

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

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Questionnaire Outline

A. Mass Media

B. School

C. Peer Group

D. Family

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F. Ethnicity Identity

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 expressed 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

6.BBS Bulletin Board System

7. Political talk show

8. Parents

9. Scholl teach

10. Textbook

11. Classmate or friend

12. sibling

13. Book, magazine

15. Government's web site

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 you 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 you 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

De 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
4. Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, and Matsu + Diaoyutai Island
5. China
6. ROC
7. 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
5. People of ROC
6. Chinese
7. People in Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, and Matsu,
8. People who live here and have ID.
9. 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
5. Culture in Taiwan and culture in mainland
6. Culture in China
7. Pan-Chinese-culture and aboriginal culture
8. Chinese culture
9. Chinese traditional culture and Taiwanese culture
10. Mainland during the period from ancient to Qing and Taiwan after the establishment of ROC
11. Culture of Taiwan, Penghu, Kinmen, and Matsu
12. Minnan culture in Taiwan
13. Chinese and Taiwanese culture
14. 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 first 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 for m 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 your 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)

- 1 Correct
- 2 Incorrect/DK

L08

Which government organization has the power to propose constitutional 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
8. 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 firm 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 Torolance

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)

U07

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

U08

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

U09

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

1. Strongly
2. Average

U10 Does your father lean more to the KMT, the DPP, the PFP, the TSU, or none of them?

U11

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

U12

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

1. Strongly
2. Average

U13

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

U14

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

U15

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_____