

Survey on President Ma's Approval Rating on First Anniversary of Inauguration and Cross-Strait Issues

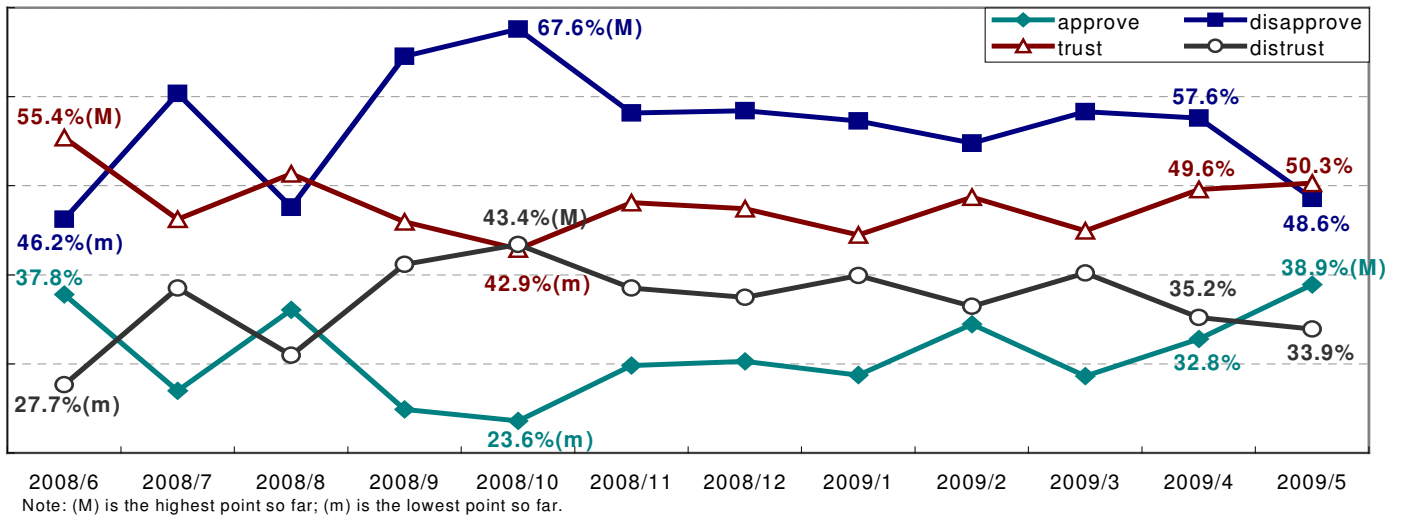
A. President Ma Ying-jeou's approval rating on the first anniversary of his inauguration: His approval rating is 38.9 percent, and his disapproval rating is 48.6 percent. 50.3 percent of Taiwanese say they trust him, while 33.9 percent say they don't.

This GVSRC survey shows President Ma's approval rating is 38.9 percent, and disapproval rating is 48.6 percent on the first anniversary of his inauguration. Compared with last month, Ma's approval rating rises 6.1 percent, and his disapproval rating falls 9.0 percent; the level of public trust in him rises 0.7 percent, and the level of public distrust in him drops 1.3 percent. Ma's approval rating and the level of public trust in him both rise this month, hitting a record after his taking office in the first year.

In the March 2008 presidential election, the number of votes Ma got equaled 44.6 percent of all citizens (for comparing with the poll's result, he got 58.45 percent of all votes, multiplying by the 76.33 percent voter turnout). There is still a 5.7 percent gap between his approval rating and the percentage of voters who voted for him. In other words, it can be said that about 87 percent of all voters who voted for Ma approve of his performance on the first anniversary of his inauguration.

Ma's approval rating has been going through greater fluctuation than the level of public in him over the past year. His approval rating has been swinging between 24 percent and 39 percent, while his disapproval rating has been going up and down between 46 percent and 68 percent. This reflects Ma and his administration have not reached public expectations. On the other hand, the level of public trust in him has remained stable although still low since last November, and it has been going up gradually. The trend in the level of public trust in him represents Ma's "experience curve" during his first year in office. The level of public trust in Ma reflects the public long-term cognition toward the president and their assessment on the leader, so it tends to be more stable than his approval rating. The level of public trust in him has been going up and down between 43 percent and 55 percent, while the level of public distrust in him has been swinging between 28 percent and 43 percent. During Ma's first year in office, most people say they trust him but they are unsatisfied with his performance. His disapproval rating is far higher than his approval rating, but the gap is shrinking this year.

The trend of approval for Ma and public trust in him



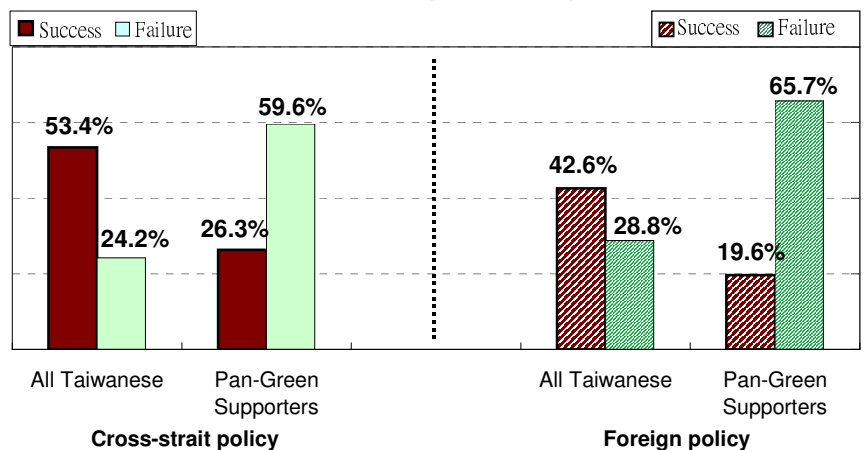
B. Public assessments on President Ma’s policy: 55.3 percent of Taiwanese say his cross-strait policy is more beneficial for Taiwan than former President Chen Shui-bian’s. 47.6 percent say he can carry out the principle of “no unification, no independence, and no use of force.” 53.4 percent say his cross-strait policy has been successful so far, and 42.6 percent say his foreign policy has been successful so far.

This GVSRC survey shows 55.3 percent of Taiwanese think President Ma’s cross-strait policy is more beneficial for Taiwan than former President Chen Shui-bian’s. On the other hand, 21.4 percent of Taiwanese approve of Chen’s cross-strait policy more than they do of Ma’s. 18.3 percent of pan-green supporters approve of Ma’s cross-strait policy more than they do of Chen’s, while 64.8 percent say Chen’s stand is better than Ma’s. 48 percent of Taiwanese in six counties and cities of southern Taiwan also approve of Ma’s cross-strait policy more than they do of Chen’s.

In his inauguration speech last May, Ma said he would maintain the status quo across the Taiwan Strait by adopting the principle of “no unification, no independence, and no use of force” and sticking to the Republic of China’s Constitution. He has also reiterated this directive several times since his inauguration. This GVSRC survey shows 47.6 percent of Taiwanese believe Ma can stick to this directive over the next three years, while 28.0 percent don’t believe. Among pan-green supporters, 27.9 percent say Ma can follow the directive, while 56.4 percent don’t believe.

Further, 53.4 percent of Taiwanese say Ma’s cross-strait policy has been a success, while 24.2 percent say it has been a

Public assessments on President Ma’s cross-strait and foreign policies on the first anniversary of his inauguration



failure. 42.6 percent say Ma's foreign policy has been a success, while 28.8 percent say it has been a failure. It can be seen that Taiwanese approve of Ma's cross-strait policy more than they do of his foreign policy. Among pan-green supporters, 26.3 percent think President Ma's cross-strait policy has been a success, while 59.6 percent think it has been a failure; 19.6 percent say his foreign policy has been a success, while 65.7 percent say it has been a failure.

C. Positive feelings toward Chinese and Taiwanese leaders: 55.9 percent of Taiwanese say they feel positive about Ma, 14.2 percent say they feel positive about Chen, and 24.2 percent say they feel positive about Chinese President Hu Jintao.

This GVSRC survey shows 55.9 percent of Taiwanese feel positive about Ma on the first anniversary of his inauguration, while 30.4 percent feel negative about him. Among pan-green supporters, 21.9 percent say they feel positive about Ma while 72.3 percent feel negative.

14.2 percent of Taiwanese say they feel positive about former President Chen, who stepped down a year ago and has been found to be involved in several scandals, while 72.7 percent say they feel negative about him. Among pan-green supporters, 51.9 percent of Taiwanese

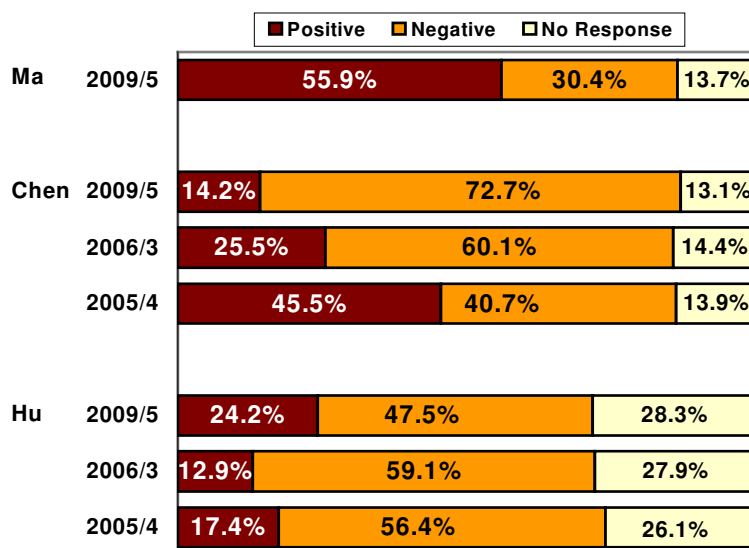
say they feel negative about him, higher than the 41.9 percent who say they feel positive about him. This shows pan-green supporters are divided on their feelings about Chen.

At the same time, 24.2 percent of Taiwanese say they feel positive about Chinese President Hu Jintao, while 47.5 percent say otherwise. Among pan-blue supporters, 42.2 percent say they feel positive about Hu, while 34.8 percent say otherwise. Among pan-green supporters, 10.5 percent say they feel positive about Hu and 78.1 percent say they feel negative about him.

Compared to the two surveys conducted by the ERA poll center in 2005 and 2006, the percentage of Taiwanese who feel positive about Chen in this survey falls sharply, while the percentage of Taiwanese who feel positive about Hu rises slightly. In this survey, there is a higher percentage of Taiwanese who feel positive about Hu than about Chen, and there is a much lower percentage of Taiwanese who feel negative about Hu than about Chen.

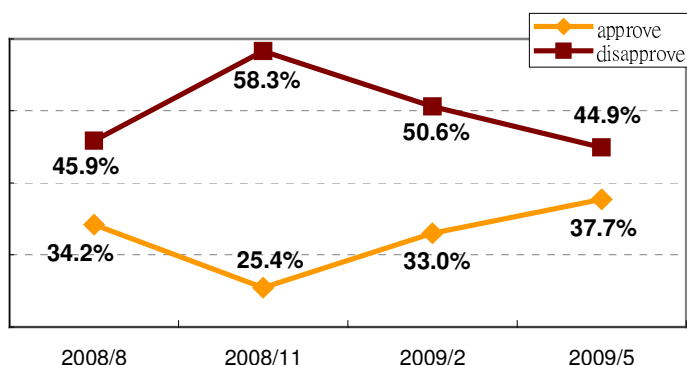
D. Premier Liu Chao-shiuan's approval rating is 37.7 percent, and his disapproval rating is 44.9 percent. The Cabinet's ministers' approval rating is 31.2 percent, and their disapproval rating is 49.3 percent.

The trend in Taiwanese people's attitudes toward Ma Ying-jeou, Chen Shui-bian and Hu Jintao

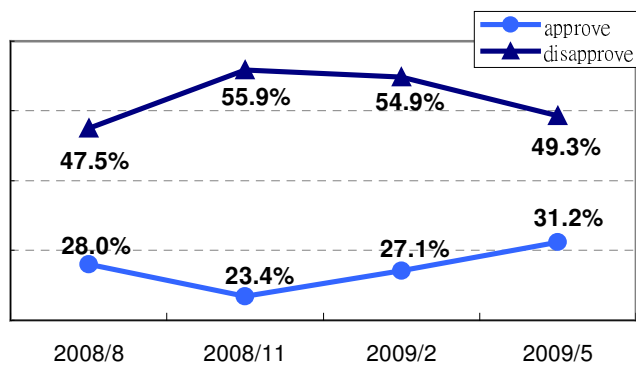


Note: The April 2005 and March 2006 surveys were conducted by the ERA Poll center.

Premier Liu Chao-shiuan's approval rating



The Cabinet ministers' approval rating

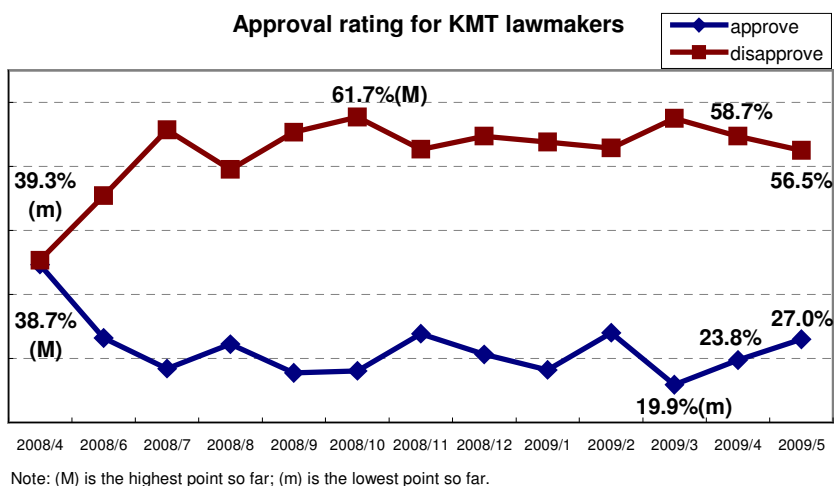


GVSRC carries out a survey on the premier's and the Cabinet ministers' approval ratings once every quarter. This quarter's survey shows Liu's approval rating is 37.7 percent, and disapproval rating 44.9 percent. Compared with last quarter, Liu's approval rating rises 4.7 percent, and his disapproval rating falls 5.7 percent. The Cabinet ministers' approval rating is 31.2 percent, and their disapproval rating is 49.3 percent in this survey. Compared with last quarter, their approval rating gains 4.1 percentage points, and their disapproval rating drops 5.6 percent in this survey. Liu's and his ministers' approval ratings are hitting a record since they took office last May, and their ratings have been going up for six straight months although they still remain at a low level.

E. KMT lawmakers' approval rating is 27.0 percent and disapproval rating is 56.5 percent.

The ruling KMT controls more than 70 percent of all legislative seats and share an absolute majority in the legislature. This GVSRC survey shows KMT lawmakers' disapproval rating is 56.5 percent, with 32.6 percent of Taiwanese saying they are very unhappy with KMT lawmakers' performance, and 23.9 percent saying they are somewhat

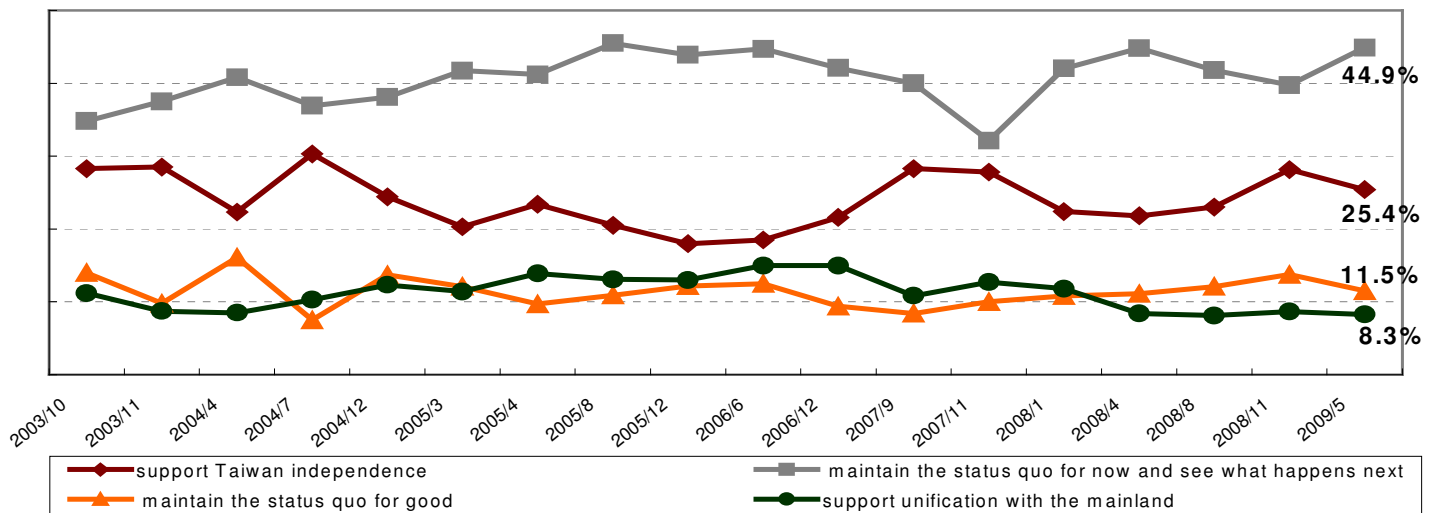
Approval rating for KMT lawmakers



unsatisfied with their performance. The disapproval rating is far higher than the approval rating of 27.0 percent. Compared with last month, KMT lawmakers' approval rating rises 3.2 percentage points, and their disapproval rating falls 2.2 percentage points.

F. Taiwanese people's stand on unification and independence: 56.4 percent say Taiwan should maintain the status quo, 25.4 percent say Taiwan should strive for independence, and 8.3 percent say Taiwan should be unified with China. 48.5 percent say Taiwan should become independent eventually, and 16.2 percent say Taiwan should be unified with China ultimately.

The trend in the Taiwanese stand on unification and independence

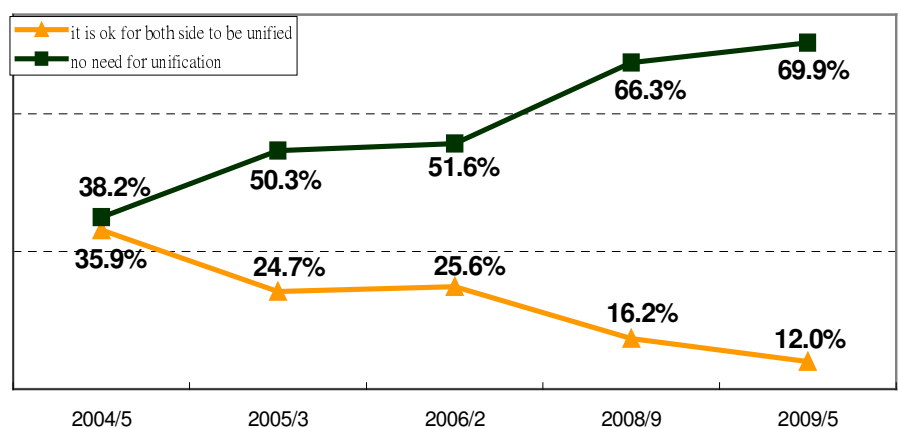


Note : The surveys from 2003 to 2006 were conducted by the ERA Poll center.

Cross-strait relations have turned a new page since Ma took office a year ago. Taiwan's semi-official Straits Exchange Foundation have signed nine agreements and released a joint statement with its Chinese counterpart, the Association for Relations across the Taiwan Strait. The mechanism of institutionalized negotiations between the sides has helped accelerate cross-strait exchanges. This GVSRC survey shows 15.0 percent of Taiwanese support independence as soon as possible, and 10.4 percent support maintaining the status quo and then striving for independence later (a total of 25.4 percent support independence now or later). 44.9 percent say Taiwan should maintain the status quo for now and decide on its future later, and 11.5 percent say Taiwan should maintain the status quo forever (a total of 56.4 percent want to keep the status quo for now or forever). 5.1 percent say Taiwan should maintain the status quo and then become unified with China later, and 3.2 percent say they want Taiwan to be unified with China as soon as possible (a total of 8.3 percent support unification now or later). There almost has been no change in the percentage of Taiwanese who support unification since Ma took office last May.

This survey also shows that 69.9 percent of Taiwanese think there is no need for the island and China to be unified even if the two sides come to share similar economic, political and social conditions, while 12.0 percent say it is ok for both side to be unified under those terms. From this and past surveys we can see

If the two sides come to have similar conditions...

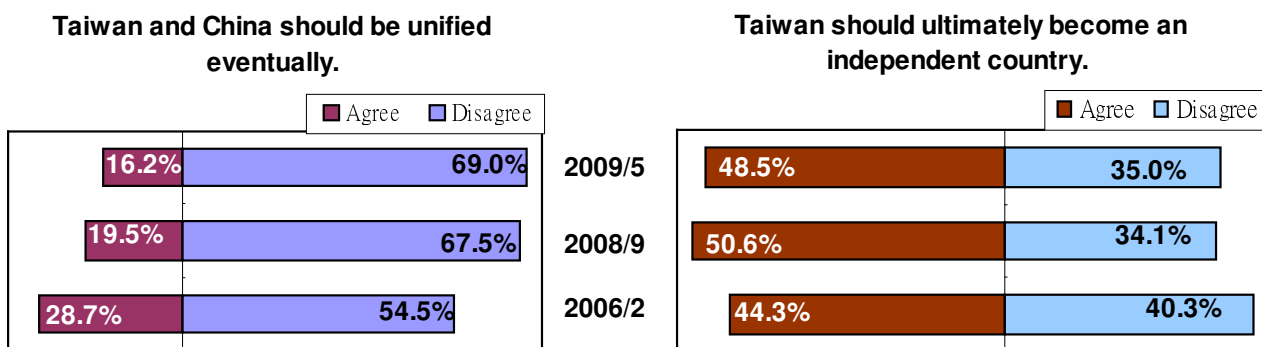


Note : The April 2005, and March 2006 surveys were conducted by the ERA Poll center.

that more and more people consider it unnecessary for Taiwan and China to be unified even if the sides come to share similar conditions, and fewer and fewer people consider unification even under those terms.

This survey also shows that 16.2 percent of Taiwanese accept the statement that Taiwan and China should be unified eventually, while 69.0 percent do not. Among pan-blue supporters, 29.3 percent agree with the statement, while 60.4 percent do not. Even among Taiwanese who or whose parents or grandparents came from China to Taiwan with KMT in 1949, only 27.5 percent agree with the statement while 53.6 percent do not. This shows that Taiwanese are gradually reaching consensus on whether Taiwan and China should not be unified.

On whether Taiwan should become a new independent nation, 48.5 of Taiwanese agree, while 35.0 percent disagree. Among pan-blue supporters, 33.7 percent agree while 53.8 percent disagree. Among opposition supporters, 77.8 percent say yes and 16.2 percent say no. This shows that more and more people are supporting the notion that Taiwan will eventually become independent, but the public is still divided on the issue.



Note : The February 2006 surveys were conducted by the ERA Poll center.

This survey was conducted by GVSRC from 6.20 p.m. to 10.00 p.m. on May 13-15, 2009. It was conducted with random-digit-dial sampling and computer-assisted telephone interviewing methods. 1003 people who are 20 or older completed the interview. One can say with 95% confidence that the theoretical margin of sampling error is $\pm 3.1\%$. Gender, living areas, ages, educational level and other features of the interviewees have undergone weighting procedure and test of the sample's representativeness in the survey results.