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<http://www.gvm.com.tw/gvsrc/eng/index.asp>

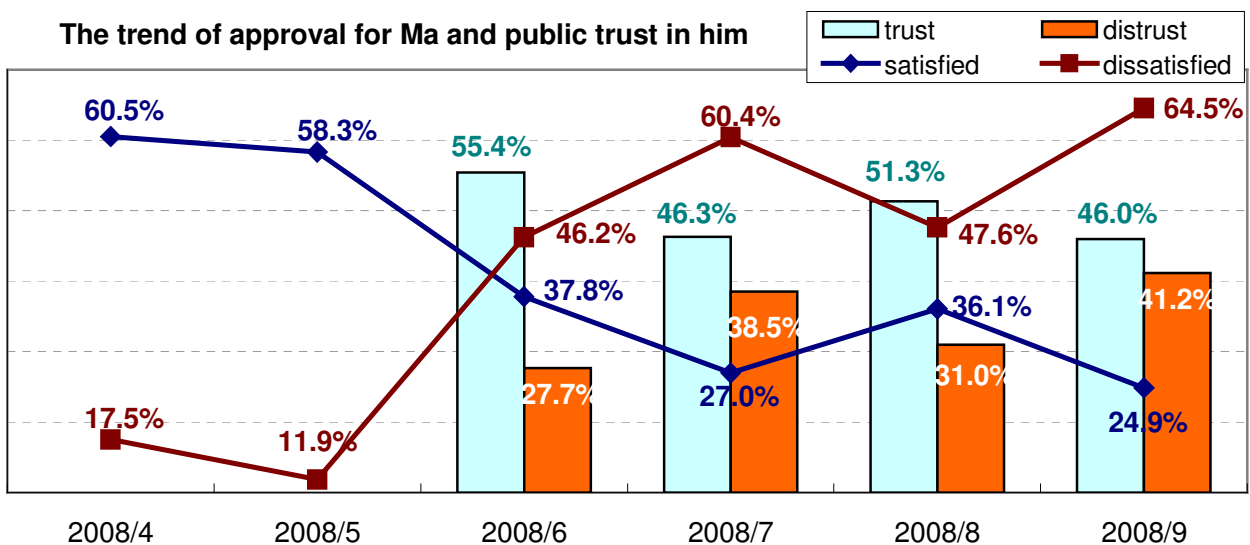
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## **GVSRC Survey: Approval rating for the Ma administration and support for its foreign policy; Taiwanese people's views on unification with China and independence**

**A. Approval for President Ma's governance over the past four months since taking office: 24.9% are satisfied with his performance while 64.5% are dissatisfied.**

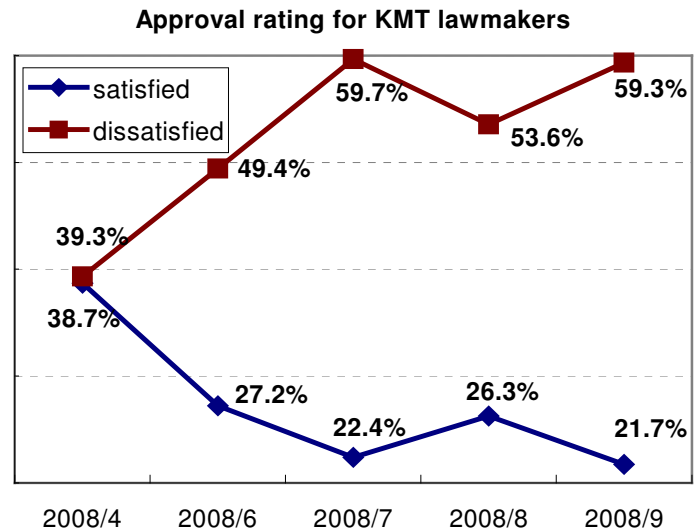
This GVSRC survey shows 24.9% of Taiwanese people approve of Ma's governance over the past four months since taking office, while 64.5% are dissatisfied with him. There is a gap of 39.6% between those who do not approve of his governance and those who do. This may be the worst approval rating for Ma since he began his political career. On the other hand, 46.0% of Taiwanese people say they trust Ma, while 41.2% say they don't. This shows that President Ma is winning roughly the same level of public trust and distrust. Clearly Ma is facing a crisis of insufficient public trust, and it is a warning sign for the leader.

Taiwanese people are not feeling overly burdened financially following the continuing fall in the crude oil price last month, but they are again being angry and dissatisfied with the new administration. This is because President Ma has been wavering on his economic platform, the Cabinet has been hesitant to reduce the securities transaction tax, the stock market has plunged, and the government has not managed typhoon damage well. This survey shows that 45.8% of Taiwanese people think there is a need for a Cabinet reshuffle, while 37.0% think it is unnecessary.



**B. Approval rating for the KMT lawmakers: 21.7% of Taiwanese people approve of the KMT lawmakers' performance, and 59.3% don't. 58.3% of Taiwanese people do not want to see Ma double as the party chairman.**

The lawmakers in the current legislature have been on job for almost eight months, and the KMT controls more than 70% of all seats. The survey this month shows that 59.3% of Taiwanese disapprove of the KMT lawmakers' performance in the legislature. The disapproval rating is much higher than the approval rating of 21.7%. Even among the pan-blue supporters, 48.3% say they do not approve of the KMT lawmakers' performance.



Further, 58.3% of Taiwanese people say they do not support the possibility of Ma doubling as the KMT chairman. Even among the KMT supporters, 58.3% say they do not support the move. Only 21.2% of Taiwanese people say they approve of the possibility. It is clear that most Taiwanese people want Ma to first fulfill his responsibilities and obligations as the leader of the country and focus more on his promises to the public.

**C. 43.0% of Taiwanese people approve of Ma's proposal for a diplomatic truce with China. 49.1% support the new administration's efficiency in facilitating closer cross-strait exchanges.**

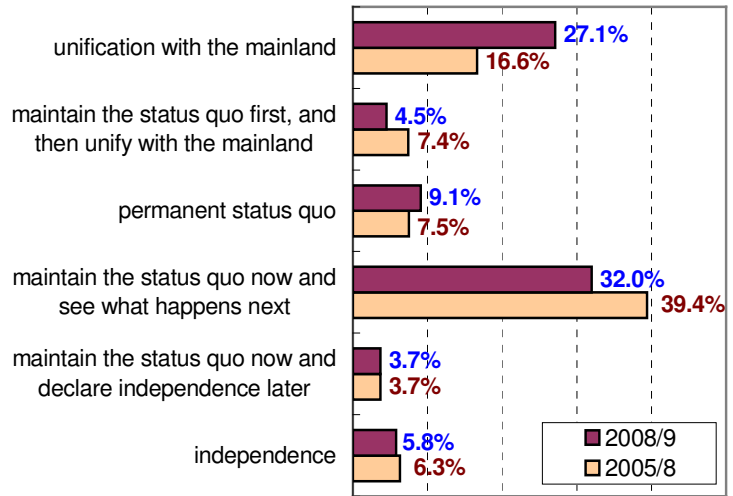
As a friendly gesture toward China, President Ma proposes to reach a diplomatic truce with the mainland in the hope to improve cross-strait relations while maintaining diplomatic space for Taiwan. The mainland has not made any friendly response, but instead the Chinese authorities still consider any effort by Taiwan to assert a more active role in international events and maintain ties with foreign countries as a separatist move. Even under such a condition, 43.0% of Taiwanese people still support Ma's platform for a diplomatic truce. The platform is particularly popular in some sectors: over 50% of people from the groups of 25 to 49-year-old, the college-educated, mainlanders, and the pan-blue supporters say they support a diplomatic truce with China. 30.9% of Taiwanese people, however, say this platform would sacrifice Taiwan's sovereignty and interests.

Over the past four months since President Ma took office, both the international community and Taiwanese people think Taiwan and China have started a new chapter in bilateral relations. Taiwan's new administration has also implemented several cross-strait policies, including increasing the number of mainland tourists to the island and initiating direct cargo and passenger flights between the two sides. The survey this month shows that 49.1% of Taiwanese people approve of President Ma's efficiency in facilitating closer cross-strait exchanges, while

38.5% do not. It is clear that most people approve of the general direction of Ma's foreign and cross-strait policies, although he still needs to communicate his platforms to the public better.

President Ma has repeatedly said he supports "no independence, no unification, and no use of force" across the Taiwan Strait, and he wants to maintain the status quo within the framework of Republic of China's (Taiwan's) Constitution. The GVSRC survey in May showed that 75.4% of Taiwanese people supported Ma's move. Following the new administration's efforts to facilitate closer cross-strait exchanges, the survey this month shows that 31.6% of Taiwanese people think President Ma is likely to embrace eventual unification with China, 41.1% think he wants to maintain the status quo, and 9.5% think he wants eventual independence.

**Taiwanese people's views on Ma's attitude toward Taiwan's future**



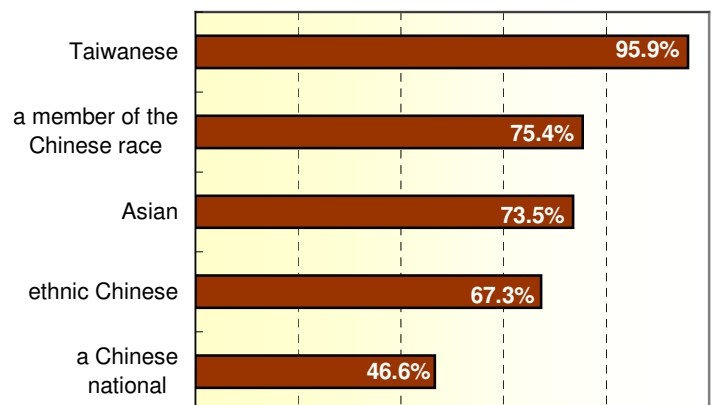
note: the August 2005 surveys were conducted by the ERA Poll Center.

Compared with a survey conducted by the ERA Poll Center in August 2005 when Ma was still the KMT chairman, this survey shows that Taiwanese people's views on Ma's attitude toward unification with China and independence has changed. More people now think he wants eventual unification with China, while fewer people now think he wants to maintain the status quo.

**D. Taiwanese people's perception of self-identity: 95.9% say they are Taiwanese, while 46.6% say they are Chinese nationals. 67.5% oppose to eventual unification with China, and 50.6% support eventual independence.**

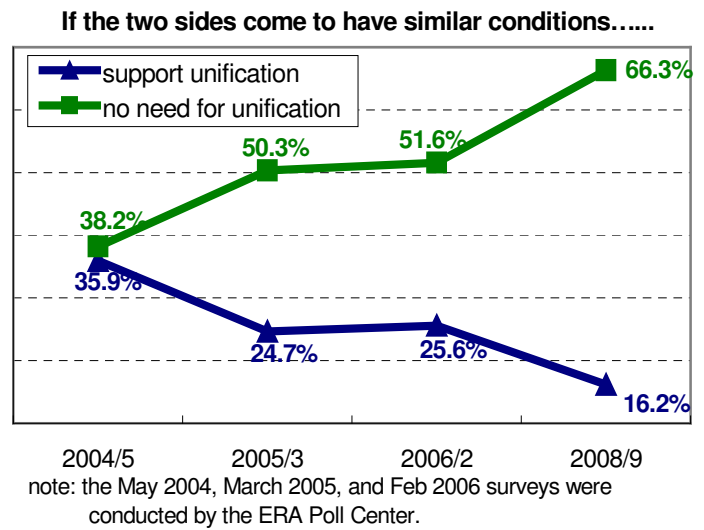
This survey shows that Taiwanese people's perception of self-identity is as follows: 95.9% say they are Taiwanese, 75.4% say they are members of the Chinese race, 73.5% say they are Asians, 67.3% say they are ethnic Chinese, and 46.6% say they are Chinese nationals. It is clear that the identity of Taiwanese is widely accepted, and the second most accepted identity is "a member of the Chinese race." During his inauguration speech, Ma said people from the two sides across the Taiwan Strait all belong to the Chinese race, and called Chinese compatriots. Chinese leader Hu Jintao also has addressed Taiwanese people as members of the Chinese race and compatriots. The overlap in the

**Taiwanese people's perception of self-identity**  
("Do you feel whether you are..." The items are given out one by one)

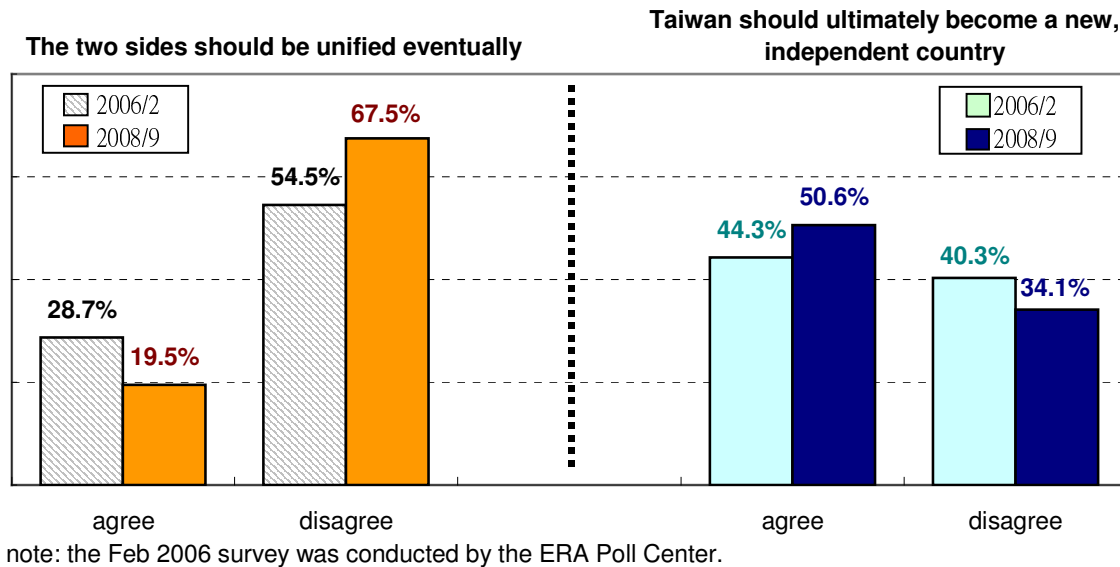


perception of different self-identities shown in this survey should give both Taiwan and China a better idea of where they stand with each other.

Even if Taiwan and China eventually come to have similar economic, political and social conditions, 66.3% of Taiwanese still say there is no need for unification, while 16.2% support unification within such a framework. Compared to a survey carried out by the ERA Poll Center in 2004, this month's survey shows that there is a 28.1% increase in the percentage of people who don't support unification even if the two sides come to have similar conditions. Meanwhile, the percentage of people who support unification if the two sides have similar conditions falls from 35.9% to 16.2%.



This survey shows that 67.5% of Taiwanese people do not support eventual unification with China, while 19.5% say they do. 50.6% of Taiwanese people support a future in which Taiwan become a new, independent country, while 34.1% do not support such a vision. Compared with a Feb 2006 survey conducted by the ERA Poll Center, this GVSRC survey shows that more Taiwanese people now think there is no need for unification with China, and they are embracing eventual independence.



This survey was conducted by the GVSRC from 6.20pm to 10.00pm on Sep 15-18, 2008. It is conducted with random-digit-dial sampling and computer-assisted telephone interviewing methods. 1002 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.