Supplementary Materials: Valence Politics and Electoral Choice in a New Democracy: The Case of Taiwan

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Appendix—List of Variables

Vote=f(national leader image, local leader image, central government performance, local government performance, president's cross-strait policy, partisanship, party preference on handling most important issues, economic evaluations, national identity, citizenship, socio-demographics)

Var.Name	Variable Label	Values Label	Missing Value treatment
*Vote**	Which ticket did you vote for?	01 Frank HSIEH and SU Tseng-chang 02 MA Ying-jeou and Vincent SIEW	91forgot 94 cast an invalid vote 95 refuse to answer 98 don't know 99 skip *recoded to separate categories including "refused to answer", "non-voter"*

National Leader Image	How would you rate Frank HSIEH using 0 to 10 scale?	00 you dislike him very much 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 you like him very much.	95 refuse to answer 96 it's hard to say 97 no opinion 98 don't know *Mean substitution*
National Leader Image	How would you rate MA Ying-jeou using 0 to 10 scale?	00 you dislike him very much 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 you like him very much.	95 refuse to answer 96 it's hard to say 97 no opinion 98 don't know *Mean substitution*
Local Leader Image	What's your feeling toward Hau, Lung-bin? (Mayor of Taipei)	00 you dislike him very much 01	95. refuse to answer 96. it's hard to say

		02	97. no opinion
	_____	03	98. don't know
		04	
		05	_Mean substitution_
		06	
		07	
		08	
		09	
		10 you like him very much.	
Local Leader Image	What's your feeling toward Hu, Jason ? (Mayor of Tai-Chung) _____	00 you dislike him very much	95. refuse to answer
		01	96. it's hard to say
		02	97. no opinion
		03	98. don't know
		04	
		05	_Mean substitution_
		06	
		07	
		08	
		09	
		10 you like him very much.	
Local Leader Image	What's your feeling toward Chen, Chu ? (Mayor of Kaohsiung) _____	00 you dislike her very much	95. refuse to answer
		01	96. it's hard to say
		02	97. no opinion
		03	98. don't know
		04	
		05	_Mean substitution_

		06	
		07	
		08	
		09	
		10 you like her very much.	
Central Government Performance *(2008 Presidential Election Survey)*	Concerning Chen, Shui-bian's overall performance during his presidency, are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?	01 very satisfied 02 somewhat satisfied 03 somewhat dissatisfied 04 very dissatisfied	95 refuse to answer 96 it depends 97 no opinion 98 don't know recoded to middle category of restructured 5-point scale
Central Government Performance *(2010 Mayoral Election Election Survey)*	How satisfied are you with the overall performance of the central government under the KMT over the last two and half years?	01. very satisfied 02. satisfied 03. somewhat dissatisfied 04. very dissatisfied	95. refuse to answer 96. it depends 97. no opinion 98. don't know recoded to middle category of restructured 5-point scale
Local Government Performance	Overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the Taipei City mayor over the past four years?	01. very satisfied 02. somewhat satisfied 03. somewhat dissatisfied 04. very dissatisfied	95. refuse to answer 96. it depends 97. no opinion 98. don't know

			recoded to middle category of restructured 5-point scale
Local Government Performance	Overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the Taichung City mayor over the past four years?	01. very satisfied 02. somewhat satisfied 03. somewhat dissatisfied 04. very dissatisfied	95. refuse to answer 96. it depends 97. no opinion 98. don't know recoded to middle category of restructured 5-point scale
Local Government Performance	Overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the performance of the Kaohsiung City mayor over the past four years?	01. very satisfied 02. somewhat satisfied 03. somewhat dissatisfied 04. very dissatisfied	95. refuse to answer 96. it depends 97. no opinion 98. don't know recoded to middle category of restructured 5-point scale
President's Cross-strait Policy	Due to President Ma's cross-strait trade policies, do you think Taiwan's economy has gotten better, worse or is about the same?	01. better 02. worse 03. about the same	93. don't know President Ma's cross-strait trade policies 95. refuse to answer 96. it depends

			97. no opinion 98. don't know recoded to middle category
Party Identification (Partisanship)	Which party is that?	01 KMT 02 DPP 03 NP 04 PFP 05 TSU 06 Green Party Taiwan 07 Home Party	95 refuse to answer 96 it's hard to say 98 don't know Recoded to "others" category
Party Preference	Now we'd like to understand your opinions about each of the political parties. If 0 means you dislike a party very much, and 10 means you like that party very much, what number would you give the KMT?	00 dislike it very much 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 like it very much.	95 refuse to answer 98 don't know
Party Preference	What about the DPP?	00 dislike it very much 01 02	95 refuse to answer 98 don't know

		03	
		04	
		05	
		06	
		07	
		08	
		09	
		10 like it very much.	
Candidate best at issue	Which candidate best at most important issue?	Candidate names	91 all 92 neither 95 refuse to answer 96 it's hard to say 97 no opinion 98 don't know 99 skip recoded to zero
Economic Evaluations (Retrospective - National)	Would you say that over the past year, the state of the economy of Taiwan has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?	01 better 02 about the same 03 worse	96 it depends 97 no opinion 98 don't know recoded to middle category
Economic Evaluations (Perspective -	Would you say that in the forthcoming year, the state of the economy of Taiwan will get better, stay about the same, or get worse?	01 better 02 about the same 03 worse	95 refuse to answer 96 it depends 97 no opinion

National)			98 don't know recoded to middle category
Economic Evaluations (Retrospective - Personal)	Would you say that over the past year, your own household's economic condition has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?	01 better 02 about the same 03 worse	95 refuse to answer 96 it depends 97 no opinion 98 don't know recoded to middle category
Economic Evaluations (Perspective - Personal)	Would you say that in the forthcoming year, your own household's economic condition will get better, stay about the same, or get worse?	01 better 02 about the same 03 worse	95 refuse to answer 96 it depends 97 no opinion 98 don't know recoded to middle category
National Identity (Independence/Unification)	Concerning the relationship between Taiwan and mainland China, which of the following six positions do you agree with: 1) immediate unification, 2) immediate independence, 3) maintain the status quo, move toward unification in the future, 4) maintain the	1 immediate unification 2 immediate independence 3 maintain the status quo, move toward unification in the future 4 maintain the status quo, move toward independence in the future 5 maintain the status quo, decide either unification or independence,	7 it's depended by government 8 nothing about China9 one country two systems 95 refuse to answer 96 it depends 97 it's hard to say

		6 maintain the status quo forever Recoded into three (Indep, Unify and Status Quo) dichotomous variables	98 don't know recoded to zeros in dichotomous variables
Citizenship: *Political Efficacy*	C1. Some people say, "People like me don't have any say about what the government does." Do you agree or disagree with this statement? C2. Some people say, "Government officials do not care much about what people like me think." Do you agree or disagree with this statement? C3. Some people say, "Sometimes politics seems so complicated that a person like me cannot really understand what is going on." Do you agree or disagree with this statement?	01. strongly agree 02. agree 03. disagree 04. strongly disagree	95. refuse to answer 96. it depends 97. no opinion 98. don't know recoded to middle category
Citizenship: *Political Trust*	D1. Some people say, "Most decisions made by the government are correct." Do you agree or disagree with this statement? D2. Some people say, "Government officials often waste taxpayers' money." Do you agree or disagree with this statement? D3. When the government decides important policies, do you think "popular welfare" is its first priority? Is it often, sometimes, seldom, or	01. strongly believe 02. believe 03. not believe much 04. not believe at all	95. refuse to answer 96. it depends 97. no opinion 98. don't know recoded to middle category

	never? D4. Do you believe what government officials say? Do you strongly believe them, believe them, not believe them much, or not believe them at all?		
Citizenship: Political Interest	A1. During last year's campaign, some people spent a lot of time paying attention to all kinds of media news stories about the election, while others didn't have time to pay attention. On average, how much time did you spend each day during the campaign paying attention to news about the election on TV? A2. What about political talk shows on TV? A3. What about election news on the radio? A4. What about election news in the newspapers?	01. less than 30 minutes 02. 31-60 minutes 03. 60-90 minutes 04. 90 minutes to 2 hours 05. more than 2 hours 06. only paid attention every once in a while 07. paid no attention at all	95. refuse to answer 96. it depends 98. don't know recoded to lowest category
Citizenship: Political Knowledge	G1. Who is the current President of the United States? G2. Who is the current premier of our country? G3. In our country, who or what institution has the power to interpret the constitution?	1 correct 2 incorrect 3 know but can't remember	95 refuse to answer 98 don't know recoded to zero
Citizenship: Civic duty	L1. Different people have different opinions about voting. Some people think that voting is a responsibility, and you should vote even if you don't like any of the candidates or parties.	01. voting is a responsibility 02. all right either to vote or not to vote	95. refuse to answer 96. it depends 97. no opinion 98. don't know

	Other people think that it is all right to vote or not to vote, and the decision depends on how you feel about the candidates or parties. Do you think that voting is a responsibility, or do you think that it is all right either to vote or not to vote? L2. Do you believe very strongly, somewhat strongly, or only a little that voting is a responsibility? L3. How about your parents? Do they believe that voting is a responsibility or that it is all right either to vote or not to vote? L4. When you were growing up, did your parents tell you that voting is a responsibility?		recoded to lowest category
Socio-Demographics	Year of birth ?		
	Educational level ?	1 Below elementary school 2 Junior high school 3 senior high school 4 college 5 Above university	9 unresponsive recoded to lowest category
	Monthly household income	01. under 24000 02. 24001-36000 03. 36001-46000 04. 46001-55000 05. 55001-64000	95. refuse to answer 96. it's hard to say 98. don't know recoded to median

		06. 64001-75000	category
		07. 75001-87000	
		08. 87001-103000	
		09. 103001-132000	
		10. over 132001	
	Gender	01 male	
		02 female	

*Note: Three vote variables were created out of the vote variable:

Vote: all categories, blue, green, refused to answer, nonvoter.

Voteblue/votegreen: voting either blue or green, excluding nonvoters and refused to answer.

Votetold: all excluding refused to answer.

Additional Tables

Survey Data vs. Actual Vote share in Taiwan

	Taipei		Taichung		Kaohsiung	
	TEDS	**Actual Vote**	**TEDS**	**Actual Vote**	**TEDS**	**Actual Vote**
Did Not Vote	14.1		13.4		13.5	
Blue	49.4	55.65	42.6	51.12	12.7	20.52
Green	27.9	43.81	30.5	48.88	43.7	52.8
Independent	-		-		20.7	26.68
Refused to Answer	8.6		13.6		9.4	

Source: 2010 TEDS Mayoral Election Surveys (http://esc.nccu.edu.tw/) and Central Election Commission (http://en.cec.gov.tw/).

Table – Logit Analysis of Voting in the 2008 Election, Composite Specification

Predictor Variables	KMT
Taiwanese	-0.333
Male	-0.621*
Age	0
Education	0.059
Income	-0.023
KMT	1.787**
DPP	-2.605**
Blue Leader Capability	0.021
Green Leader Capability	0.071
Blue candidate image	0.523**
Green candidate image	-0.549**
KMT best most important issue	1.057**
DPP best most important issue	-1.092
Central Gov't Performance	-0.407**
Pro-independence	-0.608*
Pro-reunification	0.971+
Economic Evaluations	0.093
Political Efficacy	-0.076
Political Knowledge	0.041
Political Trust	0.092+
Political Interest	0.011
Constant	1.164
N	1440

Pseudo R^2	0.748
Chi2	237.044**
AIC	522.083
BIC	638.076

+ p < 0.10; * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; one tail test.

Binomial and Multinomial logit analyses of voting in the 2010 Taipei Mayoral Election, Composite Specification

Table – Binomial and Multinomial Logit Analysis of Voting in the 2010 Taipei Mayoral Election, Composite Specification

Predictor Variables	Panel A		Panel B	
	KMT	Nonvoter	DPP	Refused To Answer
Taiwanese	-0.882+	0.341	0.860**	0.701*
Male	-0.086	0.572*	0.642*	0.238
Age	0.094**	-0.011	-0.041+	-0.002
Education	0.044	0.364**	0.059	0.084
Income	-0.018	0.038	0.038	-0.015
KMT	1.937**	-0.302	-1.849**	-1.147**
DPP	-2.425**	1.105*	2.286**	-0.121
Blue Leader Capability	0.265+	-0.251**	-0.263*	-0.443**
Green Leader Capability	-0.399**	0.070	0.281**	-0.339**
Blue candidate image	0.523*	-0.010	-0.237+	-0.190
Green candidate image	-0.554*	-0.000	0.108	0.177
Ma	-0.083	0.002	0.091	0.053
Tsai	-0.180	0.104	0.292**	0.154
KMT best most important issue	1.837**	-0.531*	-0.921*	-1.323**
DPP best most important issue	-1.813**	0.641	2.176**	0.391
Central Gov't Perf..	0.103	-0.093	-0.043	-0.200+
Local Gov't Performance	-0.032	-0.001	0.032	0.007

Pro-independence	0.356	-0.298	-0.264	-0.469
Pro-reunification	-0.548	0.350	-0.004	0.434
Cross-strait Policy	1.071*	-0.269	-0.096	0.142
Economic Evaluations	-0.124	0.015	0.020	-0.129
Political Efficacy	0.232*	-0.004	-0.094	-0.049
Political Trust	0.149	-0.081	-0.106	0.056
Local Efficacy	-0.298*	0.172*	0.033	0.113
Local Trust	-0.107	-0.097	-0.004	-0.077
Political Knowledge	0.349	-0.512**	-0.175	0.078
Political Interest	-0.082	-0.116	0.056	0.016
Civic Duty	-0.220	-0.241**	0.101	0.173+
Constant	1.390	0.618	-2.094	-0.296
N	855	1106		
Pseudo R^2	0.820	0.509		
Chi2	917.085**	1342.617**		
AIC	223.634	1467.740		
BIC	275.896	1903.480		

+ $p < 0.10$; * $p<0.05$; ** $p<0.01$; one tail test.

Note: Two analyses are presented. Panel A: Binomial logit analysis of voting for KMT vs voting for any of the opposition parties; Panel B: Multinomial logit analysis of DPP, Nonvoter and Refuse to answer, with KMT voting as base category.

Party Identification and Electoral choice in the 2010 Mayoral Election

	Vote		Blue	Green	Independent	Refused to Answer
KMT	Taipei	12.8%	81.0%	2.6%	-	3.6%
	Taichung	10.1	80.3	5.3	-	4.3
	Kaohsiung	12.1	35.8	10.1	37.0	5.0
	Average		65.7	6.0		
DPP	Taipei	8.4	2.3	86.9	-	2.6
	Taichung	9.4	4.0	81.2	-	5.4
	Kaohsiung	8.8	0.2	80.3	8.2	2.5
	Average		2.1	82.8		

Source: 2010 TEDS Mayoral Election Surveys (http://esc.nccu.edu.tw/)

During this election, the candidates discussed several different issues. Which issue was most important to you?

Table - Most Important Issues (MIS) in Various Elections –   2008 and 2012 Comparison

2008 Presidential Election			2010 Mayoral Election						
Taiwan				Taipei		Taichung		Kaohsiung	
Most Important Issue	%	Rank	Most Important Issue	%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank
Economic development problem	38.2	1	Social welfare	17.1	1	11.7	3	19.5	2
People's livelihood	7.2	2	Law and order	8.8	3	18.6	1	8	3
Cross-Strait relations	4.7	3	Transportation	6.1	5	7	5	2.1	7
Cross-Strait direct link	1.9	4	Public infrastructure	6.7	4	7.6	4	7.4	4
Bribery problem	1.9	5	Industrial and commercial development	16	2	12.7	2	21.9	1
Educational reform problem	1.7	6	Environmental protection	4.1	7	0.9	9	1.7	8
Social welfare problem	1.6	7	Public health	1.4	9	1	8	0.9	9
Alternation of power	1.1	8	Education and culture	5.3	6	2.9	6	3.5	5
Political stability problem	1.0	9	Livelihood	2.8	8	1.1	7	2.7	6
Unemployment problem	1.0	10	Cross-strait contact	0.8	--	0.3	--	0.5	--
Unification and independence	0.9	--	Candidate's ability	0.3	--	0.3	--	0.2	--
Ethnic groups problems	0.8	--	Solve the health insurance problems	0.1	--	--	--	--	--
Democracy problems	0.8	--	International Flora Expo	0.4	--	--	--	--	--
Keep Taiwan's sovereignty	0.8	--	Promotion of international visibility	0.4	--	0.2	--	0.1	--
Social stability problem	0.8	--	Ethnic issues	0.1	--	--	--	0.2	--
Joining the United Nations	0.8	--	Character of the candidate	0.3	--	0.1	--	0.1	--
National identification	0.7	--	Administrative efficiency	0.4	--	0.7	--	0.3	--
International status problem	0.7	--	Metropolis renewal/Local development	1.1	10	0.1	--	0.8	10
Result of election	0.7	--	Contribute efforts to the people	0.8	--	--	--	0.1	--
Crime problem	0.5	--	Financial problems	0.7	--	--	--	--	--

Issue	%		Issue	%		%		%	
Candidate's personal morality	0.5	--	Party	0.2	--	0.1	--	0.2	--
Green card problems	0.5	--	Development in remote areas	--	--	0.8	10	0.4	--
Candidate's ability	0.4	--	Issues about women and children	0.4	--	--	--	--	--
Public infrastructure	0.4	--	Not really trying to win the election	0.1	--	--	--	--	--
Taiwan future problem	0.4	--	Practical	0.1	--	--	--	--	--
Environmental protection	0.3	--	Social stability	0.1	--	--	--	--	--
Government administration	0.3	--	Poverty gap	0.2	--	--	--	--	--
Grand china market	0.3	--	Preferential 18% interest rate	0.1	--	--	--	--	--
Poverty gap	0.2	--	Education & social welfare	0.1	--	--	--	--	--
The State Affairs Fund Scandal	0.2	--	Agriculture and Fishery Problems	--	--	0.1	--	0.3	--
Tax cuts	0.2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Judicial reform problem	0.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
National defense security	0.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Vote-buying problems	0.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Fairness of election	0.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Cross-Strait sightseeing	0.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Dictatorial leadership	0.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Media chaos	0.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Financial reform	0.1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Referendums	0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Government personnel	0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Fairness and justice	0	--							
None	9.9	--	91 All above	0.8		0.3	--	--	--
Refuse to answer	0.8	--	92 None	10.3		16.3	--	12	--
Don't know	17.1	--	95 Refuse to answer	0.3		0.1	--	0.2	--
		--	96 It's hard to say	1		0.3	--	1.6	--
		--	97 No opinion	1.9		1.7	--	2.6	--

		--	98 Don't know	10.7	14.7	--	12.2	--
Total	100	--	**Total**	**100**	**100**	**--**	**100**	**--**