

# CHINA POLICY ATTITUDES SURVEY (CPAS)

## Questionnaire Draft

9 September 2012

### INTRODUCTION AND CONSENT

*This survey is about your attitudes towards different policy issues. It is part of an academic research project being administered by China Online Marketing Research company. The survey is being conducted by academic researchers and will not be used or seen by the government in any way. The survey results will allow us to get a sense of what policy problems matter most to people like you.*

*Your participation is completely voluntary. If you agree to participate, you will answer some questions about yourself and your attitudes towards different policies. The questions should take about 25 minutes to answer. If you complete the survey, you will receive a small payment of 25 yuan.*

*If you agree to participate, you may refuse to answer any of the questions. Your participation in this study will be confidential. Any identifying information will be accessible only to the researchers and will never appear in any sort of report that might be published or shared. Your personal identity will never be linked to your survey responses, so please answer as honestly as you can.*

*By clicking on the arrow below, you are agreeing to participate in the survey.*

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## SECTION I: DEMOGRAPHICS

*First, please answer some questions about your personal background.*

D1. What is your gender?

- <01> Male
- <02> Female
- <99> No answer

D2. In what province do you live?

- <01> Anhui
- <02> Beijing
- <03> Chongqing
- <04> Fujian
- <05> Gansu
- <06> Guangdong
- <07> Guangxi
- <08> Hainan
- <09> Hebei
- <10> Heilongjiang
- <11> Henan
- <12> Hong Kong
- <13> Hubei
- <14> Hunan
- <15> Inner Mongolia
- <16> Jiangsu
- <17> Jiangxi
- <18> Jilin
- <19> Liaoning
- <20> Ningxia
- <21> Qinghai
- <22> Shaanxi
- <23> Shandong
- <24> Shanghai
- <25> Shanxi
- <26> Sichuan
- <27> Taiwan
- <28> Tianjin
- <29> Tibet
- <30> Xinjiang

- <31> Yunnan
- <32> Zhejiang
- <99> No answer

D3. When were you born?

- \_\_\_\_\_ (continuous variable)
- <9999> No answer

D4. What is your ethnicity?

- <01> Han
- <02> Minority
- <99> No answer

D5. Do you currently have an agricultural household registration or a non-agricultural registration?

- <01> Agricultural
- <02> Non-agricultural
- <99> No answer

D6. What is the highest level of education you have received?

- <01> No formal education
- <02> Elementary school
- <03> Middle school
- <04> High school or high school equivalent
- <05> College
- <06> University
- <07> Masters
- <08> Doctoral
- <99> No answer

D7. What is your marital status now?

- <01> Married/de facto married
- <02> Divorced
- <03> Separated
- <04> Widowed

- <05> Never married
- <09> No answer

D8. How many children to you have?

- Girls \_\_\_\_
- Boys \_\_\_\_

D9. What is/was your main occupation?

- <1> Farmer, animal husbandry, or fishery
- <2> Commerce, service trade worker
- <3> Self-owned business
- <4> Owner of a private-owned business
- <5> Laborer/Worker
- <6> Employee of government agency, party agency, or social organization
- <7> Manager
- <8> Serviceman or police officer
- <9> Professional/technical
- <10> Clerk
- <11> Student
- <77> Other
- <99> No answer

D10. What was the range of your household income last year?

- <1> Below 3000 RMB
- <2> 3000-4999 RMB
- <3> 5000-6999 RMB
- <4> 7000-9999 RMB
- <5> 10,000-14,999 RMB
- <6> 15,000-19,999 RMB
- <7> 20,000-24,999 RMB
- <8> 25,000-29,999 RMB
- <9> 30,000-39,999 RMB
- <10> 40,000-49,999 RMB
- <11> 50,000-59,999 RMB
- <12> 60,000-69,999 RMB
- <13> 70,000-79,999 RMB
- <14> 80,000-89,999 RMB
- <15> 100,000-199,999 RMB
- <16> Greater than 200,000 RMB
- <99> No answer

D11. How would rate your own social status?

- <1> Lowest level of social status
- <2> Below average
- <3> Average level
- <4> Above average
- <5> Highest level of social status
- <99> No answer

D12. Do you now belong or have you belonged to the Communist Party?

- <1> Belong now
- <2> Not now, but have belonged sometime
- <3> Have never belonged
- <99> No answer

D13. Have you ever worked or studied abroad?

- <1> Yes
- <2> No
- <99> No answer

D13a. If yes, what country? \_\_\_\_\_

D13b. If yes, for how long? \_\_\_\_\_

## SECTION 2: POLICY APPROVAL

<For Section 2, respondents will be randomly assigned to one of two different modules, the CONTROL module and the TREATMENT module. Further randomization will occur within the TREATMENT module.>

### Control Module

*Next you will answer questions about your level of support for different policy ideas. Please indicate whether you support the policy a great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or not at all. Please also indicate how important the issue is to you, and whether you think the policy will be adopted.*

CP1. Suppose there is a new policy idea to fund a 1 billion RMB irrigation project for a rural county.

a. How much do you support this policy idea?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

b. How much do you care about this policy issue?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

c. In your opinion, how likely is it that this policy will be adopted?

- <1> Very likely
- <2> Likely
- <3> Somewhat likely
- <4> Unlikely
- <5> Completely unlikely
- <9> No answer

CP2. Suppose there is a new policy idea to lower the legal marriage age to 18 for both men and women.

a. How much do you support this policy idea?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

b. How much do you care about this policy issue?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

c. In your opinion, how likely is it that this policy will be adopted?

- <1> Very likely
- <2> Likely
- <3> Somewhat likely
- <4> Unlikely
- <5> Completely unlikely
- <9> No answer

CP3. Suppose there is a new policy idea to institute a 20% inheritance tax to curb inequality.

a. How much do you support this policy idea?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

b. How much do you care about this policy issue?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

c. In your opinion, how likely is it that this policy will be adopted?

- <1> Very likely

- <2> Likely
- <3> Somewhat likely
- <4> Unlikely
- <5> Completely unlikely
- <9> No answer

CP4. Suppose there is a new policy idea to require all senior government officials to publicly report their family's annual earnings.

a. How much do you support this policy idea?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

b. How much do you care about this policy issue?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

c. In your opinion, how likely is it that this policy will be adopted?

- <1> Very likely
- <2> Likely
- <3> Somewhat likely
- <4> Unlikely
- <5> Completely unlikely
- <9> No answer

CP5. Suppose there is a new policy idea to give migrant workers permanent urban residence rights.

a. How much do you support this policy idea?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer



b. How much do you care about this policy issue?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

c. In your opinion, how likely is it that this policy will be adopted?

- <1> Very likely
- <2> Likely
- <3> Somewhat likely
- <4> Unlikely
- <5> Completely unlikely
- <9> No answer

CP6. Suppose there is a new policy idea to establish laws that regulate charitable donations.

a. How much do you support this policy idea?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

b. How much do you care about this policy issue?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

c. In your opinion, how likely is it that this policy will be adopted?

- <1> Very likely
- <2> Likely
- <3> Somewhat likely
- <4> Unlikely
- <5> Completely unlikely
- <9> No answer

CP7. Suppose there is a new policy idea to institute direct elections of deputies to the provincial people's congress.

a. How much do you support this policy idea?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

b. How much do you care about this policy issue?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

c. In your opinion, how likely is it that this policy will be adopted?

- <1> Very likely
- <2> Likely
- <3> Somewhat likely
- <4> Unlikely
- <5> Completely unlikely
- <9> No answer

CP8. Suppose there is a new policy idea to provide 5% more funding to build special hospitals for Hui Muslims.

a. How much do you support this policy idea?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

b. How much do you care about this policy issue?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all

- <9> No answer

c. In your opinion, how likely is it that this policy will be adopted?

- <1> Very likely
- <2> Likely
- <3> Somewhat likely
- <4> Unlikely
- <5> Completely unlikely
- <9> No answer

## Treatment Module

<Within the TREATMENT module, the question wordings will be randomized so that the policies are endorsed by deputies with different personal backgrounds. Specifically, the endorsing deputy's profession (farmer/fisherman, senior government official, low-level government official, manager/entrepreneur/CEO, small business owner, laborer/worker, soldier/police athlete/celebrity, professor), gender (male, female), party (CCP, democratic party, no affiliation) and education level (high school or lower, college/university, Masters or greater) will all be simultaneously randomized, yield 180 possible endorsers (10 x 2 x 3 x 3) for each question.>

*Next you will answer questions about your level of support for different policy proposals. These policies have been supported by different deputies to the National People's Congress. Please indicate whether you support the policy a great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or not at all. Please also indicate how important the issue is to you, and whether you think the policy will be adopted.*

TP1. Suppose there is a new policy idea to fund a 1 billion RMB irrigation project for a rural county.

This policy has been proposed by an NPC deputy with the following background:

Profession: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
 Gender: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
 Party: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
 Education: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]

a. How much do you support this policy idea?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little

- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

b. How much do you care about this policy issue?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

c. In your opinion, how likely is it that this policy will be adopted?

- <1> Very likely
- <2> Likely
- <3> Somewhat likely
- <4> Unlikely
- <5> Completely unlikely
- <9> No answer

TP2. Suppose there is a new policy idea to lower the legal marriage age to 18 for both men and women.

This policy has been proposed by an NPC deputy with the following background:

Profession: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
 Gender: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
 Party: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
 Education: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]

a. How much do you support this policy idea?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

b. How much do you care about this policy issue?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

c. In your opinion, how likely is it that this policy will be adopted?

- <1> Very likely
- <2> Likely
- <3> Somewhat likely
- <4> Unlikely
- <5> Completely unlikely
- <9> No answer

TP3. Suppose there is a new policy idea to institute a 20% inheritance tax to curb inequality.

This policy has been proposed by an NPC deputy with the following background:

Profession: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
Gender: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
Party: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
Education: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]

a. How much do you support this policy idea?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

b. How much do you care about this policy issue?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

c. In your opinion, how likely is it that this policy will be adopted?

- <1> Very likely
- <2> Likely
- <3> Somewhat likely
- <4> Unlikely
- <5> Completely unlikely
- <9> No answer

TP4. Suppose there is a new policy idea to require all senior government officials to publicly report their family's annual earnings.

This policy been proposed by an NPC deputy with the following background:

Profession: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
Gender: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
Party: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
Education: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]

a. How much do you support this policy idea?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

b. How much do you care about this policy issue?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

c. In your opinion, how likely is it that this policy will be adopted?

- <1> Very likely
- <2> Likely
- <3> Somewhat likely
- <4> Unlikely
- <5> Completely unlikely
- <9> No answer

TP5. Suppose there is a new policy idea to give migrant workers permanent urban residence rights.

This policy has been proposed by an NPC deputy with the following background:

Profession: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
Gender: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
Party: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
Education: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]

a. How much do you support this policy idea?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

b. How much do you care about this policy issue?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

c. In your opinion, how likely is it that this policy will be adopted?

- <1> Very likely
- <2> Likely
- <3> Somewhat likely
- <4> Unlikely
- <5> Completely unlikely
- <9> No answer

TP6. Suppose there is a new policy idea to establish laws that regulate charitable donations.

This policy been proposed by an NPC deputy with the following background:

Profession: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
Gender: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
Party: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
Education: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]

a. How much do you support this policy idea?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

b. How much do you care about this policy issue?

- <1> A great deal

- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

c. In your opinion, how likely is it that this policy will be adopted?

- <1> Very likely
- <2> Likely
- <3> Somewhat likely
- <4> Unlikely
- <5> Completely unlikely
- <9> No answer

TP7. Suppose there is a new policy idea to institute direct elections of deputies to the provincial people's congress.

This policy been proposed by an NPC deputy with the following background:

Profession: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
 Gender: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
 Party: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
 Education: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]

a. How much do you support this policy idea?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

b. How much do you care about this policy issue?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

c. In your opinion, how likely is it that this policy will be adopted?

- <1> Very likely
- <2> Likely
- <3> Somewhat likely
- <4> Unlikely



- <5> Completely unlikely
- <9> No answer

TP8. Suppose there is a new policy idea to provide 5% more funding to build special hospitals for Hui Muslims.

This policy been proposed by an NPC deputy with the following background:

Profession: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
 Gender: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
 Party: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]  
 Education: [RANDOM ASSIGNMENT]

a. How much do you support this policy idea?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

b. How much do you care about this policy issue?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

c. In your opinion, how likely is it that this policy will be adopted?

- <1> Very likely
- <2> Likely
- <3> Somewhat likely
- <4> Unlikely
- <5> Completely unlikely
- <9> No answer

### SECTION 3: PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

<For Section 3, each respondent will be randomly assigned to the different TREATMENT modules or the CONTROL module. Respondents in the TREATMENT modules will look at images of government websites that offer channels for citizens to provide input into the policy process. Respondents in the CONTROL module will look at no images. All respondents will then answer the same set of questions. Images are available in the Appendix.>

TREATMENT 1: Images from “Ask the Premier” website

TREATMENT 2: Images from “Put Forth my Motion” website

TREATMENT 3: Images from “Everybody Talk About Motions” website

TREATMENT 4: Images from “Ask Local Leaders” website

CONTROL: No images

*Now please answer some final questions about your attitudes.*

M1. How interested would you say you are in political matters?

- <01> very interested
- <02> somewhat interested
- <03> not very interested
- <04> not at all interested
- <99> no answer

M2. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

M2a. I am generally satisfied with government policies.

- <01> Strongly disagree
- <02> Agree
- <03> Neither agree nor disagree
- <04> Disagree
- <05> Strongly Agree
- <99> No answer

M2b. People like me don't have any say about what the government does.

- <1> Strongly agree
- <2> Agree

- <3> Neither agree nor disagree
- <4> Disagree
- <5> Strongly disagree
- <99> No answer

M2c. I don't think the government cares much what people like me think.

- <1> Strongly agree
- <2> Agree
- <3> Neither agree nor disagree
- <4> Disagree
- <5> Strongly disagree
- <99> No answer

M2d. I feel I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing China.

- <1> Strongly agree
- <2> Agree
- <3> Neither agree nor disagree
- <4> Disagree
- <5> Strongly disagree
- <99> No answer

M3. On a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 meaning very satisfied and 1 meaning not satisfied at all, how satisfied are you with the work of the following?

M3a. National People's Congress

- \_\_\_\_\_ (continuous variable)
- <99> No answer

M3b. Your Provincial People's Congress

- \_\_\_\_\_ (continuous variable)
- <99> No answer

M3c. Central government officials

- \_\_\_\_\_ (continuous variable)
- <99> No answer

M3d. Local officials

- \_\_\_\_\_ (continuous variable)

- <99> No answer

M4. How much do you trust the following people?

- <1> Don't trust them at all
- <2> Don't trust them very much
- <3> Somewhat trust them
- <4> Completely trust them
- <99> No answer

M4a. Family members

M4b. Foreigners

M4c. Central government officials

M4d. Local government officials

M4e. NPC deputies

<For questions M5 and M6, the respondents will be randomly assigned into two groups. The first group will answer M5a and M6a. The second group will answer M5b and M6b.>

M5.

[FORM a]

Here are some activities that people participate in. Which ones would you be willing to do?

	Might Do	Would Never Do
Attend a legislative hearing		
Vote in a local election		
Participate in a demonstration		
Run for local political office		

[FORM b]

Here are some activities that people participate in. How many of them would you be willing to participate in?

- Attend a legislative hearing
  - Vote in a local election
  - Participate in a demonstration
  - Run for local political office
- 

M6.

[FORM a]

Here are some activities that people participate in. Which ones would you be willing to do?

	Might Do	Would Never Do
Make a Weibo account		
Criticize the central government		
Visit the People's Daily website		
Write an article for a magazine		

[FORM b]

Here are some activities that people participate in. How many of them would you be willing to participate in?

- Make a Weibo account
  - Criticize the central government
  - Visit the People's Daily website
  - Write an article for a magazine
-

M7.

Here are some activities that people participate in. Which ones would you be willing to do?

	Might Do	Would Never Do
Visit the NPC website		
Post a comment about a policy proposal on the NPC website		
Ask a question to a local government official through the NPC website		

M8. There are different opinions as to what it takes to be a good citizen. As far as you are concerned personally, on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important and 10 is very important, how important is it:

M8a. To always vote in elections? \_\_\_\_\_

M8b. Never to try to evade taxes? \_\_\_\_\_

M8c. To keep watch on the actions of government? \_\_\_\_\_

M8d. To be active in social or political organizations? \_\_\_\_\_

M8e. To be willing to serve in the military at a time of need? \_\_\_\_\_

M8f. To help people in China who are worse off than yourself? \_\_\_\_\_

## SECTION 4: RETURNING MIGRANTS

<For Section 4, each respondent will be randomly assigned to the different TREATMENT groups. Each group will observe a different policy combination. After the first two questions, all respondents will answer the same questions.>

E1. Suppose that your city government planned to policies to attract more overseas [students / professors / entrepreneurs] to come settle and work over the next three years.

How much do you support this policy idea?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

E2. Suppose the [Chinese government/a university or a company] implements a policy such that overseas Chinese [academics/entrepreneurs/ students], upon their return to China to work, will receive [no extra beneficial policy/10% higher salary/30% higher salary/50% higher salary/30% higher salary plus housing provision/30% higher salary, housing provision, and tax deduction] than their domestic counterparts.

How much do you support this policy idea?

- <1> A great deal
- <2> A lot
- <3> A moderate amount
- <4> A little
- <5> Not at all
- <9> No answer

E3. What is your general impression about China's skilled returnees? Choose all that apply.

- <1> They are knowledgeable and they have international horizon.
- <2> They are passionate about their jobs.
- <3> They are idealists without much knowledge about how things work in China.
- <4> They may not be as capable as their domestic counterparts.
- <5> They are good teammates.
- <6> They are not easy to get along with.

E4. In your opinion, what are the most important reasons for so many skilled migrants to return to China? Choose all that apply.

- <1> Their families and friends are in China.
- <2> They can't find a job in the foreign country.
- <3> They will get various policy benefits from the government.
- <4> Huge cultural difference prevented them from entering mainstream societies in a foreign country.
- <5> With their international exposure and knowledge they've learned abroad, they are likely to out-compete their domestic counterparts.
- <6> Their roles will be more important in China's economic development than elsewhere in the world.

5a. Are you considering sending your children to study abroad in the future?

- <1> Yes.
- <2> No.
- <3> It is hard to say.

5b. If your answer to 5a is Yes, why do you want to send your children abroad? Choose all that apply.

- <1> I am considering moving abroad.
- <2> My children will probably receive policy benefits from the Chinese government.
- <3> The oversea education will make my children more attractive to employers than his/her domestic counterparts when he/she returns to work.
- <4> I want my children to live a better life abroad.



## CONCLUSION

*Thank you for participating in the China Policy Attitudes Survey (CPAS).*

*The policies mentioned in Section 2 were written just for this survey and are not actual policy proposals. They were not supported by the actors in the questions.*

*All of your answers to the questions will be kept strictly confidential. Please contact [rs4585@gmail.com](mailto:rs4585@gmail.com) with any questions or comments.*

*Click on the arrow to complete.*