

## Appendix

Table A1. Variables, measurement and descriptive statistics

Variable	Survey question used for measurement	Coding scheme	Mean	s.d.	Obs.
US Preference	We would like to know your opinion concerning Taiwan's relationship with the United States and China. On this card, 10 stands for trying hard to build a close tie, 0 stands for keeping distance as much as possible, and 5 means maintaining the status quo. In terms of Taiwan's relations with the United States, which direction do you think Taiwan should move in the future?	Range (0 ~ 10)	6.08	2.44	1157
China Preference	In terms of Taiwan's relations with China, which direction do you think Taiwan should move in the future?	Range (0 ~ 10)	5.10	2.49	1151

Variable	Survey question used for measurement	Coding scheme	Mean	s.d.	Obs.
Preference Difference	US preference – China preference	Range (10 ~ -10)	0.98	3.86	1145
Worry about war	Do you worry about the possibility of military conflict between Taiwan and mainland China?	2. Very worried 1. A little worried -1. Not too worried -2. Not worried at all	-0.02	1.36	1184
Angry at PLA	Have you ever felt upset about the frequent circling of Taiwan by China's warplanes and warships?	2. Very upset 1. Somewhat upset -1. Not very upset -2. Not upset at all	0.24	1.40	1162
Threat perception	In our society, some people think communist China will attack Taiwan, and some people think it will not. If 0 means that communist China will never attack Taiwan, and 10 means that communist China will definitely attack Taiwan, how likely do you think it?	Range (0 ~ 10)	4.16	2.39	1083
Exposure to Green media	Which TV news did you watch most often?	1. Green media (Formosa, Sanlih) 0. others	0.25	0.43	1164

Variable	Survey question used for measurement	Coding scheme	Mean	s.d.	Obs.
Exposure to Blue media	Which TV news did you watch most often?	1. Blue media (TVBS, CTi television) 0. others	0.27	0.45	1164
Preference for democracy	Democracy is always and under all circumstances preferable to any other kind of government.	2. Strongly agree 1. Somewhat agree 0. Neither agree nor disagree -1. Somewhat disagree -2. Strongly disagree	0.36	1.01	1159
Been to Mainland	In the past five years, how many trips have you taken to Mainland China?	0.None 1.Yes	0.13	0.34	1204
Lived in Mainland	Have you or any member of your family made investments, conducted business, held employment, settled down or studied in Mainland China?	0.None 1.Yes	0.15	0.36	1202
Party ID: Pan-Blue	Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular party? Which party do you feel closest to?	0.others 1.Pan-Blue	0.27	0.44	1206

Variable	Survey question used for measurement	Coding scheme	Mean	s.d.	Obs.
Party ID: Pan-Green	Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular party? Which party do you feel closest to?	0.others 1.Pan-Green	0.32	0.47	1206
Party ID: TPP	Do you usually think of yourself as close to any particular party? Which party do you feel closest to?	0.others 1.TPP	0.14	0.35	1206
Pro-Unifi- cation	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, and move toward unification in the future, 4) maintain the status quo, and move toward independence in the future, 5) maintain the status quo, decide either unification or independence in the future, 6) maintain the status quo forever.	0.others 1.Pro unification	0.13	0.34	1153

Variable	Survey question used for measurement	Coding scheme	Mean	s.d.	Obs.
Pro TW independence	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, and move toward unification in the future, 4) maintain the status quo, and move toward independence in the future, 5) maintain the status quo, decide either unification or independence in the future, 6) maintain the status quo forever.	0.others 1.pro Taiwan independence	0.33	0.47	1153
Taiwanese identity	In Taiwan, some people think they are Taiwanese. There are also some people who think that they are Chinese. Do you consider yourself as Taiwanese, Chinese or both?	0.others 1.Taiwanese	0.61	0.49	1183

Variable	Survey question used for measurement	Coding scheme	Mean	s.d.	Obs.
Female	R's gender	0.others 1.female	0.47	0.50	1206
Age: 30-39	R's age	0.others 1.30-39	0.13	0.34	1201
Age: 40-49	R's age	0.others 1.40-49	0.20	0.40	1201
Age: 50-59	R's age	0.others 1.50-59	0.18	0.38	1201
Age: above 60	R's age	0.others 1.above 60	0.38	0.49	1201
EDU: junior high school	R's education	0.others 1.junior high school	0.08	0.27	1205
EDU: senior high school	R's education	0.others 1.senior high school	0.24	0.43	1205
EDU: college	R's education	0.others 1.college	0.13	0.34	1205
EDU: above university	R's education	0.others 1.above university	0.43	0.49	1205

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Table A2. OLS Regression Models

	US Preference	China Preference	Preference Difference
	<i>b(s.e.)</i>	<i>b(s.e.)</i>	<i>b(s.e.)</i>
Intercept	5.564(.445) ***	4.510(.434) ***	1.114(.623) +
Worry about War (-2~2)	-.087(.061)	.140(.059) *	-.229(.085) **
Angry at PLA (-2~2)	.221(.058) ***	-.274(.056) ***	.497(.080) ***
Treat perception (0~10)	-.025(.033)	-.014(.032)	-.010(.046)
Exposure to Green media	.497(.185) **	-.308(.179) +	.799(.256) **
Exposure to Blue media	-.181(.168)	-.019(.164)	-.160(.234)
Preference for democracy	.232(.074) **	-.041(.072)	.278(.103) **
Been to Mainland	-.067(.208)	.143(.201)	-.208(.288)
Lived in Mainland	-.008(.190)	.081(.185)	-.089(.264)
Party ID: Pan-Blue	-.026(.217)	.728(.212) ***	-.763(.303) *
Party ID: Pan-Green	.811(.209) ***	-.483(.204) *	1.280(.291) ***
Party ID: TPP	.068(.234)	.468(.229) *	-.400(.327)
Pro-Unification	-.292(.233)	.513(.227) *	-.807(.324) *
Pro-TW independence	.392(.170) *	-.975(.165) ***	1.359(.236) ***
Taiwanese identity	.578(.177) **	-.424(.172) *	1.011(.245) ***
Female	-.213(.143)	.077(.139)	-.283(.198)
Age: 30-39	.166(.270)	.343(.263)	-.175(.375)
Age: 40-49	.111(.259)	.347(.251)	-.233(.359)
Age: 50-59	.027(.278)	.566(.270) *	-.532(.386)
Age: above 60	-.308(.275)	.568(.267) *	-.873(.381) *
EDU: junior high school	.192(.374)	.811(.367) *	-.685(.526)
EDU: senior high school	-.219(.325)	.818(.320) *	-1.104(.459) *
EDU: college	-.155(.351)	.427(.345)	-.650(.495)

	US Preference	China Preference	Preference Difference
EDU: above university	-.153(.335)	.929(.330) **	-1.151(.473) *
<b>Model info:</b>	<b>Obs. = 990, F = 12.87, df = (23, 966), p &lt; .001, Adj. R<sup>2</sup> = .216</b>	<b>Obs. = 987, F = 17.51, df = (23, 963), p &lt; .001, Adj. R<sup>2</sup> = .278</b>	<b>Obs. = 986, F = 29.22, df = (23, 962), p &lt; .001, Adj. R<sup>2</sup> = .397</b>

Source: TEDS (2024).

Note: \*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$ ; + $p < 0.1$ .

Table A3. Multinomial Logistic Regression Model

	Closer Ties with the U.S. (Ref: Closer Ties with China)		Equidistance (Ref: Closer Ties with China)	
	b(s.e.)	r.r.r.	b(s.e.)	r.r.r.
Intercept	1.764(.702)		1.88(.663)	
Worry about War (-2~2)	-.315(.096) **	.729	-.227(.088) *	.797
Angry at PLA (-2~2)	.490(.091) ***	1.63	.319(.083) ***	1.38
Treat perception (0~10)	.013(.052)	1.01	-.042(.048)	.959
Exposure to Green media	.778(.349) *	2.18	.724(.341) *	2.06
Exposure to Blue media	.052(.244)	1.05	-.068(.218)	.934
Preference for democracy	.218(.113) +	1.24	-.042(.102)	.959
Been to Mainland	-.043(.310)	.958	-.196(.279)	.822
Lived in Mainland	.074(.284)	1.08	-.341(.275)	.711
Party ID: Pan-Blue	-.718(.312) *	.487	-.581(.267) *	.559
Party ID: Pan-Green	1.125(.366) **	3.08	.247(.366)	1.28
Party ID: TPP	-.216(.337)	.806	-.200(.318)	.819
Pro-Unification	-.331(.351)	.718	-.310(.277)	.734

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	Closer Ties with the U.S. (Ref: Closer Ties with China)		Equidistance (Ref: Closer Ties with China)	
Pro-TW independence	1.165(.290) ***	3.21	.203(.296)	1.23
Taiwanese identity	.921(.248) ***	2.51	.760(.226) ***	2.14
Female	-.231(.221)	.794	.178(.203)	1.20
Age: 30-39	-.497(.464)	.608	-.408(.466)	.665
Age: 40-49	-.900(.434) *	.406	-.605(.428)	.546
Age: 50-59	-1.368(.463) **	.255	-1.40(.455) **	.246
Age: above 60	-2.205(.462) ***	.110	-1.52(.444) ***	.219
EDU: junior high school	-.381(.591)	.683	.042(.534)	1.04
EDU: senior high school	-.992(.517) +	.371	.014(.466)	1.01
EDU: college	-.785(.551)	.456	-.052(.492)	.949
EDU: above university	-1.314(.528) *	.269	-.965(.482) *	.381
<b>Model info:</b>	<b>Number of Obs. = 986,</b> <b>Residual deviance = 1593.877,</b> <b>Log Lik. = -796.9385 (df = 48),</b> <b>AIC = 1689.877</b>			

Source: TEDS (2024).

Note: \*\*\* $p < 0.001$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \* $p < 0.05$ ; + $p < 0.1$ .

