China
6. Pan-Chinese-culture and aboriginal culture
7. Chinese culture
8. Chinese traditional culture and Taiwanese culture
9. Mainland during the period from ancient to Qing and Taiwan after the establishment of ROC
10. Culture of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, and Matsu
11. Minnan culture in Taiwan
12. Chinese and Taiwanese culture
13. Culture of ROC

E05
Are you proud of being a member of our country?

1. Not at all
2. Rarely
3. Sometimes
4. Often
E06
which of the following makes you proud?

1. Brilliant leader
2. Superior culture
3. the firs democratic republic in Asia
4. Ethical society
5. Societal stability
6. Diligence
7. Five branch system
8. Economic development
9. International status
10. Long-standing history
11. Democracy and freedom
12. Political stability
13. Development of science and technology
14. Quality of population
15. Art creation
16. Delicate landscape
17. Athletic performance
18. Excellent life quality
19. None
21. Kind national feature
22. People are able to make a self-examination
23. a lot fine food
24. Agricultural technology
25. Freedom of speech
26. Not adhere to tradition
27. People’s identity
28. Good among rotten apples
29. Plural society

E07
As for the questions regarding our country mentioned above, which of the following best captures your thought?

1. China
2. Republic of China
3. ROC in Taiwan
4. Taiwan
5. Republic of Taiwan
7. Democracy of Taiwan
8. ROC and Taiwan
9. ROC@Taiwan ROC at Taiwan
10. Formosa
F. Ethnicity Identification (all the questions in this section are repeatedly asked in Wave 1, 2, & 3)

F01
Do you consider yourself as Taiwanese, Chinese, or both?

1. Taiwanese
2. Chinese
3. Both

F02
Do you occasionally consider yourself as Chinese, too?

1. Yes
2. No

F03
Do you occasionally consider yourself as Taiwanese, too?

1. Yes
2. No

F04
Do you consider yourself being inclined to Taiwanese, or inclined to Chinese?

1. Taiwanese
2. Chinese
3. Neither or both

G. political support (all the questions in this section are repeatedly asked in Wave 1, 2, & 3)

G01
What do you think about the relationship between ethnic groups in Taiwan? On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents very inharmonious and 10 represents very harmonious, where is the relationship between ethnic groups in Taiwan on this scale?

G02
Some people say, “the constitution cannot meet the needs of the present condition, so it doesn’t matter if people do not show esteem for it.” Do you agree with this statement? On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents strongly disagree and 10 represents strongly agree, where would you place yourself on this scale?
G03
Overall, do you think the current electoral system can elect people we the general people need? On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents absolutely no and 10 absolutely yes, where would you place yourself?

G04
Are you satisfied with Chen Shui-bian’s overall performance as president in the past years? On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents extremely unsatisfied and 10 represents extremely satisfied, how satisfied are you?

H. political trust (all the questions in this section are repeatedly asked in Wave 1, 2, & 3, except for H13 & H14)

H01 Do you believe what the governmental leading cadres say on the TV or in the newspaper?
1. Strongly not believe
2. Slightly not believe
3. Slight believe
4. Strongly believe

H02
Some people say, “most of the things the government do are correct.” Do you agree with this statement?
1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

H03
Some people say, “governmental officials often waste the tax revenue paid by the people.” Do you agree with this statement?
1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

H10
What do you think is the most important thing facing our country?
1. National identity
2. Ethnic conflict
3. Constitutional system
4. Electoral system  
5. Incapable government  
6. Political corruption  
7. Cross-strait relation  
8. Diplomacy  
9. Economic Affairs  
10. Education  
11. Public security  
12. Environmental protection  
13. Disordered Legislative Yuan  
14. Judicial justice  
15. Political parties’ fight (Wave 2.3)  
16. Political parties’ fight (Wave 1)  
16. Media problems (Wave 2.3)  
17. Low-spirited culture  
18. To displace Chen Shui-bian  
19. Show-off political figures  
20. Low democratic capability and strong ideology (Wave 1)  
22. Morale  
26. To displace Chen Shui-bian (Wave 3)  
28. Low democratic capability and strong ideology (Wave 2)  
30. Morale (Wave 2)  
32. Religion

H11 What do you think is the most important thing facing our country?

1. National identity  
2. Ethnic conflict  
3. Constitutional system  
4. Electoral system  
5. Incapable government  
6. Political corruption  
7. Cross-strait relation  
8. Diplomacy  
9. Economic Affairs  
10. Education  
11. Public security  
12. Environmental protection  
13. Disordered Legislative Yuan  
14. Judicial justice  
15. Political parties’ fight (Wave 2)  
16. Media problems (Wave 2)  
17. Low-spirited culture  
21. Disordered opposition party  
26. To displace Chen Shui-bian  
27. Show-off political figures  
28. Low democratic capability and strong ideology (Wave 2)  
31. Internationalization
H12
Do you think that when the government decides important policies, its first priority is to protect the interests of the people?

1. Often
2. Sometimes
3. Seldom
4. Never

H13
Someone says: All in all, it is the most beneficial situation for Taiwan’s people if Taiwan and Mainland China can be unified eventually. Do you agree or disagree with this statement? (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strong agree

H14
Someone says: All in all, it is the most beneficial situation for Taiwan’s people if Taiwan finally becomes a new, independent country. Do you agree or disagree with this statement? (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strong agree

J. political efficacy

J01
Government officials don’t care about what people like me think (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

J02
It is difficult for people like me to understand politics (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

J03
Ordinary people like cannot have an influence on government policies (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

J04
Public Affairs are not easy to handle, so it is better not to meddle in. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

J05
I don’t think it makes any sense to care about politics. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

J06
As long as we are willing to bring up our opinions, university students like me can influence the development of politics and society. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

J07
As long as everybody put his efforts, it is not difficult to improve the political atmosphere. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree
J08
Taiwan’s political situation is so chaotic that I don’t know what is to be done. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

J09
The way democracy practices in Taiwan lets me wonder what democracy exactly means. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

J10
Nowadays political norms are in a muddle in Taiwan so that it is difficult to understand what justice is or what is not. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

J11
It is very difficult for me to figure which politician is believable. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

J12
Politicians will think of people only when they are running elections. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree
K. Democratic Value

K01
A good legal system is more important than good leadership. (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

K02
No matter what political views a person has, s/he can publicly express his or her opinions. (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

K03
The government will automatically solve the people’s problems, so we don’t need to make too many demands. (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

K04
In any society, if groups proliferate everywhere, it will influence stability and tranquility in that place. (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

K05
The chief of government is the equivalent of the head of a household; all national matters should be decided by them. (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree
K06
The government has no authority to forbid a person from reading the political publications s/he wants to read. (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

K07
If the executive is constantly checked by the representatives, it can’t possibly accomplish great achievements. (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

K08
If there is only one opinion and voice in a society, it cannot make progress. (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

K09
The government needs more authority in order deal with all the issues large and small in people’s lives. (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

K10
Politics is only a thing of a small group of people; most people have nothing to do with it. (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree
K11
Without the powerful scrutiny of the opposition, the ruling party will do whatever it likes. (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

K12
When the government is making important policies, it should value the opinions expressed by diverse social groups. (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

K13
The dissentient minority should also have the right of freedom of speech. (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

K14 Every citizen should have an equal chance to affect government policy. (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

K15
When the judiciary is judging an important legal case, it should esteem opinions of the chief of the executive. (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

K16
Because of the competition among diverse groups in a society, it makes progress. (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

K17
Here are some distinguishing characteristics of democracy.
Which one do we urgently need at this point? (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Party turnover
2. Freedom of speech
3. Government should take political responsibility
4. Popular sovereignty
5. Fairness to all
6. Esteem for public opinion
7. Checks and balances
8. More “rule of law” than “rule of men”
9. Majority rule
11. Conscience
12. Administrative efficiency
13. Governmental officials’ capabilities
14. Mutual respect and coordination
15. Stable political environment
16. Lack of democratic capability
17. Illegitimate attitudes and behaviors of the opposition
19. Congress
20. Esteem for the professional
21. Not all people have access to education
22. People’s capability
23. Less ideological battle, more rational debate
24. Check and cooperation between political parties
25. Political power should not step in the media
26. Ideology
27. Ethnic harmony
28. Respect for election outcomes
29. Quality of political parties
30. Too many politicians
31. International image
32. Quality of civil servants
33. Quality of legislators
34. Quality of political figures
35. Party conflicts
36. To act for the people
37. National interest prior to partisan interest
38. Media problems
39. Integrity
40. Trust to the government
K18
In our society, while some people think democracy is better, others think dictatorship is better. Which of the following statements is the one closest to your point of view? (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Democracy is always the best form of government in all kinds of circumstances.
2. In some circumstances, dictatorship is better than democracy.
3. Dictatorship is always the best form of government in all kinds of circumstances.
4. Any forms of government are the same to me.

K19
Are you satisfied with the practice of democracy in Taiwan? On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents extremely unsatisfied and 10 represents extremely satisfied, how satisfied are you? (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

K20
Are you optimistic with the future of our democracy? On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents very pessimistic and 10 very optimistic, where would you place you self?

On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents strongly disagree and 10 represents strongly agree, concerning the following statements, where would you place yourself on the scale? (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

K21
Although the situation changes dramatically, I still identify with our country “the Republic of China.” (from 0 to 10, Wave 1)

K22
I feel that all the ethnic groups in this country are willing to make efforts together to develop this country. (from 0 to 10, Wave 1)

K23
Since our constitution has experienced amendments many times, we had better directly establish a new constitution. (from 0 to 10, Wave 1)

K24
The leading cadres of our government are always keeping the people in mind with good intention. (from 0 to 10, Wave 1 & 2)

K25
When our government is making policies, it gives priority to the interests of the country and the people over those of the parties and individuals. (from 0 to 10, Wave 1)

K26
Most of the elected legislators can represent the constituency’s opinions. (from 0 to 10, Wave 1 & 2)

K27
Most of our government conduct ensures the people’s basic rights. (from 0 to 10, Wave 1)
K28
The court of our country can make fair judgment on each person, no matter how poor or how poor educated they are. (from 0 to 10, Wave 1 & 2)

K29  (from 0 to 10, Wave 1 & 2)
Although the practice of democracy in our country led to some political problems, I still think democracy is a worthy political value.

K30
The Central Election Committee issued a proclamation for the election of Chen Shui-bian as president, so it is legitimate for Chen Shui-bian to serve as president. (from 0 to 10, Wave 1)

K31
Mainlander and Taiwanese provincials have different identities with this territory. (from 0 to 10, Wave 2)

K32
Taiwanese have dwelled in this land longer than Mainlanders, so Taiwanese have stronger identity with this land. (from 0 to 10, Wave 2)

K33
Every citizen should be subject to the norm of public authority. (from 0 to 10, Wave 2)

K34
I feel Chen Shui-bian is a capable president to run the country well. (from 0 to 10, Wave 2)

K35
All the elected public officials announced by the Central Election Commission are legitimate. (from 0 to 10, Wave 2)

K36
All political parties which legally come into power should be entitled to ruling power. (from 0 to 10, Wave 2)

K37
I feel Chen Shui-bian is an honesty president. (from 0 to 10, Wave 2)

K38
Although people’s freedoms are limited under dictatorship or authoritarianism, things can be done more efficiently and decisively. Dictatorship and authoritarianism is no worse than democracy. (from 0 to 10, Wave 2)

K26-2
Most of the elected legislators can represent the constituency’s opinions. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree
K28-2
The court of our country can make fair judgment on each person, no matter how poor or how poor educated they are. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

K29-2
Although the practice of democracy in our country led to some political problems, I still think democracy is a worthy political value. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

K31-2
Mainlander and Taiwanese provincials have different identities with this territory. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

K32-2
Taiwanese have dwelled in this land longer than Mainlanders, so Taiwanese have stronger identity with this land. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

K33-2
Every citizen should be subject to the norm of public authority (Wave 3).

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree
K34-2
I feel Chen Shui-bian is a capable president to run the country well. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

K35-2
All the elected public officials announced by the Central Election Commission are legitimate. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

K36-2
All political parties which legally come into power should be entitled to ruling power. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

K37-2
I feel Chen Shui-bian is an honesty president. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

K38-2
Although people’s freedoms are limited under dictatorship or authoritarianism, things can be done more efficiently and decisively. Dictatorship and authoritarianism is no worse than democracy. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree
L. Political knowledge: wave 1

L01
Which government organization has the authority to interpret the constitution? (Wave 1)

1. Constitutional Court of the Judicial Yuan
2. DK
3. The Judicial Yuan
4. Grand Justices

L02
Who has the authority to promulgate laws? (Wave 1)

1. President
2. DK

L03
How long is the legislators’ term length? (Wave 1)

1. Three years
2. DK

L04
Who is the president of Mainland China? (Wave 1)

1. Hu Jintao
2. DK
3. (Hu Jintao) Correct sound but incorrect character

L05
Who is the vice president of the US? (Wave 1)

1. Cheney
2. DK
3. Incorrect spelling (English)

L06
Term length of county magistrate/city mayor? (Wave 2)

1 Correct
2 Incorrect/DK

L07
Which branch exercises the power of censure? (Wave 2)
L08
Which government organization has the power to propose constructional amendments? (Wave 2)

1 Correct
2 Incorrect/DK

L09
Who’s the president of Mainland China? (Wave 2)

1 Correct
2 Incorrect/DK
3 Correct sound but incorrect character

L10
To which political party does American president Bush’s belong? (Wave 2)

1 Correct
2 Incorrect/DK
3 Conservative

L11
Who nominates grand justices? (Wave 3)

1 Correct
2 Incorrect/DK

L12
Who is Chairman of DPP? (Wave 3)

1 Correct
2 Incorrect/DK
3 Correct sound but incorrect character

L13
Which institution can recall the President? (Wave 3)

1 Correct
2 Incorrect/DK
L14  
Who is the Japanese Premier? (Wave 3)  

1 Correct  
2 Incorrect/DK  
3 Correct sound but incorrect character  

M. Issue position  

Please use the scale from 0 to 10 to represent your attitude:  

M01  
If the view that emphasizes environmental protection is at one end (0) and the view that emphasizes economic development is at the other end. Where would you place yourself on the scale?  

M02  
Regarding the development of Taiwan, while some people consider that a wide margin reform is the most important thing (0), others emphasize that stability is the most important thing (10). Where would you place yourself on the scale?  

M03  
In our society, while some people claim that Taiwan should declare independence right away (0), other people claim that Taiwan and China should unify right away (10). Where would you place yourself on the scale?  

M04  
In our society, while some people claim that we should preserve traditional culture as much as possible (0), others claim that we should bring on foreign culture as much as possible (10). Where would you place yourself on the scale?  

M05  
As for the economic relationship between Taiwan and China, while some people claim that Taiwan should not develop a strong economic relationship with China (0), Others claim that Taiwan should develop a strong economic relationship with China (10). Where would you place yourself on the scale?
N. postmaterialism (all the questions in this section are repeatedly asked in Wave 1, 2, & 3)

N01
Would you please say which one of these you, yourself, consider the most important?

1. Maintaining a high level of economic growth
2. Making sure this country has strong defense forces
3. People have more to say about how public affairs are done
4. Environmental protection

N02
The next most important?

1. Maintaining a high level of economic growth
2. Making sure this country has strong defense forces
3. People have more to say about how public affairs are done
4. Environmental protection

N03
The third most important?

1. Maintaining a high level of economic growth
2. Making sure this country has strong defense forces
3. People have more to say about how public affairs are done
4. Environmental protection

N04
Would you please say which one of these you, yourself, consider the most important?

1. Maintaining social order
2. Giving people more say in important government decisions
3. Fighting rising prices
4. Protecting freedom of speech

N05
The second most important?

1. Maintaining social order
2. Giving people more say in important government decisions
3. Fighting rising prices
4. Protecting freedom of speech

N06
The third most important?
1. Maintaining social order
2. Giving people more say in important government decisions
3. Fighting rising prices
4. Protecting freedom of speech

N07
Would you please say which one of these you, yourself, consider the most important?

1. A stable economy
2. A humane society
3. A society in which ideas count more than money
4. Good public safety

N08
The next most important?

1. A stable economy
2. A humane society
3. A society in which ideas count more than money
4. Good public safety

N09
The third most important?

1. A stable economy
2. A humane society
3. A society in which ideas count more than money
4. Good public safety

**P. Unification-independence attitude**

P01
There are many different opinions about Taiwan’s future. What is your opinion? (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

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 and decide either unification or independence in the future
6. Maintain the status quo forever
7. Maintain the status quo and move toward a federal system in the future
P02
If, after declaring independence, Taiwan could maintain peaceful relations with the PRC, then Taiwan should establish a new, independent country. (Wave 1)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

P03
If economic, social, and political conditions were about the same in both the Mainland and Taiwan, then the two sides should unify. (Wave 1)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

Q. political participation (all the questions in this section are repeatedly asked in Wave 1, 2, & 3)

Q01
During the election campaign, do you pay attention to media news stories about the election?

1. Not at all
2. Hardly ever
3. Somewhat
4. Almost always

Q02
Have you ever participated or initiated any campus movement to fight for students’ rights?

1. Never
2. Hardly ever
3. Sometimes
4. Often

Q03
In our society, some people usually use social movement to express their views. Do you agree with them?

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strong agree
Q04
Is it possible for you to take part in this kind of social movement in the future?

1. Never
2. Hardly ever
3. Somewhat
4. Highly

Q05
Do you agree with somebody who has violent conflict with the police in order to protest something?

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

Q06
Is it possible for you to have conflict with the police in order to protest something in the future?

1. Never
2. Hardly ever
3. Somewhat
4. Highly

Q07
What do you consider as the most efficient way to express opinions or demands to the government?

1. Vote for good candidates
2. Participate in public official election
3. Participate or form organizations to express
4. Express to administrative officials
5. Express to elected representatives
6. Express to the mass media
7. Protest activities
8.
9. Bribe elected representatives
10. revolution
11. Coup
12. Violent protest
13. Join government
14. Bribe elected representatives
**R. party support**

R1
What is your first impression of the KMT? (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

R2
How about the DPP? (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

R3
How about the PFP? (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

R4
How about the TSU? (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

R5
Do you support the KMT, the DPP, the PFP, or the TSU? (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

R6
How strong is your support? (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Very
2. Average

R7
Do you lean more toward the KMT, the DPP, the PFP, the TSU, or not at all? (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

R8
It is more important to vote for a good political party than for a good candidate. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

R9
Becoming a firmly political party supporter is better than an independent voter. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree
R10
Regarding issues, political parties do not actually offered any clear choices to voters, and they but all confuse voters. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

R11
In our country, we do not really need any political party. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

R12
Even a party that accords with my idea does not do a good job, I will continue to support it. (Wave 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

S. Modernity

We use a scale from 0 to 10 to measure a country’s level of development. On this scale, 0 represents the lowest level and 10 represents the highest level, and 5 represents the medium level. Where would you place each of the following countries on this scale?

S01 Taiwan (Wave 1 & 3)
S02 Japan (Wave 1 & 3)
S03 India (Wave 1 & 3)
S04 Mainland China (Wave 1 & 3)
S05 Nigeria (Wave 1 & 3)
S06 Cambodia (Wave 1)
S07 USA (Wave 1 & 3)
S08 Nepal (Wave 1)
S10 Zimbabwe (Wave 3)
S11 Sweden (Wave 3)
S12 Brazil (Wave 3)
S13 Pakistan (Wave 3)
S09  
(Wave 1)  
Some people say, “If a woman is doing the same job as men do, she deserves the same remuneration.” Do you agree?  

1. Strongly disagree  
2. Somewhat disagree  
3. Somewhat agree  
4. Strongly agree  

T. Political Tolerance  
Assume that somebody thinks that democracy will lead to more chaos and advocates discarding elections and returning to military rule.  

T01  
Do you agree that this person is allowed to give a public speech in a school to advocate her view? (Wave 1)  

1. Strongly disagree  
2. Somewhat disagree  
3. Somewhat agree  
4. Strongly agree  

T02  
Do you agree that this person is allowed to teach in a university to advocate her view? (Wave 1)  

1. Strongly disagree  
2. Somewhat disagree  
3. Somewhat agree  
4. Strongly agree  

T03  
If this person writes to advocate her thoughts, is it okay for the library to store her book? (Wave 1)  

1. Absolutely not  
2. Barely not  
3. Barely okay  
4. Absolutely okay  

T04  
If this person initiates a large-scale demonstration to advocate her view, do you agree with the government to forbid her? (Wave 1)  

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

Assume that a person from Mainland China claims that military force should be used to solve the Taiwan issue.

T05
Do you agree that the government should allow her to enter Taiwan? (Wave 1 & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

T06
Do you agree that this person is allowed to give a public speech in a school to advocate her view? (Wave 1 & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

T07
Do you agree that this person is allowed to teach in a university to advocate her view? (Wave 1 & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Strongly agree

T08
If this person writes to advocate her thoughts, is it okay for the library to store her book? (Wave 1 & 3)

1. Absolutely not
2. Barely not
3. Barely okay
4. Absolutely okay

T09
Do you agree that the government should monitor this person’s behaviors? (Wave 1 & 3)

1. Strongly disagree
2. Somewhat disagree
3. Somewhat agree
4. Somewhat disagree

T10
Do you feel that his claim would threaten our security? (Wave 3)

1. Not at all
2. Barely not
3. Sometimes
4. Very

U. Family background and Demographic Data

U01
Is your father a Taiwanese Hakka, Taiwanese Minnan, Mainlander, or Aboriginal? (Wave 1)

U02
How about your mother? (Wave 1)

U03
(Wave 1)
Father’s education level?

1. No formal education
2. Elementary school
3. Junior high school
4. High school or vocational school
5. Technical college
6. University
7. Postgraduate education

U04
Mother’s education level? (Wave 1)

1. No formal education
2. Elementary school
3. Junior high school
4. High school or vocational school
5. Technical college
6. University
7. Postgraduate education

U05
Father’s occupation ______ (Wave 1)

U06
Mother’s occupation ______ (Wave 1)
According to your understanding of Taiwan society, would you say your family belongs to any one of the following class? (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Lower
2. Lower-middle
3. Middle
4. Upper-middle
5. Upper

Overall, according to your observation, does your father support a particular party? (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

How strongly does your father support that party? (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Strongly
2. Average

Does your father lean more to the KMT, the DPP, the PFP, the TSU, or none of them?

Overall, according to your observation, does your mother support a particular party? (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

How strongly does your mother support that party? (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Strongly
2. Average

Does your mother lean more to the KMT, the DPP, the PFP, the TSU, or none of them? (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

What language do your family usually speak, Mandarin, Taiwanese, or Hakka? (Wave 1)

What’s the ethnic background of your closer friends? (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Most are Mainlanders
2. Most are Taiwanese provincials
3. Half and half

U16
Do you speak fluent Taiwanese? (Wave 1 & 2)

1. Cannot understand at all
2. Can understand but cannot speak
3. A few sentence
4. Able to talk
5. Fluent
6. Very fluent

U17
If you don’t understand Taiwanese well, does this affect your communication with other people? (Wave 1 & 2)

1. Not at all
2. Little
3. A little
4. A lot

U18
Affect making friends? (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Absolutely no
2. No
3. Yes
4. Absolutely yes

U19
Affect marriage? (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Absolutely no
2. No
3. Yes
4. Absolutely yes

U20
Birth year (Republic year: +1911= Western year)? (Wave 1)

U21
Where did you reside for the longest time before you turned 18? (Wave 1)
U22
Where is your high school (vocational school, technical college)? (Wave 1 & 2)

U23
Could you please tell me your phone number? (Wave 1, 2, & 3)

1. Telephone number
2. Mobil phone number
3. No phone

U26
Gender? (Wave 1)

U27
How many brothers and sisters do you have? (Wave 2)

U28
What’s your ranking of all siblings? (Wave 2)

U29
What’s your parents’ income per month? (NT dollars, Wave 2 & 3)?

U30 main source of school fees (Wave 3)
1 paid by family
2 borrow
3 paid by self

U31 main source of living cost (wave 3)
1 paid by family
2 borrow
3 paid by self

U32
Where do you inhabit during the school term? (Wave 3)
1 dormitory
2 renting
3 at home
4 relation’s home
U35
Will you join a seminar? (Wave 3)

1. will
2. not will

Major ___________________

Interview Date___________

Interview Location_______