

MEDIA RELEASE

(October 14, 2013)

FROM: Dr. Ana Maria Tabunda
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RE: Pulse Asia Research's September 2013 Nationwide Survey on the Pork Barrel

Pulse Asia Research, Inc. is pleased to share with you some findings on *the Pork Barrel* from the June 2013 *Ulat ng Bayan* national survey. We request you to assist us in informing the public by disseminating this information.

The survey fieldwork was conducted from **September 14 - 27, 2013** using face-to-face interviews. Two local developments dominated the news in September 2013. The first concerns the alleged misuse of the Priority Development Assistance Fund (PDAF) of some members of Congress. At the center of this so-called pork barrel scam is a businesswoman, Ms. Janet Lim-Napoles, who was reportedly able to funnel about ₱ 10 billion sourced from the PDAF of several lawmakers to fake non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Among those implicated in the scam are former Senate President Juan Ponce Enrile and Senators Jinggoy Estrada, Gregorio Honasan, Ferdinand Marcos, Jr., and Ramon Revilla, Jr. On 28 August 2013, Ms. Napoles surrendered to President Benigno S. Aquino III two weeks after the Department of Justice (DOJ) issued a warrant of arrest for her and her brother on charges of serious illegal detention of the principal whistle-blower in the pork barrel scam, Mr. Benhur Luy. Ms. Napoles is currently under the custody of the Philippine National Police (PNP) in Fort Sto. Domingo, Laguna. On 29 August 2013, the Senate Blue Ribbon Committee began its inquiry into the matter while on 10 September 2013, the Supreme Court ordered the executive department to stop releasing the remaining PDAF of lawmakers for the current year. Moreover, on 16 September 2013, the DOJ filed plunder, graft, bribery and malversation charges before

the Ombudsman against former Senate President Enrile, Senators Estrada and Revilla, Ms. Napoles and 34 other individuals.

The second key development at this time was the Zamboanga City crisis. On 09 September 2013, armed elements of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) loyal to its founding chairperson, Nur Misuari, entered Zamboanga City and clashed with government forces. This took place nearly a month after the latter declared independence for Mindanao in Talipao, Sulu. The crisis was declared over by Department of National Defense (DND) Secretary Voltaire Gazmin on 28 September 2013. After 20 days of fighting, 167 MNLF members, 18 soldiers and 5 policemen were killed while 247 MNLF members were arrested, 181 military and police officers were wounded and thousands of residents were evacuated. On 21 September 2013, police authorities filed charges of rebellion and violation of human rights against 29 MNLF members, including four high-ranking officials led by MNLF Commander Habier Malik.¹

Other developments that preoccupied Filipinos during this period are the following:

1. The speech delivered by Senator Jinggoy Estrada on 25 September 2013 wherein he divulged, among others, that the PDAF of several senators allied with the current dispensation were also allegedly misused and that the senators who voted for the conviction of former Supreme Court Chief Justice Renato Corona in May 2012, including himself, each received an “incentive” of ₱ 50 million in additional pork barrel funds;
2. The filing of a ₱ 61-million tax evasion case against Ms. Napoles and her husband by the Bureau of Internal Revenue (BIR) arising from their attempt to evade the payment of taxes in 2004, 2006 and 2008 to 2012 amounting to ₱44.68 million for Ms. Napoles and ₱16.43 million for her husband;
3. The resignation of National Bureau of Investigation (NBI) Director Nonnatus Rojas and NBI Deputy Director Edmundo Arugay following remarks made by President Aquino that two NBI officials reportedly tipped off Ms. Napoles about the arrest warrant issued against her by the DOJ;
4. The continued tensions between the Philippines and China over disputed territories in the West Philippine Sea, with DND Secretary Gazmin reporting the apparent construction of new structures in Panatag Shoal as of late August 2013;
5. The filing of multiple murder charges against Police Superintendent Hansel Marantan and 12 other policemen for the January 2013 killing of 13 individuals in Atimonan, Quezon reportedly over a turf war involving the control of *jueteng* operations in Southern Luzon;
6. The loss of lives and destruction of property, particularly in the province of Zambales, resulting from the flashfloods and landslides brought about the heavy monsoon rains as well as the devastation of agricultural crops in northern

¹Rebellion charges were filed by the DOJ against MNLF Founding Chairperson Misuari and 60 other individuals involved in the Zamboanga City siege on 09 October 2013. The last interviews for this survey were conducted on 27 September 2013.

- Philippines, especially Batanes and Ilocos Norte, due to Typhoon Odette which hit the country in late September 2013;
7. The disqualification of Laguna Governor ER Ejercito by the Commission on Elections (COMELEC) for his reported overspending during the campaign for the May 2013 elections;
 8. The failure of the BIR to meet its August 2013 revenue target of ₱ 118.48 billion despite an increase of 22.07% in its collections year-on-year;
 9. An increase of ₱ 0.18 per kilowatt hour (kWh) in the September 2013 electricity bills of Manila Electric Company (MERALCO) customers despite lower charges by its biggest suppliers the previous month; and
 10. The decision of the Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System (MWSS) to reject the petition for an increase in water rates filed by Maynilad and Manila Water.

As in our previous surveys, this nationwide survey is based on a sample of 1,200 representative adults 18 years old and above. It 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. Those interested in further technical details concerning the survey's questionnaire and sampling design may request Pulse Asia Research in writing for fuller details, including copies of the pre-tested questions actually used.

Pulse Asia Research's pool of academic fellows takes full responsibility for the design and conduct of the survey, as well as for analyses it makes based on the survey data. In keeping with our academic nature, no religious, political, economic, or partisan group influenced any of these processes. Pulse Asia Research undertakes *Ulat ng Bayan* surveys on its own without any party singularly commissioning the research effort.

For any clarification or questions, kindly contact Dr. Ana Maria Tabunda, Research Director of Pulse Asia Research at 09189436816 or Prof. Ronald D. Holmes, Pulse Asia Research President at +6104-2436-1124.

Pulse Asia Research's September 2013 *Ulat ng Bayan* Survey:
Media Release on the Pork Barrel
14 October 2013

Awareness of the pork barrel is reported by practically all Filipinos (90%); a big plurality of Filipinos (45%) favor the complete abolition of the pork barrel of lawmakers

Nine out of every ten Filipinos (90%) have heard, read or watched something about the Priority Development Assistance Fund (PDAF) or pork barrel. Majority awareness levels are recorded across geographic areas (82% to 95%) and socio-economic classes (84% to 98%). Awareness is more pronounced in Metro Manila, the rest of Luzon and the Visayas (91% to 95%) than in Mindanao (82%) and in the best-off Class ABC (98%) than in the poorest Class E (84%). Back in October 2004, fewer Filipinos (66%) reported being aware of the PDAF. (Please refer to Table 1.)

Table 1
AWARENESS OF THE
PRIORITY DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE FUND (PDAF) OR PORK BARREL
October 2004 and September 2013 / Philippines
(In Percent)

INTRO. Legislators often rely on public funds to sustain their various projects or programs. The Priority Development Assistance Fund (PDAF), commonly called Pork Barrel is the fund given to senators and congressmen/women that they should use only on projects for the development of provinces, cities or municipalities.									
Have you heard, read or watched anything about Priority Development Assistance Fund (PDAF) or pork barrel before this or only now? (Base: Total Interviews, 100%)	LOCATION					CLASS			
		BAL							
	RP	NCR	LUZ	VIS	MIN	ABC	D	E	
Yes, before this	Sep 2013	90	95	93	91	82	98	92	84
	Oct 2004	66	85	64	62	62	86	70	52
None, only now	Sep 2013	10	5	7	9	18	2	8	16
	Oct 2004	34	15	36	38	38	14	30	48

Q. *May narinig, nabasa o napanood na ba kayo tungkol sa Priority Development Assistance Fund (PDAF) o pork barrel bago nito o ngayon lang?*

On the matter of what should be done with the PDAF of lawmakers, the plurality opinion among Filipinos is one of abolishing it (45%) – an opinion shared by big pluralities to small majorities in nearly all geographic areas (45% to 56%) and socio-economic groupings (47% to 48%). Mindanao and Class E are the exceptions. In Mindanao, public opinion is split with 38% favoring the abolition of lawmakers' PDAF, 27% supporting the retention of the PDAF but making the process of using it stricter and 26% opting for the reduction of the PDAF allocations of lawmakers. Meanwhile, in Class E, 38% say the PDAF of lawmakers should be removed while 27% are of the view that it should just be

reduced. At the national level, nearly the same percentage of Filipinos says that lawmakers' pork barrel should either be reduced or retained but make the process of using it stricter (25% versus 20%). The rest of the Filipino adult population (10%) supports the status quo (i.e., the PDAF should be maintained at its current level to allow lawmakers to have their own projects and programs for their constituents). (Please refer to Table 2.)

Table 2
OPINION ON THE PRIORITY DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE FUND ALLOCATION
FOR EACH SENATOR AND CONGRESSMAN/WOMAN

October 2004 and September 2013 / Philippines
(In Percent)

		LOCATION					CLASS		
		RP	NCR	BAL			ABC	D	E
				LUZ	VIS	MIN			
<p>In the current national budget of our gov't, each Senator has a PDAF or pork barrel of P200 million while members of the House of Representatives have P70 million each. Would you please tell us which of the following statements best describes your own opinion? (Base: Total Interviews, 100%)</p> <p>The PDAF or pork barrel of lawmakers should be removed and the implementation of projects and programs for the people left to other government agencies.</p>	Sep 2013	45	56	45	47	38	47	48	38
	Oct 2004	30	46	26	28	28	39	31	23
<p>The PDAF or pork barrel of lawmakers should just be reduced so that they can still have their own projects and programs for the people.</p>	Sep 2013	25	24	26	24	26	25	24	27
	Oct 2004	55	51	59	46	57	54	55	55
<p>Lawmakers should be allowed to have PDAF or pork barrel but the process of using this should be made stricter to avoid any anomalous use of this.</p>	Sep 2013	20	13	17	20	27	15	19	24
	Oct 2004	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
<p>The PDAF or pork barrel of lawmakers should be maintained at its current status and the lawmakers allowed to have their own projects and programs for the people.</p>	Sep 2013	10	7	11	9	9	14	9	11
	Oct 2004	16	3	15	26	15	7	14	22

Q. Sa kasalukuyang taunang badyet ng ating gobyerno, bawat isang Senador ay may PDAF o "pork barrel" na P200 milyon samantalang ang mga Kongresista naman ay may P65 milyon (2004) / P70 milyon (2013) bawat isa. Maaari bang pakisabi ninyo kung alin sa mga sumusunod na pangungusap ang pinaka-naglalarawan sa inyong sariling opinyon?

On the use of the PDAF, about the same percentage of Filipinos says either that it is used by politicians to get elected (32%) or it provides lawmakers with opportunities to receive bribes and commissions (27%)

For around one in three Filipinos (32%), politicians use the PDAF to get elected into office. On the other hand, 27% of Filipinos say the PDAF provides lawmakers an opportunity to receive bribes and commissions, 23% think it is used by the President to obtain the support of lawmakers for his administration's priority bills and 19% opine that the PDAF provides significant local development assistance. While a big plurality of Visayans (41%) say the PDAF is used by politicians for electoral purposes, public opinion on the matter is

generally split in the other geographic areas as well as across socio-economic classes. (Please refer to Table 3.)

Table 3
OPINION ON THE USE AND MANAGEMENT OF THE
PRIORITY DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE FUND
October 2004 and September 2013 / Philippines
(In Percent)

		LOCATION					CLASS		
		RP	NCR	BAL	VIS	MIN	ABC	D	E
				LUZ					
I have here some statements regarding the use and management of the Priority Development Assistance Fund (PDAF), which is commonly called as "Pork Barrel". Please say which of the following statements is closest to your own opinion. (Base: Total Interviews, 100%)	Sep 2013	32	28	28	41	34	21	34	31
	Oct 2004	26	38	19	26	32	30	27	20
The PDAF or pork barrel is used by politicians and their relatives to get elected during elections	Sep 2013	27	25	37	15	17	34	26	25
	Oct 2004	16	16	18	15	15	20	17	15
The PDAF or pork barrel provides lawmakers with the opportunity to receive bribes and commissions	Sep 2013	23	29	22	19	25	30	22	22
	Oct 2004	30	36	29	31	31	30	28	36
The releasing of the PDAF or pork barrel is used by the President to get the support of lawmakers so that Congress may pass the administration's proposed bills.	Sep 2013	19	19	13	25	25	14	18	22
	Oct 2004	27	10	34	27	22	20	27	27
The PDAF or pork barrel of lawmakers is a significant assistance in developing our place	Sep 2013	19	19	13	25	25	14	18	22
	Oct 2004	27	10	34	27	22	20	27	27

Q. *Mayroon ako ditong ilang pangungusap ukol sa paggamit at pamamahala ng Priority Development Assistance Fund o "PDAF" na karaniwang tinatawag na pork barrel. Pakisabi lamang kung alin sa mga sumusunod na pangungusap ang pinaka-malapit sa inyong sariling opinyon.*

Between October 2004 and September 2013, there is a significant increase in the percentage of Filipinos who consider the PDAF as a means by which lawmakers are given opportunities to receive bribes and commissions (+11 percentage points). In contrast, there are declines in the percentage of Filipinos who say the President uses the PDAF to secure the support of lawmakers for his administration's legislative agenda (-7 percentage points) or that the PDAF is a means of providing local development assistance to lawmakers' constituents (-8 percentage points).

A sizeable majority of Filipinos (63%) approve of the response of President Benigno S. Aquino III to the alleged misuse of the PDAF; nearly the same percentage of Filipinos (67%) believe that the reported anomalous use of the PDAF has continued under the current dispensation

Most Filipinos (63%) approve of President Aquino's declaration that, "*Panahon na upang i-abolish ang PDAF.*" This sentiment is echoed by majorities in every geographic area (60% to 65%) and socio-economic grouping (63% to 68%). Indecision on the matter is expressed by 22% of Filipinos while 14% disapprove

outright. Levels of indecision and disapproval are also generally constant with the respective overall figures across geographic areas (20% to 24% and 12% to 14%, respectively) and socio-economic classes (21% to 26% and 8% to 16%, respectively). (Please refer to Table 4.)

Table 4
APPROVAL RATINGS OF PRESIDENT BENIGNO S. AQUINO III
IN RESPONSE TO THE ISSUE OF ALLEGED ANOMALOUS USE OF PDAF

September 14 - 27, 2013 / Philippines
(In Percent)

Recently, there was an issue regarding the alleged anomalous use of the PDAF. One Janet Lim Napoles is being accused of receiving ₱10 billion in 10 years from the PDAF of several senators and congressional representatives for fake non-government organizations or NGOs which were made to appear as implementors of agricultural programs. However, the true beneficiaries never received these funds. According to some lawmakers, the implementing agencies like the Department of Agriculture or DA as well as the agencies which released such funds – the Department of Budget and Management or DBM – were not careful in carrying out their duties. Meanwhile, several sectors are saying that a certain percentage of the PDAF of lawmakers go directly to them or to NGOs established by them and not to the target beneficiaries.

When this issue first came out, the position of President Aquino was that there is no need to stop giving the PDAF to lawmakers. However, the President's position changed and he declared that, "It is time to abolish the PDAF." He also said that this is to "search for the truth, and to hold accountable those who are responsible."

How much do you approve or disapprove of the response of President Aquino to the issue of the alleged anomalous use of the PDAF or pork barrel? Would you say that you ... of the response of President Aquino?
(Base: Total Interviews, 100%)

	LOCATION					CLASS		
	RP	NCR	BAL LUZ	VIS	MIN	ABC	D	E
APPROVE	63	60	63	65	65	68	63	63
Truly approve	13	13	12	14	16	9	15	11
Approve	50	47	51	51	49	59	48	52
UNDECIDED	22	24	22	20	23	23	21	26
DISAPPROVE	14	14	14	13	12	8	16	10
Disapprove	12	13	12	11	10	7	13	9
Truly disapprove	2	1	2	2	2	1	2	1
DON'T KNOW/CAN'T SAY	1	2	0	2	0	2	1	1

KAMAKAILAN, NAGKARON NG ISYU NG DI UMANO'Y MAANOMALYANG PAGGAMIT NG PDAF. MAY ISANG JANET LIM NAPOLES NA INAAKUSAHANG NAKATANGGAP MULA SA PDAF NG ILANG MGA SENADOR AT KONGRESISTA NG 10 BILYONG PISO SA LOOB NG SAMPUNG TAON PARA SA MGA PEKENG NON-GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATIONS O NGO NA PINALABAS NA TAGAPAGPATUPAD NG MGA PROGRAMANG PANG AGRIKULTURA. SUBALIT HINDI NATANGGAP NG MGA TUNAY NA BENEPISYARYO ANG MGA PONDO. AYON SA ILANG MGA MAMBABATAS, HINDI NAGING MASINOP ANG MGA AHENSYANG TAGAPAGPATUPAD NG MGA PROYECTO TULAD NG DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE O DA, PATI NA RIN ANG MGA AHENSYANG NAGPAPALABAS NG PONDO – DEPARTMENT OF BUDGET AND MANAGEMENT O DBM. AYON NAMAN SA ILANG MGA SEKTOR, ILANG PORSYENTO NG PDAF NG MGA MAMBABATAS AY NAPUPUNTA SA KANILA O KANILANG MGA TINAYONG NGO AT HINDI SA MGA DAPAT NA BENEPISYARYO.

NOONG UNANG LUMABAS ANG ISYUNG ITO, ANG POSISYON NI PRESIDENTE AQUINO AY HINDI KAILANGANG IHINTO ANG PAGBIGAY NG PDAF SA MGA MAMBABATAS. SUBALIT NAGBAGO ANG POSISYON NG PRESIDENTE AT NAGLABAS SIYA NG PAHAYAG NA "PANAHON NA UPANG I-ABOLISH ANG PDAF." SINABI DIN NIYA NA ITO AY "UPANG MAHANAP ANG KATOTOHANAN, AT NANG MAPANAGOT ANG DAPAT MANAGOT".

Q124. Gaano kayo ka-aprobado o hindi ka-aprobado sa pagtugon ni Presidente Aquino sa isyu ng MAANOMALYANG PAGGAMIT NG PDAF O PORK BARREL? Masasabi ba ninyo na kayo ay... sa pagtugon ni President Aquino?

The majority opinion among Filipinos (67%) is that the misuse of the PDAF continues to happen under the Aquino administration – a view shared by most Filipinos across geographic areas (66% to 69%) and socio-economic groupings (65% to 78%). Filipinos belonging to the best-off Class ABC (78%) are most

inclined to believe that the reported anomalous use of the PDAF that took place during the term of former President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo has continued under the present administration of President Aquino. Meanwhile, 33% of Filipinos believe that the alleged misuse of the PDAF has ceased under the Aquino administration. *(Please refer to Table 5.)*

Table 5
WHETHER OR NOT THE MISUSE OF PDAF AND VILP
CONTINUED DURING THE CURRENT AQUINO ADMINISTRATION
September 14 - 27, 2013 / Philippines
(In Percent)

The COA report presented anomalous use of PDAF and VILP during the Arroyo administration. In your opinion, did the misuse of PDAF and VILP continue during the current Aquino administration or has it stopped? <i>(Base: Total Interviews, 100%)</i>	LOCATION					CLASS		
	RP	NCR	BAL			ABC	D	E
			LUZ	VIS	MIN			
Continued	67	69	66	67	69	78	66	65
Discontinued	33	31	34	33	31	22	34	35

Q140. Ang COA report ay nag-ulat ng mga anomalya sa paggamit ng PDAF at VILP noong nakaraang administrasyong Arroyo. Sa inyong opinyon, ang mga di maayos na paggamit ng PDAF at VILP ba ay NAGPAPATULOY PA RIN O NAHINTO NA sa kasalukuyang administrasyong Aquino?