

MEDIA RELEASE
(August 09, 2006)

FROM: Dr. Ana Maria L. Tabunda
Executive Director
Pulse Asia, Inc.

RE: Pulse Asia's July 2006 Nationwide Survey on
Political Efficacy, Martial Rule,
Hopelessness, and Intention to Migrate

Pulse Asia is pleased to share with you some findings from the July 2006 *Ulat ng Bayan* national survey on ***Political Efficacy, Martial Rule, Hopelessness, and Intention to Migrate***. We request you to assist us in informing the public by disseminating this information on Filipino perceptions, opinions, sentiments, and attitudes relating to current developments here and abroad.

Based on a multistage probability sample of 1,200 representative adults 18 years old and above, Pulse Asia's nationwide survey has a $\pm 3\%$ error margin at the 95% confidence level. Subnational estimates for each of the geographic areas covered in the survey (i.e., Metro Manila, the rest of Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao) have a $\pm 6\%$ error margin, also at 95% confidence level. **Face-to-face** field interviews for this project were conducted from June 24 to July 8, 2006. (Those interested in further technical details concerning the surveys' questionnaires and sampling design may request Pulse Asia in writing for fuller details, including copies of the pre-tested questions actually used.)

Topping the news headlines at the time the survey was being conducted were reports regarding the serial filing of impeachment complaints against President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo, the President's declaration of an all-out war against communist rebels and the government's rejection of the National Democratic Front's call for the revival of peace talks, the abolition of the death penalty, the granting of a 25-peso wage hike to Metro Manila workers, the probable filing of impeachment complaints against

several election officials arising from the Mega Pacific deal for the computerization of elections, a military inquiry's recommendation that charges be filed against 38 military officers and 27 enlisted Army personnel for their alleged involvement in the 24 February 2006 failed coup, the changing of the guards in the Philippine National Police, and the recapture of 6 Magdalo officers.

The survey's sampling design and questionnaire are the full responsibility of Pulse Asia's pool of academic experts and no religious, political, economic or any other form of partisanship has been allowed to influence the survey design, the findings generated by the actual surveys or the subsequent analyses of survey findings.

Pulse Asia undertakes *Ulat ng Bayan* surveys on its own without any party singularly commissioning the research effort.

**Pulse Asia's July 2006 *Ulat ng Bayan* Survey:
Media Release on Political Efficacy, Martial Rule,
Hopelessness, and Intention to Migrate
09 August 2006**

Few Filipinos believe that there is democratic governance in the Philippines; the big majority nationwide (82%) is comprised by Filipinos who either acknowledge oligarchic politics or say they are uncertain about the character of the country's political regime

A large proportion of the public (41%) says that the Philippines is controlled by a powerful few and ordinary citizens cannot do anything about this situation. An equal number of people (41%) is unable to agree or disagree with this view and vacillates regarding the existence of oligarchic rule. Belief that a powerful few runs the country is strongest in Metro Manila (55%) and weakest in the Visayas (35%). Levels of public indecision, on the other hand, are generally constant across the country's geographic areas and socioeconomic classes. The rest of the nation – a rather small proportion at 17% -- disagree that the country is controlled by a powerful few. (*Table 1*).

Table 1
AGREEMENT / DISAGREEMENT WITH TEST STATEMENT
ON POLITICAL EFFICACY
June 24 - July 8, 2006 / Philippines
(Column Percent)

<u>TEST STATEMENT ON POLITICAL EFFICACY</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>					<u>CLASS</u>		
		BAL						
"The nation is run by a powerful few; ordinary citizens cannot do anything about it."	RP	NCR	LUZ	VIS	MIN	ABC	D	E
AGREE	41	55	37	35	44	48	40	40
UNDECIDED	41	35	44	40	39	35	42	40
DISAGREE	17	10	17	25	17	17	17	19

Babasahin namin ngayon sa inyo ang ilang mga pangungusap. Maaari bang sa bawat isa sa mga pangungusap na ito ay pakisabi lamang kung kayo ay lubos na sumasang-ayon, sumasang-ayon, hindi masabi ngayon kung sumasang-ayon o hindi sumasang-ayon, hindi sumasang-ayon o lubos na hindi sumasang-ayon?

Q179. Ang ating bansa ay pinapalacad ng iilang tao na makapangyarihan; walang magawa tungkol dito ang mga ordinaryong mamamayan.

Notes: (1) % Agree = % Very Much Agree plus % Agree; % Disagree = % Disagree plus % Very Much Disagree

(2) Figures may not add up to 100% due to rounding off or to Don't Know and Refuse responses.

Amidst recent developments threatening their nation's governance processes and institutions (e.g.. issues of electoral fraud and presidential legitimacy, military restiveness and executive-legislative gridlocks), those surveyed reflect a split opinion on the possibility of Filipinos completely losing faith in peaceful means of promoting democracy. Practically equal proportions of the public say that the possibility of such disillusionment is "Big" (29%) or "Small" (30%). On the other hand, a big plurality (41%) claims to be undecided in assessing the chances of this development taking place. (*See Table 2*).

Table 2
AGREEMENT / DISAGREEMENT WITH TEST STATEMENT
ON PHILIPPINE DEMOCRACY

June 24 - July 8, 2006 / Philippines
(Column Percent)

<u>TEST STATEMENT ON PHIL. DEMOCRACY</u> "At present the possibility that Filipinos will completely lose faith in peaceful means of promoting democracy is big."	<u>RP</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>					<u>CLASS</u>		
		<u>NCR</u>	<u>LUZ</u>	<u>VIS</u>	<u>MIN</u>	<u>ABC</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>	
AGREE	29	28	27	30	33	24	31	27	
UNDECIDED	41	41	45	40	35	41	40	43	
DISAGREE	30	32	29	30	31	35	29	30	

Babasahin namin ngayon sa inyo ang ilang mga pangungusap. Maaari bang sa bawat isa sa mga pangungusap na ito ay pakisabi lamang kung kayo ay lubos na sumasang-ayon, sumasang-ayon, hindi masabi ngayon kung sumasang-ayon o hindi sumasang-ayon, hindi sumasang-ayon o lubos na hindi sumasang-ayon?

Q181. Sa ngayon ay malaki ang posibilidad na ang mga Pilipino ay lubusang mawalan ng tiwala sa mapayapang pagtataguyod ng demokrasya.

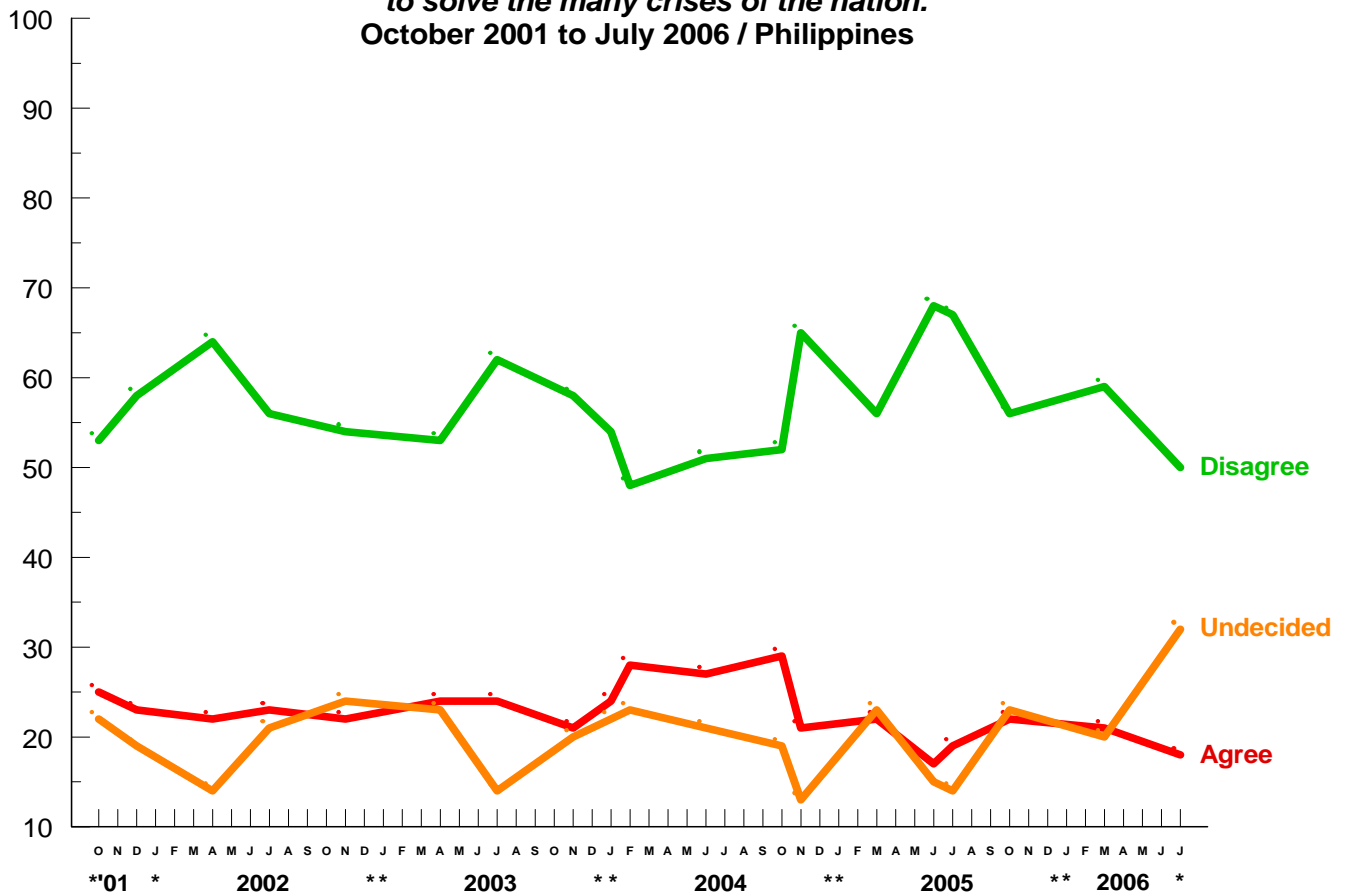
Notes: (1) % Agree = % Very Much Agree plus % Agree; % Disagree = % Disagree plus % Very Much Disagree

(2) Figures may not add up to 100% due to rounding off or to Don't Know and Refuse responses.

Despite the many critical problems facing the country, fully half of the nation continue to reject martial law being imposed at this time

In the midst of allegations by critics of the President that the national administration has plans of imposing some form of martial rule, five in ten Filipinos (50%) reject martial law as a solution to the country's urgent problems. However, some weakening of this sentiment may be noted. There has been a decline (9 percentage points) in the proportion of Filipinos holding this view between March and July 2006. Furthermore, the public disagreement with imposing martial law has also dropped from 67% to 50% year-on-year, while public indecision has increased by 18 percentage points from 14% to 32% for the same period. (*See Chart 1*)

Chart 1
AGREEMENT / DISAGREEMENT WITH TEST STATEMENT:
"Candidly speaking, it may be necessary now to have martial law to solve the many crises of the nation."
October 2001 to July 2006 / Philippines



Dates	Agree	Undecided	Disagree
Oct 2001	25	22	53
Dec 2001	23	19	58
Apr 2002	22	14	64
Jul 2002	23	21	56
Nov 2002	22	24	54
Apr 2003	24	23	53
Jul 2003	24	14	62
Nov 2003	21	20	58
Jan 2004	24	22	54
Feb 2004	28	23	48
Jun 2004	27	21	51
Oct 2004	29	19	52
Nov 2004	21	13	65
Mar 2005	22	23	56
Jun 2005	17	15	68
Jul 2005	19	14	67
Oct 2005	22	23	56
Mar 2006	21	20	59
Jul 2006	18	32	50

Notes: (1) % Agree = % Very Much Agree plus % Agree; % Disagree = % Disagree plus % Very Much Disagree
 (2) Figures may not add up to 100% due to rounding off or to Don't Know and Refuse responses.

Indecision on the necessity of imposing martial law is most pronounced in the rest of Luzon (41%) and least marked in Metro Manila (23%) and in Mindanao (25%). On the other hand, the level of public agreement is practically the same across the country's geographic areas and socio-economic classes (15% to 23%) (*Table 3*).

Table 3
AGREEMENT / DISAGREEMENT WITH TEST STATEMENT
ON MARTIAL RULE
June 24 - July 8, 2006 / Philippines
(Column Percent)

TEST STATEMENT ON MARTIAL RULE "Candidly speaking, it may be necessary now to have martial law to solve the many crisis of the nation."	LOCATION					CLASS		
	RP	BAL				ABC	D	E
		NCR	LUZ	VIS	MIN			
AGREE	18	22	16	19	17	23	15	21
UNDECIDED	32	23	41	28	25	27	34	29
DISAGREE	50	55	43	53	57	49	50	50

Babasahin namin ngayon sa inyo ang ilang mga pangungusap. Maaari bang sa bawat isa sa mga pangungusap na ito ay pakisabi lamang kung kayo ay lubos na sumasang-ayon, sumasang-ayon, hindi masabi ngayon kung sumasang-ayon o hindi sumasang-ayon, hindi sumasang-ayon o lubos na hindi sumasang-ayon?

Q182. Sa totoo lang, maaaring kailangan ngayon na magkaroon ng batas militar o martial law para malutas ang maraming krisis ng bansa.

*Notes: (1) % Agree = % Very Much Agree plus % Agree; % Disagree = % Disagree plus % Very Much Disagree
(2) Figures may not add up to 100% due to rounding off or to Don't Know and Refuse responses.*

Compared to a year ago, fewer Filipinos now believe that they could still be hopeful about the Philippines

About half of the nation (49%) continue to believe that the Philippines is not hopeless, with those in the rest of Luzon (40%) being least inclined to reflect this view (*See Table 4*). This is the lowest level of public hopefulness in the Philippines since July 2002. Between March and July 2006, the percentage of Filipinos expressing this optimistic sentiment has declined by 10 percentage points. An even bigger erosion (20 percentage points) is recorded between July 2005 and July 2006 (*See Chart 2*).

On the other hand, 30% of Filipinos express ambivalence or indecision on the matter of hopefulness for the country, while 21% view the Philippines as already hopeless (*See Table 4*). Between March and July 2006, overall levels of optimistic agreement and cautious or prudential indecision have remained practically unchanged. However, longer-term, year-on-year comparisons suggest some weakening of public optimism, with those agreeing with perceptions of national hopelessness and those expressing indecision on the state of the nation increasing by 10 percentage points (*See Chart 2*).

Table 4
AGREEMENT / DISAGREEMENT WITH TEST STATEMENT
ON HOPELESSNESS
 June 24 - July 8, 2006 / Philippines
 (Column Percent)

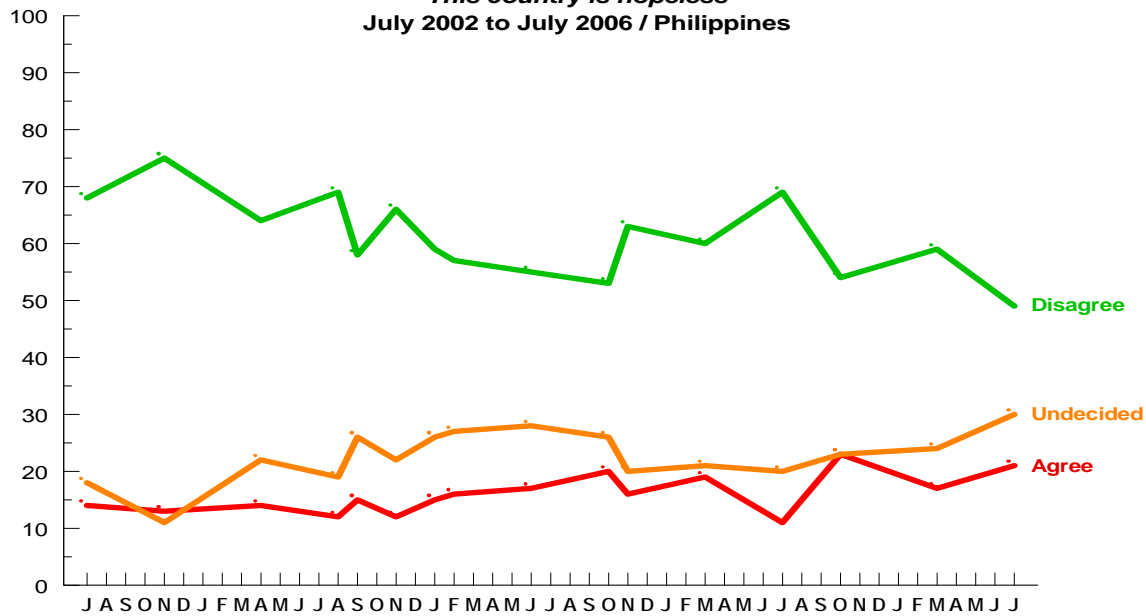
TEST STATEMENT ON HOPELESSNESS "This country is hopeless."	LOCATION					CLASS		
	RP	NCR	LUZ	VIS	MIN	ABC	D	E
AGREE	21	24	24	17	16	23	19	24
UNDECIDED	30	25	36	27	26	22	34	26
DISAGREE	49	51	40	56	58	55	48	50

Babasahin namin ngayon sa inyo ang ilang mga pangungusap. Maaari bang sa bawat isa sa mga pangungusap na ito ay pakisabi lamang kung kayo ay lubos na sumasang-ayon, sumasang-ayon, hindi masabi ngayon kung sumasang-ayon o hindi sumasang-ayon, hindi sumasang-ayon o lubos na hindi sumasang-ayon?

Q183. Wala ng pag-asa ang bansang ito.

Notes: (1) % Agree = % Very Much Agree plus % Agree; % Disagree = % Disagree plus % Very Much Disagree
 (2) Figures may not add up to 100% due to rounding off or to Don't Know and Refuse responses.

Chart 2
AGREEMENT / DISAGREEMENT WITH TEST STATEMENT:
"This country is hopeless"
 July 2002 to July 2006 / Philippines



Dates	Agree	Undecided	Disagree
Jul 2002	14	18	68
Nov 2002	13	11	75
Apr 2003	14	22	64
Aug 2003	12	19	69
Sep 2003	15	26	58
Nov 2003	12	22	66
Jan 2004	15	26	59
Feb 2004	16	27	57
Jun 2004	17	28	55
Oct 2004	20	26	53
Nov 2004	16	20	63
Mar 2005	19	21	60
Jul 2005	11	20	69
Oct 2005	23	23	54
Mar 2006	17	24	59
Jul 2006	21	30	49

Notes: (1) % Agree = % Very Much Agree plus % Agree; % Disagree = % Disagree plus % Very Much Disagree
 (2) Figures may not add up to 100% due to rounding off or to Don't Know and Refuse responses.

Migration continues to attract a large number of Filipinos even as just over a third of the nation reject the option and are determined to stay in the country

Three in ten Filipinos (30%) would now migrate if it were only possible. (This translates into at least 14 million adult Filipinos opting to leave the country and permanently residing abroad for whatever reason.) A slightly bigger number nationwide (37%) spurns migration and chooses to stay in the country. Another 32% -- virtually a third of the public -- are vacillating and will also not rule out the possibility of migrating if it were possible. Across the country's geographic areas and socio-economic classes, it bears noting that those in the Visayas (48%) and those in the poorest Class E (48%) are most opposed to migration. Public vacillation regarding migration is clearly most pronounced in rural Luzon (41%) and least manifest in urban Visayas (17%). In contrast, intention to migrate is nearly constant across the geographic areas and socio-economic classes (22% to 34%) (See Table 5).

Year-on-year, the percentage of Filipinos inclined to migrate has remained practically unchanged (26% versus 30%). On the other hand, the overall level of indecision on this issue has risen by 11 percentage points. It bears noting that the percentage of Filipinos who spurn migration drops quite a bit from 52% to 37% during the same period. The current proportion of Filipinos who won't migrate --- 37%, the same figure recorded in October 2005 --- is the lowest since July 2002 (See Chart 3).

Table 5
AGREEMENT / DISAGREEMENT WITH TEST STATEMENT
ON INTENTION TO MIGRATE
 June 24 - July 8, 2006 / Philippines
 (Column Percent)

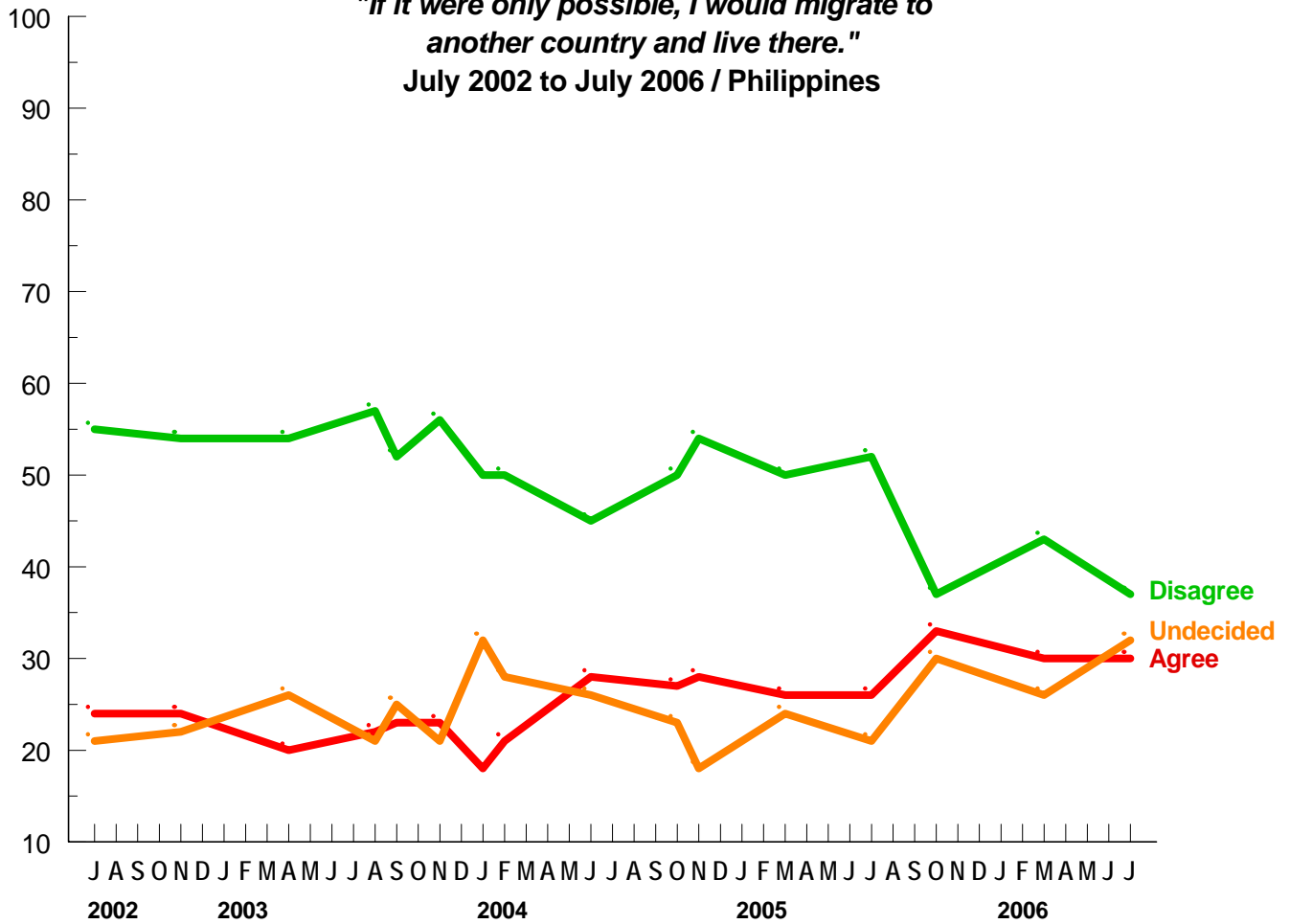
TEST STATEMENT ON INTENTION TO MIGRATE "If it were only possible, I would migrate to another country and live there."	RP	LOCATION				CLASS		
		NCR	LUZ	VIS	MIN	ABC	D	E
AGREE	30	30	33	27	29	31	34	22
UNDECIDED	32	34	38	25	28	34	33	31
DISAGREE	37	36	29	48	44	35	33	48

Babasahin namin ngayon sa inyo ang ilang mga pangungusap. Maaari bang sa bawat isa sa mga pangungusap na ito ay pakisabi lamang kung kayo ay lubos na sumasang-ayon, sumasang-ayon, hindi masabi ngayon kung sumasang-ayon o hindi sumasang-ayon, hindi sumasang-ayon o lubos na hindi sumasang-ayon?

Q184. Kung maaari lang ay magma-migrate ako at doon na sa ibang bansa maninirahan.

Notes: (1) % Agree = % Very Much Agree plus % Agree; % Disagree = % Disagree plus % Very Much Disagree
 (2) Figures may not add up to 100% due to rounding off or to Don't Know and Refuse responses.

Chart 3
AGREEMENT / DISAGREEMENT WITH TEST STATEMENT:
"If it were only possible, I would migrate to another country and live there."
 July 2002 to July 2006 / Philippines



Dates	AGREE	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE
Jul 2002	24	21	55
Nov 2002	24	22	54
Apr 2003	20	26	54
Aug 2003	22	21	57
Sep 2003	23	25	52
Nov 2003	23	21	56
Jan 2004	18	32	50
Feb 2004	21	28	50
Jun 2004	28	26	45
Oct 2004	27	23	50
Nov 2004	28	18	54
Mar 2005	26	24	50
Jul 2005	26	21	52
Oct 2005	33	30	37
Mar 2006	30	26	43
Jul 2006	30	32	37

Notes: (1) % Agree = % Very Much Agree plus % Agree; % Disagree = % Disagree plus % Very Much Disagree
 (2) Figures may not add up to 100% due to rounding off or to Don't Know and Refuse responses.