

**Fourth Quarter 2005 Social Weather Survey:  
54% APPROVE OF CHA-CHA WHEREBY GMA STEPS DOWN**

*Mahar Mangahas*

*Social Weather Stations*

Fifty-four percent of Filipinos approve, while 20% disapprove, of requiring President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo to leave office before the end of her term in 2010, thus making former President Fidel Ramos's proposal the most popular among five component ideas for constitutional change tested in the December 2005 Social Weather Survey.

When those approving of the proposal were asked in what year the President should leave office, half of them (54%) said 2005, 30% said 2006, 8% said 2007, and 6% said 2008 or 2009.

The other charter-change proposals considered in the SWS poll, and their corresponding findings, were:

- (a) Using the parliamentary system for choosing the country's chief executive: Neutral;
- (b) Allowing President Arroyo to be eligible for Prime Minister in a parliamentary government: Negative;
- (c) Lessening restrictions on foreign participation in the economy: Positive; and
- (d) Forming local governments at the regional level (prerequisite of a federal system): Positive.

Proposals (a), (b), (c) and Pres. Ramos's proposal, all requesting for an Approve/Disapprove choice, were asked in random order in the SWS survey. Proposal (d) requested a Good/Not Good choice for the sake of comparison with previous SWS surveys, and was asked last.

**Yes To Lessening Restrictions On Foreign Participation In The Economy**

The SWS survey found 41% approval, versus 22% disapproval, of lessening restrictions on foreign participation in the economy, such as those on ownership of land and investment in mining and in public utilities.

This is a significant change from the merely neutral 37% approval and 35% disapproval in the August 2004 Social Weather Survey on the general proposal to lessen restrictions on foreign investment in the Philippines.

**Probably Yes To The Formation Of Regional Governments**

The SWS survey found a plurality of 46% undecided as to whether their region should have its own elected local government, of higher stature than the present provincial and city/municipal governments.

Thirty-eight percent call it Good to have a regional government, and 16% call it Not Good, for a favorable net +22 balance of opinion.

Opinions on the regional government proposal are relatively strong in the Balance of Luzon (net +33) and Metro Manila (net +26), are moderately positive in Mindanao (net +16), but are weak in the Visayas (net +3).

**Split Opinion On The Parliamentary Way of Choosing The Chief Executive**

Regarding the proposal of having the country's chief executive voted for by the parliamentarians from among themselves, the SWS survey found mixed opinions of 32% approval, 34% disapproval, and 30% undecided. .

This split-opinion result is a marked change from many previous SWS polls which had showed a great reluctance of Filipino voters to give up the tradition of voting directly for the President of the Philippines.

**No To Allowing GMA To Be Eligible For Prime Minister**

The SWS survey found a plurality of 43% disapproval, versus 24% approval (net -18, correctly rounded), of allowing Pres. Arroyo to be Prime Minister of a parliamentary government. Twenty-eight percent were undecided.

Opposition to allowing Pres. Arroyo a chance to be Prime Minister is strong in Metro Manila (net -44) and Balance Luzon (-22), and moderate in Mindanao (net -10). The Visayas (net +1) is neutral on this matter.

In three previous SWS surveys since mid-2004, opposition to allowing a previous or sitting President another term as chief executive ranged from 53% to 64%, i.e., by December 2005 the opposition had declined from a majority to a mere plurality.

**Voting For A New Constitution Versus Voting For Separate Amendments**

To understand public opinion about a proposed revision of the Constitution, it is important to ask survey respondents one or more questions about each separate component of the revision, as SWS has been doing, and not merely for an overall YES or NO to the entire package.

Such questions would serve to predict ratification or rejection of individual amendments, if the electorate were allowed to vote on separate amendments in the plebiscite for the purpose.

On the other hand, in case a new proposed Constitution will be presented for ratification *in toto* to the Filipino people, as was done in February 1987, then the way to predict the outcome would be by likewise asking for an single YES or NO in a pre-plebiscite survey.

Nevertheless, so as to not only predict but also analyze the expected outcome, one would still need data on the public's awareness of, and opinions about, each of the separate components of the constitutional revision package.

### **Survey Background**

The Social Weather Survey for the 4th Quarter of 2005 was done over November 27 to December 4, 2005, using face-to-face interviews of 1,200 adults divided into random samples of 300 each in Metro Manila, the Balance of Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao (sampling error margins of  $\pm 3\%$  for national percentages and  $\pm 6\%$  for area percentages).

The items described in this release were not commissioned, but were included on SWS's own initiative. The subject of requiring President Arroyo to step down was included since it has been widely cited as the main ingredient of former President Fidel Ramos's July 2005 proposal of charter change as a means to resolve the "Hello Garci" crisis.

New charter-change elements found in the December 2005 report of the Consultative Commission, such as the proposal to cancel the 2007 election, will be taken up in forthcoming SWS surveys.

The SWS **Surveybook on the Philippine Constitution, 1986-2001**, by Maria Aurora V. Gelvezon, published March 2002, is a compilation of results from 58 SWS survey items. Data for later years may be obtained from the SWS Survey Data Library which is open to the public.

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Table 1

**OPINION ON CHARTER CHANGE REQUIRING PRES. ARROYO TO LEAVE OFFICE BEFORE THE END OF HER TERM IN 2010, December 2005**

	<u>RP</u>	<u>NCR</u>	<u>Bal Luz</u>	<u>Vis</u>	<u>Min</u>	<u>ABC</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>
Approve	54%	54%	54%	48%	58%	57%	51%	60%
Strongly approve	30	36	29	28	28	28	28	33
Somewhat approve	24	18	25	20	31	29	22	27
Undecided	23	23	23	29	20	18	25	22
Disapprove	20	21	21	21	18	24	22	16
Somewhat disapprove	11	10	11	12	9	13	11	9
Strongly disapprove	10	10	10	9	9	11	11	7
Net *	+34	+33	+33	+27	+41	+33	+29	+44

\* % Strongly/Somewhat Approve minus % Somewhat/Strongly Disapprove. Don't Know and Refused responses are not shown.

ANUMANG PANUKALANG PAGBABAGO NG KONSTITUSYON AY DAPAT MUNANG APRUBAHAN NG MGA MAMAMAYAN BAGO ITO MAGING EPEKTIBO. MASASABI PO BA NINYO NA KAYO AY (LUBOS NA SUMASANG-AYON, MEDYO SUMASANG-AYON, HINDI TIYAK KUNG SUMASANG-AYON O HINDI, MEDYO HINDI DUMASANG-AYON, LUBOS NA HINDI SUMASANG-AYON O HINDI SAPAT ANG KAALAMAN TUNGKOL DITO)

Q138. ... sa pagbabago na kung saan kinakailangan ni Pangulong Arroyo na bumaba sa pwesto bago matapos ang kanyang termino sa 2010.

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Table 2

**YEAR THAT CHARTER CHANGE SHOULD REQUIRE PRES. ARROYO TO STEP DOWN, December 2005**  
Base: The 54% who approve of a charter change requiring Pres. Arroyo to leave office before the end of her term in 2010

	<u>RP</u>	<u>NCR</u>	<u>Bal Luz</u>	<u>Vis</u>	<u>Min</u>	<u>ABC</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>
2005	54%	55%	56%	50%	53%	44%	56%	52%
2006	30	34	28	21	35	35	27	34
2007	8	5	9	12	5	13	7	7
2008	.7	1	.6	.7	.6	0	1	.4
2009	5	2	4	12	4	7	6	4

Note: Don't Know and Refused responses are not shown.

Q138a. KUNG SUMASANG-AYON: ANONG TAON PO DAPAT BUMABA SA PWESTO SI PANGULONG ARROYO

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Table 3


**OPINION ON CHARTER CHANGE LESSENING RESTRICTIONS ON FOREIGN PARTICIPATION IN THE ECONOMY, December 2005**

	<u>RP</u>	<u>NCR</u>	<u>Bal Luz</u>	<u>Vis</u>	<u>Min</u>	<u>ABC</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>
Approve	41%	36%	40%	41%	44%	39%	42%	38%
Strongly approve	12	13	11	14	9	13	12	9
Somewhat approve	29	24	29	27	34	26	30	28
Undecided	32	30	32	36	31	37	30	36
Disapprove	22	29	23	19	17	21	23	19
Somewhat disapprove	12	14	13	11	9	11	13	11
Strongly disapprove	10	14	10	9	8	10	11	8
Net *	+19	+8	+17	+22	+26	+18	+19	+19

\* % Strongly/Somewhat Approve minus % Somewhat/Strongly Disapprove. Don't Know and Refused responses are not shown.

ANUMANG PANUKALANG PAGBABAGO NG KONSTITUSYON AY DAPAT MUNANG APRUBAHAN NG MGA MAMAMAYAN BAGO ITO MAGING EPEKTIBO. MASASABI PO BA NINYO NA KAYO AY (LUBOS NA SUMASANG-AYON, MEDYO SUMASANG-AYON, HINDI TIYAK KUNG SUMASANG-AYON O HINDI, MEDYO HINDI DUMASANG-AYON, LUBOS NA HINDI SUMASANG-AYON O HINDI SAPAT ANG KAALAMAN TUNGKOL DITO)

Q139. ... sa pagbabago na kung saan mababawasan ang restriksyon sa banyagang partisipasyon sa ekonomiya, tulad ng pag-aari ng lupa, pamumuhunan sa pagmimina, pamumuhunan sa pampublikong serbisyo at iba pa.



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Table 4

**OPINION ON CHARTER CHANGE CREATING REGIONAL GOVERNMENTS, December 2005**

	<u>RP</u>	<u>NCR</u>	<u>BAL LUZ</u>	<u>VIS</u>	<u>MIN</u>	<u>ABC</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>
Definitely/Probably Good	38%	45%	43%	26%	34%	55%	39%	30%
Undecided	46	35	47	49	47	30	45	51
Def./Probably Not good	16	19	10	23	18	15	15	17

FOR OUTSIDE NCR:  
At present, the highest local government is that of the province (**FOR NCR: City and Municipality**); under it are the city and municipal governments. Since there are many provinces, the power of a provincial government compared to the national government is very small. Thus some are proposing to create a regional government for (R's region) to replace the provincial governments. Therefore there would be elections for the officials of (R's region) who would administer and make laws for the whole region.

Q140. For you, would this proposal be... (Definitely good, Probably good, Undecided as to whether good or not, Probably not good, Definitely not good)... for our country?



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Table 5

**OPINION ON CHARTER CHANGE LETTING THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE BE ELECTED BY THE LEGISLATORS INSTEAD OF DIRECTLY BY VOTERS, December 2005**

	<u>RP</u>	<u>NCR</u>	<u>Bal Luz</u>	<u>Vis</u>	<u>Min</u>	<u>ABC</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>
Approve	32%	25%	30%	32%	39%	35%	32%	32%
Strongly approve	7	8	7	8	6	8	8	4
Somewhat approve	25	17	23	24	32	26	23	27
Undecided	30	26	28	32	34	25	31	29
Disapprove	34	43	38	31	22	38	33	33
Somewhat disapprove	14	16	16	12	10	13	13	16
Strongly disapprove	20	27	22	19	12	25	20	17
Net *	-2	-18	-8	1	+17	-3	-2	-1

\* % Strongly/Somewhat Approve minus % Somewhat/Strongly Disapprove. Don't Know and Refused responses are not shown.

ANUMANG PANUKALANG PAGBABAGO NG KONSTITUSYON AY DAPAT MUNANG APRUBAHAN NG MGA MAMAMAYAN BAGO ITO MAGING EPEKTIBO. MASASABI PO BA NINYO NA KAYO AY (LUBOS NA SUMASANG-AYON, MEDYO SUMASANG-AYON, HINDI TIYAK KUNG SUMASANG-AYON O HINDI, MEDYO HINDI DUMASANG-AYON, LUBOS NA HINDI SUMASANG-AYON O HINDI SAPAT ANG KAALAMAN TUNGKOL DITO)

Q136. ... sa pagbabago na kung saan ang hepe ng ehekotibo ay iahalal ng mga mambabatas at hindi na direktang iahalal ng mga botante.



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Table 6

**OPINION ON CHARTER CHANGE ALLOWING PRES. ARROYO TO BECOME PRIME MINISTER IN A PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT, December 2005**

	<u>RP</u>	<u>NCR</u>	<u>Bal Luz</u>	<u>Vis</u>	<u>Min</u>	<u>ABC</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>E</u>
Approve	24%	12%	23%	32%	28%	25%	26%	20%
Strongly approve	4	4	3	5	6	2	5	3
Somewhat approve	20	8	20	27	22	24	21	17
Undecided	28	27	27	30	29	33	27	29
Disapprove	43	56	45	34	37	40	43	43
Somewhat disapprove	15	18	16	11	14	11	14	18
Strongly disapprove	28	38	30	23	23	29	29	26
Net *	-18	-44	-22	-1	-10	-15	-17	-23

\* % Strongly/Somewhat Approve minus % Somewhat/Strongly Disapprove. Don't Know and Refused responses are not shown.

ANUMANG PANUKALANG PAGBABAGO NG KONSTITUSYON AY DAPAT MUNANG APRUBAHAN NG MGA MAMAMAYAN BAGO ITO MAGING EPEKTIBO. MASASABI PO BA NINYO NA KAYO AY (LUBOS NA SUMASANG-AYON, MEDYO SUMASANG-AYON, HINDI TIYAK KUNG SUMASANG-AYON O HINDI, MEDYO HINDI DUMASANG-AYON, LUBOS NA HINDI SUMASANG-AYON O HINDI SAPAT ANG KAALAMAN TUNGKOL DITO)

Q137. ... sa pagbabago na kung saan ay papayagan si Pangulong Arroyo na maging Punong Ministro ng gobyernong Parliamentaryo.



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Table 7

**OPINION ON CHARTER CHANGE ALLOWING PAST PRESIDENTS TO BECOME PRIME MINISTER, AUGUST 2004 TO AUGUST 2005**

	<u>Aug 2004</u>	<u>May 2005</u>	<u>Aug 2005</u>
Approve	42%	34%	45%
<b>Strongly approve</b>	10	11	13
<b>Somewhat approve</b>	33	23	32
Disapprove	55	64	53
<b>Strongly disapprove</b>	23	26	27
<b>Somewhat disapprove</b>	32	38	26
<b>Net*</b>	-13	-30	-8

\* % Approve minus % Disapprove correctly rounded. Don't know and Refused responses are not shown.

Question item implemented prior to the December 2005 Survey

Sa kasalukuyang Konstitusyon, sinumang naging Pangulo na ay hindi maaaring maging Pangulo uli pagkatapos ng kanilang termino. Kasama dito si Pangulong Arroyo at sina dating Pangulong Corazon Aquino, Fidel Ramos, at Joseph Estrada. Kung sakali pong i-panukala na baguhin ang Konstitusyon para payagan ang sinuman sa kanila na maging Punong Ministro sa isang sistemang parlamentaryo, kayo po ba ay (SHOWCARD) sa panukalang ito?