

INDSR
Taiwan National Defense Surveys (2024 September)
Questionnaire
The institution conducting the telephone interviews:
Election Study Center, National Chengchi University.

Hello, we are interviewers from National Chengchi University. Our professor is conducting a telephone survey regarding public opinions on social issues, and we would like to ask you a few questions. First, could you please tell us how many adults over the age of 18 are in your household? Among them, how many are male? Could you kindly have _____ come to the phone? (The interviewer will follow the household sampling principles to select the respondent.) We would like to ask them a few questions. Thank you!

* At the beginning of the interview, please make sure the interviewer reads the following statement: *

I would like to start by asking you some questions. To protect your rights and ensure the quality of the interview, this call will be recorded. If at any point you feel uncomfortable answering a question, please let me know and we can skip it. If you feel uncomfortable at any time, you also have the right to stop the interview. Your personal information will be kept confidential, and in any future research reports, only overall trends will be presented.

1. Generally speaking, do you have a good or bad impression of our nation's military?
(1) Very good (2) Good (3) Quite bad (4) Very bad
(95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

2. In your opinion, do you think the image of military personnel has improved compared to the past?
(1) Improved a lot (2) Improved (3) Worsened (4) Worsened a lot

→ provide the third question for continuation

(95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

3. What do you think are the reasons for the improved image of military personnel? Is it because of enhanced effectiveness in military preparedness and training, their steadfastness in safeguarding national security, frequent assistance in disaster relief, improved communication with society, or the successful implementation of national defense education? [Options should be read in random order] (Multiple choices allowed)

- (1) enhanced effectiveness in military preparedness and training
- (2) their steadfastness in safeguarding national security
- (3) frequent assistance in disaster relief
- (4) improved communication with society
- (5) the successful implementation of national defense education
- (90) others _____
- (95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

4. Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the government's overall performance in national defense?

- (1) Very satisfied
- (2) Somewhat satisfied
- (3) Somewhat dissatisfied
- (4) Very dissatisfied
- (95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

5. Generally speaking, do you think that the current power of our nation's military has become stronger than in the past?

- (1) Has strengthened a lot
- (2) Has strengthened
- (3) Has weakened
- (4) Has weakened a lot
- (95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

*** Below is a list of possible threats to the vital interest of Taiwan in the next 10 years. For each one, please select whether you see this as a critical threat, an important but not critical threat, or not an important threat at all: [The order of the items is randomized] ***

6. China's territorial ambitions

- (1) Critical threat (2) Important but not critical threat (3) Not an important threat
- (95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

7. Extreme climate and natural disasters

- (1) Critical threat (2) Important but not critical threat (3) Not an important threat
- (95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

8. Economic stagnation

(1) Critical threat (2) Important but not critical threat (3) Not an important threat
(95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

9. Low birthrate crisis

(1) Critical threat (2) Important but not critical threat (3) Not an important threat
(95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

10. Energy shortages

(1) Critical threat (2) Important but not critical threat (3) Not an important threat
(95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

* If the respondent does not understand, the interviewer should clarify: Does this pose a serious threat to Taiwan's vital interests? *

11. Do you think it is possible that the Chinese PLA will attack Taiwan within the next five years?

(1) Very possible
(2) Somewhat possible
(3) Not very possible
(4) Completely impossible
(95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

12. If Russia wins the war against Ukraine, how likely do you think it is that "China will follow Russia's example and invade Taiwan?"

(1) Very likely
(2) Somewhat likely
(3) Unlikely
(4) Very unlikely
(95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

13. Do you think that Taiwan's relationship with the United States strengthens or weakens Taiwan's national security?

(1) Strengthens a lot
(2) Strengthens somewhat
(3) Weakens somewhat
(4) Weakens a lot
(95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

14. Do you think that Taiwan's relationship with Japan strengthens or weakens Taiwan's national security?

- (1) Strengthens a lot
- (2) Strengthens somewhat
- (3) Weakens somewhat
- (4) Weakens a lot
- (95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

15. Do you support the government increasing the defense budget, even if it might reduce spending on areas such as education, the economy, or social welfare?

- (1) Strongly support
- (2) Somewhat support
- (3) Somewhat oppose
- (4) Strongly oppose
- (95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

16. Do you support the government increasing the defense budget, even if it might require raising taxes?

- (1) Strongly support
- (2) Somewhat support
- (3) Somewhat oppose
- (4) Strongly oppose
- (95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

17. Are you confident in the ability of our nation's military to defend Taiwan?

- (1) Very confident; (2) Confident (3) Unconfident (4) Very unconfident
- (95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

* Next, we'd like to ask you how you think the United States would assist Taiwan if China were to invade Taiwan. [Questions 18–22 will be asked in random order.] *

18. Would the U.S. impose economic and diplomatic sanctions on China?

- (1) Definitely would
- (2) Probably would
- (3) Probably wouldn't
- (4) Definitely wouldn't
- (95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

19. Would the U.S. Navy break through China's blockade of Taiwan, even if it might lead to a direct conflict between the U.S. and China?

- (1) Definitely would
- (2) Probably would
- (3) Probably wouldn't
- (4) Definitely wouldn't
- (95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

20. Would the U.S. send troops to Taiwan to help defend it?

- (1) Definitely would
- (2) Probably would
- (3) Probably wouldn't
- (4) Definitely wouldn't
- (95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

21. Would the U.S. provide Taiwan with weapons and military supplies?

- (1) Definitely would
- (2) Probably would
- (3) Probably wouldn't
- (4) Definitely wouldn't
- (95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

22. Would the U.S. airlift food or medical supplies to Taiwan?

- (1) Definitely would
- (2) Probably would
- (3) Probably wouldn't
- (4) Definitely wouldn't
- (95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

23. If China really invades Taiwan by force, would you be willing to fight to defend Taiwan?

- (1) Very willing
- (2) Somewhat willing
- (3) Somewhat unwilling
- (4) Very unwilling
- (95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

*** Lastly, we would like to ask you a few personal questions. ***

24. Regarding the relationship between Taiwan and mainland China, there are several different views:

- (1) Unify as soon as possible
- (2) Declare independence as soon as possible
- (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 on independence or unification based on future circumstances
- (6) Permanently maintain the status quo.

Which of these do you lean toward?

25. Of the political parties in Taiwan, which party do you tend to support (for those who answered “no political party affiliation”, please ask which political party they support more in general during “non-election period”.)?

- (1) Kuomintang (KMT)
- (2) Democratic Progressive Party (DPP)
- (3) New Party
- (4) People First Party (PFP)
- (5) Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU)
- (6) Green Party
- (7) New Power Party (NPP)
- (8) Social Democratic Party (SDP)
- (9) Taiwan Statebuilding Party
- (10) Taiwan People's Party (TPP)

Ask 25a

- (11) Support both
- (12) Do not support either
- (96) Depends on the situation
- (97) No opinion (98) Don't know (95) Refuse to answer
- (90) Other (please specify) _____

Ask 25b

25a. Is your level of support for (the party answered by the respondent) strong support or just average?

- (1) Support strongly (2) Just moderately

25b. Do you lean toward any particular political party?

26. In our society, some people say they are Taiwanese, some people say they are Chinese, and some people say they are both. Do you consider yourself to be Taiwanese, Chinese, or both?

(1) Taiwanese (2) Chinese (3) Both

(95) Refuse to answer (96) It depends (97) No opinion (98) Don't know

27. What year were you born in?

_____year; (95) Refused to answer

28. What is your highest level of education?

29. Is your father's ethnicity Taiwanese Hakka, Taiwanese Minnan (Hoklo), mainlander, aboriginal, or new immigrant?

30. Is your mother's ethnicity Taiwanese Hakka, Taiwanese Minnan (Hoklo), mainlander, aboriginal, or new immigrant?

31. Main occupation of respondent

31a. Main occupation of respondent's spouse

31b. Main occupation of respondent before retirement or unemployment

32. In which county/city do you live? Please specify the county or city and the township, town, or district.

* Our interview has concluded. Your opinions have been very helpful to us. Thank you very much for participating in our survey. Thank you and goodbye! *

33. Respondent's gender

(1) Male (2) Female

34. Language used to conduct interview:

(1) Mandarin

(2) Taiwanese Hokkien

(3) Hakka

(4) Mandarin and Taiwanese Hokkien

(5) Mandarin and Hakka