



**FROM MIONG TO DIGONG: THE DYNAMICS
OF PHILIPPINE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (1897-2016)**

Archie B. Resos, Emmanuel Jeric A. Albela, University of Santo Tomas, España, Manila*

*Email address: abresos@ust.edu.ph **

DOI: 10.51453/2354-1431/2022/861

Article info

Received: 13/11/2022

Revised: 26/11/2022

Accepted: 30/12/2022

Keywords:

*Philippine elections,
democracy, political
culture, political
parties, president.*

Abstract:

Elections have always been a vanguard of procedural democracy in the Philippines. From the time of the first presidential election in the Tejeros Convention in 1897 until the 2016 Presidential derby, the voice of the people has been instrumental in catapulting the chief executive to the seat of power in Malacañang Palace. It is interesting to note that the dynamics of Philippine presidential elections has been written by only a few scholars. This study attempts to provide the mechanism of elections including its results in determining the occupant of the highest position of the land which is held by the Office of the President.

Since the first presidential election in 1897 with Emilio Aguinaldo as president, the outcome has always been marred with influence peddling and electioneering. The maturity of presidential election was further enhanced with the 1935 and 1941 Commonwealth election with Manuel L. Quezon at the helm of power. However, mudslinging and rumour-mongering became pronounced during this democratic exercise. After the death of Quezon, the Philippines witnessed its first presidential succession under Sergio Osmeña Sr. During the outbreak of World War II and the Japanese occupation in 1941, Jose P. Laurel was installed as president by the National Assembly controlled by the imperial government of Japan.

After World War II, the election of Manuel Roxas, Elpidio Quirino, Ramon Magsaysay, Carlos Garcia, Diosdado Macapagal, Ferdinand Marcos, Corazon Aquino, Fidel Ramos, Joseph Estrada, Benigno Simeon Aquino III and Rodrigo Duterte provided strength in the procedural aspect of democracy. It is in this context of the process of presidential electoral procedure that the following questions will be answered: what was the context of the presidential election of each chief executive?, what were the political parties involved and how they contend each other?, what were the significant election issues?, how was the presidential election conducted?, and what were the results?



TỪ MIONG ĐẾN DIGONG : ĐỘNG LỰC CỦA CUỘC BẦU CỬ TỔNG THỐNG PHILIPPINES (1897-2016)

Archie B. Resos, Đại học Santo Tomas, España, Manila, Philippines

Emmanuel Jeric A. Albela, Đại học Santo Tomas, España, Manila, Philippines

Địa chỉ email: abresos@ust.edu.ph , eaalbela@ust.edu.ph

DOI: 10.51453/2354-1431/2022/861

Thông tin bài viết

Ngày nhận bài: 13/11/2022

Ngày sửa bài: 26/11/2022

Ngày duyệt đăng: 30/12/2022

Từ khóa:

Bầu cử Philippines, dân chủ, văn hóa chính trị, đảng chính trị, tổng thống

Tóm tắt

Bầu cử luôn là hoạt động tiên phong của nền dân chủ theo thể chế ở Philippines. Từ thời điểm diễn ra cuộc bầu cử tổng thống đầu tiên trong Công ước Tejeros năm 1897 cho đến cuộc bầu cử Tổng thống năm 2016, tiếng nói của người dân đã đóng vai trò quan trọng trong việc đưa giám đốc điều hành lên vị trí quyền lực trong Cung điện Malacañang. Điều thú vị là động lực của các cuộc bầu cử tổng thống Philippines chỉ được viết bởi một số học giả. Nghiên cứu này cung cấp nội dung về cơ chế bầu cử bao gồm cả kết quả bầu cử trong việc xác định người chiếm giữ vị trí cao nhất của vùng do Văn phòng Tổng thống nắm giữ.

Kể từ cuộc bầu cử tổng thống đầu tiên vào năm 1897 với Emilio Aguinaldo làm tổng thống, kết quả luôn bị hủy bởi việc rao bán sức ảnh hưởng và vận động tranh cử. Sự chín muồi của cuộc bầu cử tổng thống được tăng cường hơn nữa với cuộc bầu cử của Khối thịnh vượng chung năm 1935 và 1941 với Manuel L. Quezon nắm quyền. Tuy nhiên, sự bêu riếu và tung tin đồn đã trở nên rõ ràng trong quá trình thực thi dân chủ này. Sau cái chết của Quezon, Philippines chứng kiến sự kế vị tổng thống đầu tiên dưới thời Sergio Osmeña Sr. Khi Chiến tranh thế giới thứ hai bùng nổ và Nhật Bản chiếm đóng vào năm 1941, Jose P. Laurel được Quốc hội do chính phủ để quốc kiểm soát bổ nhiệm làm tổng thống.

Sau Thế chiến II, cuộc bầu cử của Manuel Roxas, Elpidio Quirino, Ramon Magsaysay, Carlos Garcia, Diosdado Macapagal, Ferdinand Marcos, Corazon Aquino, Fidel Ramos, Joseph Estrada, Benigno Simeon Aquino III và Rodrigo Duterte đã mang lại sức mạnh cho các quy định và thủ tục của nền dân chủ. Chính trong bối cảnh của quy trình bầu cử tổng thống này, các câu hỏi sau đây được trả lời: bối cảnh của cuộc bầu cử tổng thống của mỗi đặc khu là gì?, các đảng phái chính trị nào tham gia và họ tranh đấu với nhau như thế nào?, những vấn đề gì được cho là quan trọng khi bầu cử?, cuộc bầu cử tổng thống được tiến hành như thế nào?, và kết quả ra sao?

INTRODUCTION

When the United States of America crafted the framework for the Philippines to become a showcase of democracy in Asia, little did they know that there is certain political culture inherent among the Filipinos

which hampers the growth of American based democracy in the country. Strong regionalism, debt of gratitude, strong camaraderie, close family affinity and political patronage forms part of the political culture of the Filipinos. Democracy is defined as a

system of rule that secures the right and interests of minorities by placing checks upon the power of the majority. (Heywood, 2002) Philippine democracy has always followed the procedural definition. If there is an election, constitution and basic human rights, then it goes to show that the country is democratic.

However, more important than the illiberal democratic framework, the substantive democracy instills accountability, transparency and social justice in every government. Modern, liberal democracy has an elected government, to be sure, but also constitutional laws and rights, an independent judiciary, strong political parties, churches, businesses, private associations and professional elites. (Zakaria, 2003) In the case of the Philippines, democracy has always been procedural and strong inherent political culture dampens its maturity. From the election of Emilio Aguinaldo as the first president of the Philippine Republic until the ascendancy of Rodrigo Duterte as head of the Philippine government there has always been distortion in the direction of Philippine democracy.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Joy Aceron's *Infusing reform in Elections: The Partisan Electoral Engagement of Reform Movements in Post Martial Law Philippines*. (2012) this book points out the importance of civil society groups in engaging into partisan politics. These would include the considerations and implications; the results and the outcomes. The book would focus on how forces from social movements made use of limited democratic space that became available when the country transitioned to democracy in order to advance an alternative government and development agenda. The work would center on the process of presidential elections and delve on how actors and groups from social movements influenced the outcome of the presidential elections in line with the realities of traditional politics and political culture as mainstream players in contesting for state power.

Geraldine Marie Alumit's *Church-Press Interaction in the Philippines: The Case of the 1986, 1992 and 1998 Presidential Elections*. (2000) provides the connection between the influence of the Catholic Church, Mass media and Filipino political culture which affects the behavior, psychology and personality of the electorate. Case study of the 1986, 1992 and 1998 presidential elections in the Philippines shows

the significant impact of the Catholic Church, local Philippine protestant churches and the mass media and its role in shaping the outcome of the elections.

Rommel Banlaoi, *Political Parties in the Philippines: From 1900 to the Present*. (1996) chronicled the development of Philippine political parties from 1900 to the present. The author used various sources to provide a broad historical telescope of Philippine political parties but as well as the brief political history of the Philippines from pre-colonial period to the present.

Clarita R. Carlos' *Handbook of Political Parties and Elections in the Philippines*. (1997) presented various documents from diverse sources including the Philippine Commission of elections, national headquarters of political parties, and libraries from various parts of the Philippines. This literature aims to primarily explain the contents of party documents and ideologies which includes the election laws and regulations in the Philippines. Another work, *Elections in the Philippines: From Pre-colonial to the Present* represents an important contribution to the understanding of Philippine political life because it narrates Philippine elections from the earliest times to the present.

Rosario M. Cortes, *Philippine Presidents: 100 Years*. (1999) more than a historical account of the country's leaders, the account follows a narration of the various contributions of Philippine presidents. This is done from the First Philippine Republic, American Period, Commonwealth Period, and the Post War Period. The numbering of the presidents has been done in consecutive fashion following the sequence of the period each president served.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Sigmund Neumann underscores the sociological examination of political parties and elections. According to Neumann, one of the most important prerequisites for a more accurate appraisal of the intricate web of social relations within modern parties is an exacting theoretical framework. He cited that the variations in the character of those who were led matters most. Neumann argues that the variation in the character of those who are led are as important as those who lead specially as the concept of the masses presents an even more elastic term.

He argues that a sharp distinction should be made between the social variations of rural and urban groups of scattered crowds and congregated mobs, of the latent and aroused masses, of the illiterate, numb and untried and the educated, alert, skilled people. According to him, different social classes invite a variety of stimuli and reactions. He says that political parties find an uneven appeal in various social strata, in accordance with their specific social experiences and historical conditions.

METHODOLOGY

History is both descriptive and analytical. The study will delve on the historical method subscribes to both descriptive and analytical techniques. Election data, campaign strategy, role of political parties will be derived from primary sources. This will be analyzed in the international and local events culled from secondary sources which will provide the context of the study.

The descriptive part of the study will deal with the unfolding of the presidential electoral events. The analytical aspect will therefore provide the context of the presidential elections in the Philippines.

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Inception of first Filipino Political Parties: Magdalo vs. Magdiwang

The rise of political parties that catered for an independent Philippines can be traced from the vantage point of history during the Tejeros convention of 1897. This merged out of the desire of the members of the KKK (Kataastaasan Kagalang-galang na Katipunan nang mga Anak ng Bayan) to either continue revolutionary cause under the old organization or establish a revolutionary government under a president. The KKK was founded on July 7, 1892 by Andres Bonifacio, Valentin Diaz, Teodoro Plata, Ladislao Diwa, Deodato Arellano, and a few others. (Agoncillo, 2012) The primary aim of the Katipunan was to liberate the Philippine from the colonial bondage of Spain. The motivating force of the revolution was simply a common grievance of all social strata against a common enemy, they sought to strengthen national unity by emphasizing the need for brotherhood. (Constantino, 1978)

The contention between the rival faction of the Katipunan resulted in the weakening of the revolutionary cause of the organization. A Magna Asamblea was hosted by on December 31, 1896 to

settle the difference. The two political parties the Magdalo under Baldomero Aguinaldo in Imus, Cavite advocated the replacement of the Katipunan with a new revolutionary government led by a president while the Magdiwang under Mariano Alvarez in Noveleta, Cavite expressed confidence in the continuation of the Katipunan as a governing organization to carry out the revolution. It ended without a resolution. The following meeting held in Tejeros, a barrio in San Francisco de Malabon (now General Trias, Cavite) on March 22, 1897, resulted in a secret balloting to decide the fate of a revolutionary government since most of the members present embraced the necessity to create a new governing body. Emilio Aguinaldo and Andres Bonifacio became the major contenders for the presidency.

Aguinaldo joined the freemasonry and joined the Katipunan and became a member of the Magdalo headed by his cousin Baldomero Aguinaldo. (de Viana, 2019) Emilio Aguinaldo won the secret balloting with 146 votes, followed by Andres Bonifacio with 80 votes and Mariano Trias with 30 votes. (Banlaoi, 1996) The elected members of the revolutionary government includes: Emilio Aguinaldo (Magdalo) as President; Mariano Trias (Magdiwang) as Vice President; Artemio Ricarte (Magdiwang) as Captain General; Emiliano Riego de Dios (Magdiwang) as Director of War and Andres Bonifacio (Magdiwang) as Director of Interior. However, the dissention of Daniel Tirona on the grounds that Bonifacio doesn't have any legal background for being a non-lawyer. The outrage of the Supremo resulted in the creation of the Acta de Tejeros were Bonifacio vehemently denied to accept the result of the election. As a consequence, Bonifacio opted to establish a military government in Naic, Cavite with himself as president. This prompted the newly elected chief executive, to issue the capture and execution order of the rebellious Andres Bonifacio that finally led to his death on May 10, 1897. Clearly, the members of the two factions voted in favor of the achievement of the leaders. Aguinaldo's continuous victories are considered primary factor in his election while Bonifacio's lackluster performance as Supremo led to his political demise. However, certain controversy still hounds the Filipinos including the idea that the presidency of the revolutionary government was a gift since it was held on March 22, 1897, the birthday of

Miong. Others claim that this election was rigged with cheating and influence peddling.

Manuel L. Quezon: Continued Prominence of the Nacionalista Party

Manuel Quezon became visible in the political arena when he became the Speaker pro-tempore in 1907, Resident Commissioner in 1909, Senate President in 1916 and finally President of the Philippine Commonwealth in 1935 and 1941 respectively. Quezon's prime consideration was to secure the independence bill for the granting of Filipino liberation from American control. Thus, the Tydings-Mcduffie law was secured by Quezon to strengthen his position as leader of the Filipinos and get the much-coveted independence of the nation.

The Commonwealth provided a ten-year transition period with which the rudiments of constitutional mechanism and democratic framework will be laid down to train Filipino leaders in handling an independent nation later on. A constitution (1935) was created and subsequently the first presidential election was conducted. Filipinos for the first time in their national political experience was given a chance to choose their leader. On November 15, 1935, Manuel L. Quezon (Nacionalista Party) won the presidential derby with 695,332 votes followed by Emilio Aguinaldo (National Socialist Party) with 179,349 and Gregorio Aglipay (Republican Party) with 148,010. (Lande, 1965) In the vice presidential race, Sergio Osmeña (Nacionalista Party) won with 812,352 votes, followed by Raymundo Melliza (National Socialist Party) with 70,899 votes and Norberto Nabong (Republican Party). (Lande, 1965)

It is noteworthy to say that during the 1907 to 1916, Sergio Osmeña Sr. was the undisputed Filipino leader in the political arena. However, in 1916, Manuel L. Quezon was elected Senate President while Osmeña settled in the lower house as Speaker. The saying "No permanent friends and enemies, only ambition is lasting" applied to them. In the 1922 Senatorial election, Quezon and Osmeña, headed for political collision specially for the Senate Presidency. Quezon prevailed in his post as Senate President.

Quezon's Re-election and first Presidential Succession: The Case of Vice President Sergio Osmeña during the Commonwealth government in Exile

The Japanese occupation of east, southeast Asia and the Pacific region augurs the looming Japanese aggression in the Philippines. The bombing of Pearl Harbor, a naval installation base of the United States in 1941, precipitated the Quezon government to prepare for the war. Although November, 1941 was the schedule of the Commonwealth election for the presidential derby, the Philippines faced its toughest challenge, the defense of the nation against the Japanese imperial forces. In spite of all these lamentable situation, on December 30, 1941, the Philippines witnessed the inauguration of Manuel Quezon (Nacionalista Party) winning the 2nd Commonwealth election with 1,340,320 votes, followed by Juan Sumulong (Popular Front) with 289,608 vote and Hilario Moncado with 0 vote. (The Tribune, 1941) In the Vice Presidential race, Sergio Osmeña (Nacionalista Party) won with 1,445,897 votes and Emilio Javier (Popular Front) with 124,035 votes. (Carlos, 1996)

The Commonwealth government was put to exile because of the Japanese occupation of the entire country. With this development, the Quezon administration continued to monitor the events in the Philippines while in exile in the United States. President Quezon's presidency would have expired on November 15, 1943. However, Vice President Osmeña, a man of genuine patriotism, humanity, honor and sincerity, wrote to Quezon and President Roosevelt nobly renouncing his constitutional right to assume the Philippine Presidency on November 15, 1943. (Zaide, 1994) In doing so, the United States Congress issued Joint Resolution No. 95 signed by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt which extended the term of office of Manuel L. Quezon until the restoration of the normal functions of democratic processes in the Philippines. Be that as it may, the selfless act is worthy of emulation since Osmeña's ascension to power was disregarded for the sake of the nation's welfare. In 1944, Quezon died of a lingering tuberculosis. As a litmus test of the provision on the constitutional succession enshrined in the 1935 constitution, Vice President Sergio Osmeña was sworn in as the new Commonwealth president.

KALIBAPI and MAKAPILI: Japanese sponsored Political Parties

Under the Japanese high imperial command, the Filipino leaders were forced to accept the terms given to them by the new colonizers. The Commonwealth

government was forced in US exile in 1942. The propaganda initiated by the Japanese colonizers boasted of a Philippines free from western control, a government managed by the Filipinos and utilization of raw materials solely by the Filipino themselves. In 1942, the KALIBAPI (Kapisanan ng Paglilingkod sa Bagong Pilipinas) was created as the chief organ of the Japanese propaganda. To build the close ties of the Japanese to the Filipinos, a constitution was crafted on September 4, 1943 providing for a Japanese sponsored Republic of the Philippines. (Zaide, 1994)

The MAKAPILI (Makabayang Katipunan ng mga Pilipino) on the other hand was a military group established by the Japanese to support their police and martial powers in the archipelago. The KALIBAPI conventions elected the members of the National Assembly in 1943. This National Assembly elected Jose P. Laurel as president of the Second Philippine Republic on October 14, 1943. (Zaide, 1994) For fear of execution and incarceration, most Filipino leaders collaborated with the Japanese command. However, some Filipino officials assumed power for the sake of preventing bloodshed while some directly defied the Japanese authorities resulting in their execution. Jose Abad Santos was executed for his defiance to head the Philippine government under the tutelage of the Japanese administration.

From Sergio Osmeña to Manuel Roxas: Post war Philippines and the Rise of the Liberal Party

The devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, signaled the end of the Japanese military expansionism in the Asia-Pacific region. Among the liberated Japanese colony, the Philippines was perhaps the most devastated after the war. It was a tall order for President Sergio Osmeña, Sr. to lead the country. As provided in the 1935 constitution, the presidential election is scheduled in 1946. The Commonwealth government would also end and an independent Philippine government would assume responsibility in 1946. Since the previous government of

Osmeña was beleaguered by the issue of collaboration, the basic and fundamental task of nation building was put aside.

The next chief executive had the gargantuan task to reconstruct and rehabilitate the nation facing political, economic, and cultural debasement. The 1946 presidential election was a test of either the people's

trust was still with the old, experienced commonwealth leader or the Filipinos are now craving for a new, vibrant chief executive. Political accusations were pronounced between the Nacionalista and the Liberal Party camps. Riding on the crest of popularity, the issue at hand was the no compromise declaration of independence on July 4, 1946 on the part of Osmeña, while Roxas opted for an "open minded" and possible "reexamination" of the issues before the declaration of independence. Roxas attacked the Osmeña administration regarding collaboration and fascism issues.

On April 23, 1946, the people have spoken. Manuel Roxas (Liberal Party) won with 1,333,392 votes, next was Sergio Osmeña (Nacionalista Party), with 1,129,996 votes and lastly Hilario Moncada (Modernist Party) with 8,538. (Cortes, 1999) In the Vice Presidential race, Elpidio Quirino (Liberal Party) won with 1,161,725, second was Eulogio Rodriguez (Nacionalista Party) with 1,051,243 votes and lastly, Luis Salvador (Modernist Party) with 5879 votes. (Commission of Election Yearbook, 1968) The work of rebuilding and rehabilitating the country was too much for President Roxas. He was lured to adopt close ties with the US specially with the adoption of the Treaty on General Relations (1946), Bell Trade Act (1946) Military Bases Agreement (1947), Military Assistance Agreement (1947), and Parity Amendment (1947). President Roxas succumb to heart attack on April 16, 1948 in Clark field, Pampanga. The following day, Vice President Elpidio Quirino took his oath as the new President of the Republic. This was the second time, the presidential succession was put in action.

Quirino Administration: Political Patronage and Peace and Order Issues

With the succession of Vice President Elpidio Quirino as new head of the Philippine government, he was mandated to finish the six months unexpired term of former President Roxas. The primary problem of the Quirino administration was the expanding insurgency in the rural areas including the continuous effort to rehabilitate the entire nation from the ashes of the war. On November 8, 1949, the second presidential election under the 3rd Philippine Republic took place. The Liberal Party was accused of electioneering and fraud including manipulation of the result of the election since Quirino had the advantage of being the incumbent president. Mudslinging became apparent

when Jose P. Laurel, the standard bearer for Presidency of the Nacionalista Party hurled graft and corruption attacks as part of the campaign propaganda against Quirino. On the other hand, Quirino accused Laurel of collaborating with the Japanese during his presidency.

In the presidential election of 1949, Elpidio Quirino, (Liberal Party) the incumbent president, won handily with 1,803,808 votes while his closest opponent Jose P. Laurel (Nacionalista Party) had 1,318,330 votes. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1950) The Vice Presidential race shows that Fernando Lopez (Liberal Party) had 1,341,284, followed by Manuel Briones (Nacionalista Party) with 1,184,215 and Vicente Francisco (Liberal Party- Avelino Wing) with 44,510 votes. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1950) In 1949, the HUKS became very conspicuous in Central and Southern Luzon. The rise of the communist insurgents were precipitated by the rampant corruption of the Quirino government including the lack of agrarian program for the poor farmers in the countryside. The appointment of Congressman Ramon Magsaysay as defense henchman of the government became the nail in the coffin of Quirino's political career but subsequently became the catalyst of change aspired by every poverty ridden Filipinos.

Ramon Magsaysay and the Rise of Political Campaign Jingle to carry Government Platform

The deterioration of the peace and order situation became apparent during the Quirino administration. Although efforts of the government to address the rising communist insurgency was put in place, the situation turned worse. As defense secretary of the Quirino presidency, Magsaysay utilized every available means to reach out the remotest provinces and municipalities to gain network and connection to the common people.

In this election, the use of presidential jingle (song and dance) were used to make the democratic exercise of suffrage more appealing and colorful to the masses. Because of pressing issue of saving Philippine democracy as his main battle cry, Defense Secretary Ramon Magsaysay (Nacionalista Party) won with a wide margin of 2,912,992 votes then followed by President Elpidio Quirino with 1,313,991 votes and Gaudencio Bueno (Independent) with 736 votes. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1954) The Vice presidential election resulted in the win of Carlos P. Garcia (Nacionalista Party) with 2, 515,265 votes

with Jose Yulo(Liberal Party) in second with 1,483,802 votes. Eventually, the Nacionalista Party regained their political control in this presidential election. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1954)

The promise of President Magsaysay to empower the hoi polloi became clear as he opened Malacañang palace for the grievances of the people. As chief executive, his unusual closeness to the masses and simplicity of life strengthened his legitimacy as president. Unfortunately the unexpected demise of Magsaysay in a plane crash ended his political career on March 17, 1957. Filipino association with a leader who had sympathy for the ordinary people catapulted Magsaysay to power. Political culture of "mass appeal" became instrumental for winning the highest position of the land in the succeeding elections.

Carlos P. Garcia Administration: Two opposing Political Parties for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency

For the third time in the political history of the Philippines, Vice President Garcia, succeeded the office of President Ramon Magsaysay because of his sudden death. The newly installed President Carlos Garcia completed the eight months unexpired term of the former president. The Filipino nation faced the task of concentrating economic power in the hands of the local businessmen. Thus, the campaign of 1957 presidential election beacons the continuity of strengthening democracy and empowering Filipino industrialist in the economic sector. On November 12, 1957, the fourth presidential election was scheduled. The main contenders were: President Carlos Garcia (Nacionalista Party) who won the election with 2,072,257 votes, followed by Jose Yulo (Liberal Party) with 1,386,829, Manuel Manahan (Progressive Party) with 1,049,420, Claro M. Recto (Nationalist Citizen's Party) with 429,226 and Antonio Quirino (Liberal Party, Quirino Wing) with 60,328. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1958) The Vice Presidential election yielded favorable results for the Liberal Party. Diosdado Macapagal won with 2,189,197 votes, second is Jose Laurel Jr. (Nacionalista Party) with 1,783,012, third, Vicente Araneta (Progressive Party) with 375,090, Lorenzo Tañada, with 344,865 votes and lastly, Restituto Fresto (Lapiang Malaya) with 10,494. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1958)

The election scenario was interesting because for the first time, the political landscape differed from the previous configuration. President Carlos Garcia came from the Nacionalista Party but the elected Vice President Diosdado Macapagal was from the opposition Liberal Party. The Garcia administration focused on providing preferential treatment for Filipino businessmen over the foreign counterpart in his "Filipino first policy" However, the opposing views of President and Vice President led to disunity and polarization in the government.

Diosdado Macapagal: The Broken Promise to a fellow Party mate and future President

Since Vice president Diosdado Macapagal was from the opposition Liberal Party, he was never given any government position perhaps to prevent him from becoming a future president of the nation. As voice of the opposition, Macapagal capitalized on the weaknesses of the Garcia administration which includes the failed agrarian reform package and the robust increase of insurgency in the provinces. Most of Macapagal's time was devoted in reaching the far flung areas of the countryside thus, making him accessible to the various municipalities. This catapulted him to become ripe and popular for the presidency. On November 14, 1961, the Philippines was scheduled for another round of presidential election. Vice President Diosdado Macapagal (Liberal Party) wrestled power from the incumbent with 3,554,840 votes, Carlos Garcia (Nacionalista Party) had 2,902,996, and Alfredo Abcede (Federal Party) with 8. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1962) In the Vice Presidential election, Emmanuel Pelaez (Liberal Party) garnered 2,394,400 votes, followed by Sergio Osmeña, Jr. (Independent) with 2,190,424 votes and Gil Puyat (Nacionalista Party) with 1,787,987 votes. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1962)

Carrying the promise of his campaign, Macapagal implemented the Agricultural Agrarian Reform Code for the distribution of land to the poor but deserving farmers. His strong advocacy in the usage of Filipino language became pronounced and his ardent desire to commemorate Philippine independence on June 12 instead the neocolonial celebration on July 4 was implemented. One of his closest ally in the Liberal Party was Senate President Ferdinand Marcos. Marcos who has forgone his bid for the presidency in 1961

supported Macapagal to his dream of occupying the highest office in Malacañang was in fact deprived of his ardent desire to become the standard bearer of the Liberal Party in the 1965 presidential derby. This political culture of mistrust and dishonesty resulted in the political demise of the Macapagal administration.

Ferdinand Marcos: Political Turncoatism, Mail-fist Policy and Constitutional Authoritarianism

Ferdinand Marcos dream to be president of the Philippines was shattered by stalwarts of the Liberal Party when he lost the nomination bid for the 1965 presidential election. However, the surmounting problems of the Macapagal presidency became the target of attack of the Nacionalista Party. Senate President Ferdinand Marcos suddenly turned his back against the Liberal Party and was welcomed with open hands in the Nacionalista Party even accepting the nomination as the official candidate for the presidency in 1965. Carrying on the budget deficit, decontrol and devaluation of the pesos as potent political issues against the previous administration, Marcos was able to gain momentum in the presidential race. Unable to secure the nomination bid of the Liberal Party, Marcos and other members of the ruling party defected to the Nacionalista Party as part of the political turncoatism to secure a more viable position in the election. On November 9, 1965, the election for the chief executive was held. The Presidential contenders were: Senate President Ferdinand Marcos (Nacionalista Party) who won the election with 3,861,324, followed by the incumbent President Diosdado Macapagal (Liberal Party) with 3,187,752 votes and Raul Manglapus (Party for Philippine Progress) with 384,564 votes. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1966) In the Vice Presidential election, Fernando Lopez (Nacionalista Party) won with 3,531,550 votes, second was Gerardo Roxas (Liberal Party), with 3,505,826 votes lastly, Manuel Manahan (Progressive Party) with 247,426 votes. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1966) The first term of President Marcos was successfully able to hurdle the problems of tax collection, food shortage was addressed and the peace and order situation stabilized.

However, the latter part of the 1960s, was hounded by serious and threatening problems. The efficiency of the Marcos administration gave the Nacionalista Party majority control of the Senate in 1967. Only

Senator Benigno Aquino Jr. was able to make it in the senate. However, the rise to prominence of the young senator signaled the birth of the opposition against the leadership of Marcos. On November 11, 1969, Ferdinand Marcos (Nacionalista Party) won a reelection bid with 5,017,343 votes followed by Sergio Ormeña Jr. 3,143,122 votes and Pascual Racuyal (Independent) with 778 votes. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1970) In the Vice Presidential bid, Fernando Lopez (Nacionalista Party) won with 5,001,737 votes, second Genaro Magsaysay (Liberal Party) with 2,968,526 votes and Victoriano Mallari (Partido ng Bansa) with 229. (Report of the Commission on Elections, 1970)

The second term of Marcos in 1969 was looming with a lot of problems. The formation of the Communist Party of the Philippines under Jose Maria Sison and its merging with the New People's Army of Bernabe "Ka Dante" Buscayno strengthened insurgency in the country. The issue of a separate Mindanao became the battle cry of the newly formed Moro National Liberation Front under Nur Misuari. Wanton terrorist activities like bombings proliferated in Metro Manila. The surging prices of crude oil coupled with agrarian problems and soaring cost of prime commodities led in the worst street activism. Students, laborers, religious leaders, women groups and academicians staged rallies that rocked and paralyze normal operations of government in the metropolis. With the widespread decline of the peace and order situation, Martial Law was declared on September 21, 1972. Thus, the presidential election scheduled in 1973 was suspended to paved the way for military rule until 1981. This mail-first policy enabled Marcos to extend his term of office almost in perpetuity had it not for the assassination of his top opponent, Senator Benigno Aquino Jr in 1983.

Martial law became a catalyst of oppression to pacify the nemesis of the Marcos administration. Thousand of students, laborers and church leaders were rounded up and placed under incarceration. Those who opposed the Marcos administration were either executed or liquidated extrajudicially. However, President Marcos was forced to lift martial rule in the country because of the visit of Pope John Paul II in 1981. Marcos would declare the creation of a fourth Philippine Republic immediately after martial law was lifted.

On June 16, 1981, President Ferdinand Marcos (Kilusang Bagong Lipunan) won the election with

18,309,360 votes, Alejo Santo (Nacionalista Party) was second, with 1,716,449 and Bartolome Cabangbang (Federalist Party) with 749,845 votes. (Carlos, 1996) There are no position for the Vice President with the amendment done in the 1973 constitution. As leader of the opposition based in the US, Benigno Aquino Jr. decided to go home and reconcile with Marcos. Unfortunately on August 21, 1983, he was assassinated at the Manila International Airport. The nation was rocked by widespread protest from different sectors of society. In 1984, the Batasang Pambansa elected 70 opposition assemblymen as a sign of protest among the Filipino people. Because of the widespread chaos, Marcos opted to push thru with a snap presidential election on February 7, 1986. In this aspect, constitutional authoritarianism was used by Marcos to legitimized laws, directive and letter-of-instruction to abuse his discretion of power that is within the scope of a constitution he manipulated.

Cory Aquino: Brief Restoration and Immediate Reversal of democracy in the Philippines

The death of Senator Benigno Aquino Jr. in the tarmac of the Manila International Airport on August 21, 1983 signaled the downfall of the Marcos leadership. With external and internal pressures, President Marcos announced the holding of a snap presidential election on February 7, 1986. This would vindicate his government actions that the people still continuously show their trust in his administration by giving him a fresh mandate in Malacañang.

The opposition party Partido Demokratiko ng Pilipinas(PDP)- Lakas ng Bansa (LABAN) and United Nationalist Opposition (UNIDO) fielded the widow of Benigno Aquino Jr, Corazon Aquino to run for the presidency with Salvador Laurel. On February 7, 1986, the snap presidential election started throughout the country in one of the dirtiest and violent suffrage in Philippine political history. It was on February 15, 1986 that Ferdinand Marcos (Kilusang Bagong Lipunan) was proclaimed as winner with 10,807,197 votes, followed by Corazon Aquino (PDP-LABAN-UNIDO) with 9,291,716 votes, Reuben Canoy (Social Democratic Party) got 34,041 votes and Narciso Padilla (Movement for Truth, Order and Righteousness) had 23,652 votes. (Cortes, 1999) In the Vice Presidential race, Arturo Tolentino (Kilusang Bagong Lipunan) won with 10,134,130 votes, second was Salvador

Laurel (PDP-LABAN-UNIDO) with 9,173, 105 votes, Eva Estrada Kalaw (Liberal Party, Kalaw Wing) 662,185 and Roger Arienda (Movement for Truth, Order and Righteousness) with 35,974. (Cortes, 1999) The Namfrel (National Movement for Free Election) results showed otherwise. It was a case of regionalistic strength as the “solid north” consisting of the Ilocos Region, Cagayan Valley Region and Central Luzon (except for Tarlac) has shown strong preference for Marcos and his political party, the Kilusang Bagong Lipunan.

Slowly losing the mandate to govern exacerbated by United States lost of confidence in the conduct of election and the withdrawal of support of the military led by Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and Vice Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos, the people grew in numbers in Edsa (a major thoroughfare in Manila) which led to the People Power Revolution from February 22 to 26, 1986.

Corazon Aquino was catapulted in power with the promise of strengthening democracy, initiate land reform programs and confiscate the ill-gotten wealth of the Marcos's.

However several problems beset her administration including issues of insurgency, coup attempts and power outages in addition natural disasters like earthquakes and volcanic eruptions also emerged. In the political arena, one thing that hampered the growth of democracy was the rise of political dynasties which continue to escalate during her term of office and the widespread poverty which was prevalent that curtail the rebirth of Philippine democracy. Close family affiliations of the Cojuangco and Sumulong to the Aquino administration led in nepotism and the growth of local politics affiliated with the affluent and influential families.

The Aquino administration immediately banked on the restoration of democracy. It was however short-lived because of the rampant human rights violation, widespread corruption and red tape in the bureaucracy. Aquino's presidency should have been the transition in democracy but was subsequently thwarted. There have been three attempts to establish democracy in the Philippines, the first was during the Philippine Revolution of liberation from Spain in the late nineteenth century, culminating in the inauguration of the democratic albeit short-lived Philippine Republic; a second try took place with the gradual

buildup of “colonial democracy” under the United States particularly in the 1930s which was thereafter abruptly halted when the country came under Japanese occupation and finally, the third attempt was the historic EDSA People Power uprising of February 1986 that put an end to the authoritarian regime of Ferdinand Marcos, and replaced it with a new democratic government. (Yu-Jose, 2010)

Fidel Ramos: Strong Military Backup and Issues of Vote shaving and Padding (Dagdag Bawas)

Secretary Fidel Ramos was the shield used by President Corazon Aquino to weather coup d'etat against her administration. The loyalty of Ramos paved the way for him to get the anointing for the presidential race in 1992. Although the ruling party at that time was Speaker Ramon Mitra's Laban ng Demokratikong Filipino (LDP), Secretary Ramos, formed his own political party the Lakas-NUCD (Lakas ng Bayan-National Union of Christian Democrats)

On May 11, 1992, Secretary Fidel V. Ramos won the elections with the backing of President Corazon Aquino. Fidel Ramos (LAKAS-NUCD or National Union of Christian Democrats) won with 5,342,421 votes followed by Miriam Defensor Santiago (People's Reform Party) with 4,468,173, Eduardo Cojuangco (Nationalist People's Coalition) with 4,116,376 votes, Ramon Mitra (Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino) with 3,316,661 and Imelda Marcos with 2,338,294 votes. (New York Times, 1992) In the Vice Presidential derby, Joseph Estrada (Nationalist People's Coalition) won with 6,739,738, second was Marcelo Fernan (Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino) with 4,438,494 votes, Emilio Osmeña, (LAKAS-NUCD) with 3,362,467 votes, Ramon Magsaysay Jr. (Peoples Reform Party) with 2,900,556 votes, Aquilino Pimentel (PDP-LABAN) with 2,023,289 and Vicente Magsaysay (KBL) with 699,895 votes. (New York Times, 1992) The military influence that backup the Ramos candidacy became conspicuous. During the election period, widespread brownouts became the reason for the static results of the election. Vote shaving and padding became rampant during this democratic exercise.

The primary government program of Ramos was the immediate restoration of power due to outages. He placed the Philippines in the line of globalization establishing a medium term development program (Philippines 2000) centering on economic

sustainability, peace and prosperity, energy generation and conservation, environmental protection and cutting of bureaucracy.

Popularity and Power: Joseph Estrada Presidency

For the third time in Philippine political history, the President and Vice president belonged to opposing political parties. President Ramos is from Lakas-NUCD and Vice President Joseph Estrada is from Nationalist People's Coalition. Vice President Joseph Estrada gained popularity as a movie actor which he capitalized to earn him the mayoral post of San Juan in 1968, Senator in 1987, Vice President in 1992 and finally president in 1998. Appointed by President Ramos as head of the anti-crime bureau, the Presidential Anti-Crime Commission (PACC) in 1992. This position made him very popular among the masses.

On May 11, 1998, the voice of the masses catapulted Joseph Estrada (Lapian ng Makabayang Masang Pilipino) to the presidency with 10,722,295 votes, followed by Jose de Venecia (LAKAS-NUCD-UMPD) with 4,268,483 votes, Raul Roco (Aksyon Demokratiko) with 3,720,212 votes, Emilio Osmeña (PROMDI Muna) with 3,347,631 votes, Alfredo Lim (Liberal Party) 2,344,362 votes, Renato de Villa (Partido para sa Demokratikong Reporma) with 1,308,352 and Miriam Defensor Santiago (PRP) with 797,206 votes. (Retrieved from <http://edition.cnn.com/WORLD/election.watch/asiapcf/philippines2.html>, 1998) In the Vice Presidential race, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo (LAKAS-NUCD-UMDP) won with 12,667,252 votes, followed by Edgardo Angara (Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino) with 5,652,068 votes, Oscar Orbos (Partido para sa Demokratikong Reporma) with 3,32,779 votes, Sergio Osmeña (Liberal Party) with 2,351,462 and Francisco Tatad (Peoples Reform Party) with 745,389. (Retrieved from <http://edition.cnn.com/WORLD/election.watch/asiapcf/philippines2.html>, 1998)

Political culture that catered to popularity rather than achievement characterized by the acting roles of Erap in the movies defending the poor created an image of savior and protector of the marginalized. Under the Estrada administration, he maintained peace in Mindanao by subduing the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. An increase in debt marked his administration that made life harder for the people. He was implicated in graft and corruption, culpable violation of the

constitution and loss of public trust which led to his impeachment trial. The trial was suppressed by senators close to him but resulted in the Edsa People Power 2 revolt that placed Vice President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo as President of the Republic of the Philippines in 2001.

Gloria Macapagal Arroyo: Militarization of the government and Influence Peddling

President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo succeeded Joseph Estrada as chief executive when he was removed by the Edsa People Power 2 in 2001. Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo immediately strengthened her grip to power by declaring a state of rebellion in 2001 against the supporters of Estrada who staged a counter Edsa People Power 3 in May of 2001. Military adventurism was also prominent during her first term of office as the Oakwood Mutiny in Makati was hatched by a few military rebels. Although the constitution explicitly provided that a president can only run for a single term, she became eligible because it was not more than four years. Thus, on May 10, 2004, Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo (LAKAS-Christian Muslim Democrats) won the presidency with 12,905,808 votes, Fernando Poe Jr. (Koalisyon ng Nagkakaisang Pilipino) with 11,782,232 votes, Panfilo Lacson (Laban ng Demokratikong Pilipino) with 3,510,080 votes, Raul Roco (Aksyon Demokratiko) with 2,082,762 votes and Eddie Villanueva (Bangon Pilipinas Party) with 1,988,218 votes. (Quezon, 2005) In the Vice Presidential race, Noli de Castro (Independent) won with 15,100,431 votes, Loren Legarda (Koalisyon ng Nagkakaisang Pilipino) with 14,218,709 votes, Herminio Aquino (Aksyon Demokratiko) 981,500 votes. (Quezon, 2005)

It was noticeable that Arroyo would appoint loyal military officials in the government to create a blind following in her administration. The political culture of debt of gratitude (utang na loob) became obvious under her administration. The second term of President Macapagal-Arroyo was marred with a state of emergency because of military adventurism caused by her involvement in an election scandal. The expanded value added tax scheme was one of the centerpieces of her administration which met heavy opposition from many walks of lives. The low popularity of the Macapagal-Arroyo presidency led to the election of Benigno Simeon Aquino III as president in 2010.

Benigno Aquino III: Complacency and inaction of the government on Key issues

Corazon Aquino has been the icon of Philippine democracy since 1986. The unpopular government of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo marred with electioneering and pronounced graft and corruption made an impact to a lot of Filipinos. Side by side with the death of President Aquino in 2009, her son, Noynoy Aquino became a popular candidate in 2010. On May 10, 2010, Benigno Simeon Aquino III (Liberal Party) won the presidential elections with 15,208,678 votes, Joseph Estrada (Pwersa ng Masang Pilipino) with 9,487,837 votes, Manny Villar (Nacionalista Party) with 5,573,835 votes, Gilbert Teodoro (LAKAS-KAMPICMD) 4,095,839 votes and Eddie Villanueva with (Bangon Pilipinas Party) with 1,125,878. (Quezon, 2005) For the Vice Presidential election, Jejomar Binay (PDP-LABAN) was victorious with 14,645,574 votes, Mar Roxas (Liberal Party), 13,918,490 votes, Loren Legarda (NPC) with 4,294,664 votes, Bayani Fernando (Bagumbayan-Volunteers for a New Philippines) with 1,017,631 votes. (Quezon, 2005)

President Benigno Simeon Aquino III, championed to clean the government of graft and corruption through his “Straight Path” (Daang Matuwid) platform of governance. However, the hostage taking of Chinese tourists in Quirino Grandstand (2010), the Typhoon Yolanda fund scandal (2013) and Dengvaxia Dengue vaccine made President Pnoy very unpopular. His accusing finger against the Arroyo administration promoted the political culture of fault-finding to mask the complacency and inefficiency of his administration.

Rodrigo Duterte: Extrajudicial Killings and Strong Government Control

Mayor Rodrigo Duterte from Davao City was in no way interested in the presidential derby of 2016. However, with the popular clamor of the people to solve the disarray in peace and order situation of the Philippines, he eventually gave it a shot for the race of the chief executive position. Banking on his anti-drug campaign, on May 9, 2016, Rodrigo Duterte (PDP-LABAN) won the presidency with 16,601,997 votes, followed by Mar Roxas (Liberal Party) with 9,978,175 votes, Grace Poe (Independent) with 9,100,991 votes, Jejomar Binay (United Nationalist Alliance) with 5,416,140 votes and Miriam Defensor-Santiago (People’s Reform Party) with 5,416,140 votes.

Retrieved from <https://ph.rappler.com/elections/2016/results/philippines/position/1/president> 2016) In the Vice Presidency, Lenie Robredo (Liberal Party) won with 14,418,817 votes, followed by Ferdinand “Bongbong” Marcos (Independent) with 14,155,344 votes, Alan Peter Cayetano (PDP-LABAN) with 5,903,379 votes, Francis Escudero (Independent) with 4,931,962, Antonio Trillanes with

In the Vice Presidency, Lenie Robredo (Liberal Party) won with 14,418,817 votes, followed by Ferdinand “Bongbong” Marcos (Independent) with 14,155,344 votes, Alan Peter Cayetano (PDP-LABAN) with 5,903,379 votes, Francis Escudero (Independent) with 4,931,962 votes, Antonio Trillanes (Independent) with 868,501 votes and Gregorio Honasan (United Nationalist Alliance) with 788,881 votes. President Duterte’s close foreign ties with the People’s Republic of China became a primary protest issue in his administration including the widespread extra judicial killing to curb criminality. Duterte’s administration, like Arroyo was also marked by militarization of the government with the appointment of former generals to promote strong government.

DISCUSSION: GENERAL TRAITS FOUND IN PHILIPPINE POLITICS

In order to understand Philippine politics, one must look at the essential elements that occurred in its history. Through the years, Philippine politics have been tagged with several traits that are still prominent in today’s set-up. From this research, the following could be attributed as General Traits of Philippine Politics based in history.

Regionalism and Nepotism in Philippine politics

Regionalism is always an issue, especially in the elections. The Filipinos would have their biases based on the place or region of the candidate. Although it was not always the issue, it was a significant factor in choosing their leaders. We always hear the Filipinos saying “*iboboto ko siya kasi kababayan ko siya,*” (I will vote him/her because he/she is from our place/province). Another good example is “The Solid North” of the Marcoses. In our history, this was also the same thing that happened to Bonifacio, a Manileño, when he went to Cavite and eventually lost to Emilio Aguinaldo, a Caviteño in Tejeros Convention.

Nepotism is another trait that observed. The family members were favored if a family is in the position. In many cases, they also train themselves to become successful politicians in the future. In history, a good example of this was during the time of Revolution, when Mariano Alvarez of Magdiwang, siding to Bonifacio because of his relationship to him (Alvarez is the uncle of Gregoria de Jesus, Bonifacio's wife). On the other hand, Baldomero Aguinaldo of Magdalo, siding with Emilio Aguinaldo because they were cousins. There are other instances in Philippine politics involved by nepotism. At the time of President Joseph Estrada, on his inauguration as president of the Republic, he mentioned "*Walang kama-kamag-anak...*" but eventually turned otherwise.

Popularity and Mudslinging Style of Campaign

In the Philippines, popularity could be a big deal in winning an elected position in the government. It was a massive advantage if one is from the show business because the so-called "fans" could be advantageous for you to win in the elections. However, gaining popularity can be seen in many forms. In our history, one good example was Quezon's game in politics.

At the start of his career as a politician, he was not that popular because Sergio Osmeña emerged as the head and leader of the Nationalistas. Quezon paved his popularity to politics through his efforts to be recognized as the champion of independence. Some of which was the passage of Jones Law of 1916, and the rejection of Hare-Hawes Cutting Law and be replaced by Tydings-McDuffie Law which dubbed in history as the product of Quezon Independence mission.

On the part of Magsaysay, he became famous because of his efforts to prevent the spread of communist activities of the HUKS. In addition to that, his charismatic personality and rugged style fashion got the attention of the masses. His simplistic and pro-masses projects got more appeal to the people, mainly when he used the Barong Tagalog as his formal wear upon electing in the presidency.

In the case of Marcos, his popularity came from his brilliance as a lawyer and a politician. The controversial Nalundasan Case which he won by defending himself and passing the bar with the highest distinction. Soon, Marcos found his popularity among the people.

President Joseph Estrada was the typical one. He gained his popularity to the masses because of his background in show business. His frequent portrayal of the masses from the movies he starred gained him the charisma to the people.

Another trait was "mudslinging." During campaigns, it became a regular diet to the politicians to throw controversial issues to their opponents. One good example in our history was the campaign of Quezon. He slashed his opponent for the presidency, Emilio Aguinaldo, by bringing up the Supremo's death, Andres Bonifacio. He even showed pictures of the recovered bones of the Supremo to show the people the failed leadership of Aguinaldo in handling the situation, which brought political turmoil during the period of Revolution.

It became common to the politicians until today to sway their campaigns in that kind of set-up. Morality could be another component to assess the qualification and performance of the candidate.

The "Sacrifice"

Sacrifice was also observable in Philippine politics. President Laurel and other politicians claimed that collaboration with the Japanese meant sacrifice to establish political stability and save the lives of many Filipinos from the Japanese' atrocities. It gave the Filipino leaders an avenue to provide necessary measures for them to be safe in the hands of violence brought by the occupation. Another form of sacrifice could mean the ending of his life, just like in the case of Jose Abad Santos, who refused to collaborate with the Japanese.

President Quezon also had a share of this sacrifice when he left the Philippines while being attacked by the Japanese forces and establish the government in exile in the United States. There, he pushed the agenda for the plans of the Allied forces in the Pacific War and continued to send messages to the Filipino people in facing the darkest moments of their lives until he died in 1944. Sergio Osmeña also sacrificed by waiving his constitutional right as Vice President of the Commonwealth by giving President Quezon an extension of his term while they were in exile.

Another form of sacrifice was of Corazon Aquino. She was convinced to run in the presidency and challenged the strongman Ferdinand Marcos in the snap

elections of 1986. She used the memory of her husband, Senator Benigno “Ninoy” Aquino, in her campaigns to remind the people of the effects of Marcos’ dictatorship in the nation. She sacrificed her motherly duties and quiet life to bring Filipinos the democracy that lost for many years.

The same thing happened to Rodrigo Duterte when he found himself a substitute candidate for PDP-Laban for the 2016 Presidential Elections. He sacrificed his bid for re-election as mayor of Davao City to replace Martin Dino as the official PDP-Laban candidate. Sarah Duterte filed the candidacy for Davao City mayoralty bid, replacing her father (GMA News Online, 2015). According to Duterte, he was pleased by the heed of the people to run. As he mentioned in one of his interviews: *‘Iyan ang iniisip ng mga tao. Pipigilan mo ba? People again are speculating on my candidacy during the substitution month. Para matapos na lang ang ingay ‘o sige’ tingnan natin sa Disyembre. Hope springs eternal,’* he said (ABS-CBN News, 2015).

The Birth of U.S. Neocolonialism

The establishment of the Liberal Party to be separated from its mother political party Nacionalista paved the way to the start of having two majority parties in Philippine politics. However, compared to the United States system, it was quite far because, still, the popularity of the people was more important than the party’s agenda. The emergence of the Liberal party saw in the Philippines’ history as the starting point of adopting Neo-colonial policies of the United States in the Philippines.

The Importance of Media in Political Campaigns

When Magsaysay started his campaign for the presidency by having a “jingle” or a song with a combination of dance and a pop nature of the song, Filipino hearts were easily captured because, in general, it is the nature of the Filipinos to be musically inclined. Frequent repetition of the political jingle, in the majority, helped the Filipino politician, especially the presidential candidate, to win the position the desired. This culture continues until today, where many politicians hiring pop artists to compose a very catchy jingle for their campaign for the Filipinos easily comprehend on their platforms once they were elected. Political slogans also were seen as a handy measure to capture votes from the Filipinos. It was also Magsaysay who started the trend. Examples of which were *“Magsaysay is my Guy,” Erap*

para sa Masa,” by Joseph Estrada, *“Kung Walang Corrupt, Walang Mahirap,”* of Benigno Aquino III and *“Tapang at Malasakit,”* and *“Change is Coming,”* by Rodrigo Duterte.

The Problem of Having two Opposing Parties in Office

It was also observable in Philippine politics that once the elected President and Vice President came from different parties, problems may occur in building a harmonious relationship between the two. The programs of the administration might always be put into question because they oppose each other. It happened at the time of President Carlos Garcia (Nationalista) and Vice President Diosdado Macapagal (Liberal), President Fidel Ramos (LAKAS NUCD-UMDP), and Vice President Joseph Estrada (NPC). Today, we are witnessing it through President Rodrigo Duterte of PDP-Laban, always criticized by his Vice President Leni Robredo of Liberal Party, vice-versa, resulting in the bile relationship of the two top administrators of the Philippine government.

Political Turncoatism

Turncoatism or turncoats could probably have one of the traits that are noticeable in Philippine politics at present. In history, the most popular among all was the action done by Ferdinand Marcos for the 1965 Presidential elections. As mentioned in the findings of this research, because of the broken promise of his party mate (Liberal), Diosdado Macapagal, he accepted the offer of the Nacionalista to become the standard-bearer for the 1965 Presidential elections and won the race after.

In recent years, many politicians, not only those who are bidding for the presidency, have switched parties to win. They look at the atmosphere of the political party that gains more support from the people. Furthermore, since the government allows a multi-party system, it is effortless for the politicians to switch parties and bring their brand during the campaign.

Military backed-up Leadership and Building the Strongmen

If the leader of the country would have strong support from its military unit is always right in the Philippines, it will make or break someone’s career in politics. There were many instances that the military fueled the leadership of a President. One good

example was when most of the revolutionaries joined Emilio Aguinaldo for his cause for independence. In contemporary times, one of the remarkable events was the military's support to Corazon Aquino and held her as president of People Power. The military withdrew their support to Ferdinand Marcos and joined the people calling the resignation of the late strongman.

It also happened at the time of Joseph Estrada. The military withdrew their support to his leadership and followed the call of the people gathered in EDSA in 2001, dubbed in history as EDSA Dos that brought Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo to the presidency.

At the time of Fidel Ramos, he was backed up by the military because of his institution's background. President Marcos appointed him as Vice Chief of Staff of the defunct Philippine Constabulary. During Corazon Aquino's leadership, he was appointed Chief of staff of the Philippines' Armed Forces.

Military backed-up leadership will also bring the status of the leader of becoming a "strongmen." It happened in the case of Ferdinand Marcos, especially during the Martial Law years and at present, in the administration of President Rodrigo Duterte.

CONCLUSION

Philippine political culture has been characterized by a strong regionalism, debt of gratitude (*utang na loob*), bickering, mudslinging, close family ties (political dynasty and nepotism) and turncoatism. These would characterize the kind of presidential elections in the Philippines including the growth and rise of political parties in the country. The United States of America initiated moves to make the Philippines as the showcase of democracy in Asia. From the election of the first Philippine President Emilio Aguinaldo, the democratic practice of selecting the ruler has been marred by controversy of electioneering and debt of gratitude. The election of Quezon during the Commonwealth period has shown how political bickering became the instrument of destroying the image of the opponent by focusing on the dark side of the past. (execution of Bonifacio as ordered by Aguinaldo.)

The election of Manuel Roxas in 1946 exhibited how black propaganda destroyed the credibility of Osmeña by pointing out in the campaign that he is tolerant of the issue of collaboration. The ascendancy of Elpidio Quirino has shown obviously that political machinery

and money propelled the Liberal party to its success. However, Magsaysay would bank on his closeness to the masses in expounding about the deterioration of peace and order; cheating in the elections and graft and corruption as primary issues in his campaign. Riding on the crest as savior of democracy, he won easily against the incumbent. Carlos Garcia's election proved that there is no advancement in the development of the nation if political polarization would characterize the government.

Having the President and Vice President from two opposing party made the derailment of government progress. Diosdado Macapagal's administration which has not recognized the political potential of his close ally, Ferdinand Marcos resulted in the political turncoatism to emerged as Marcos jumped to the Nacionalista Party which gave him success as standard bearer and President of the Republic. The twenty-one years of the Marcos administration was characterized by political disloyalty, mail-fist policy and constitutional authoritarianism. Corazon Aquino's administration became a haven for the growth of political dynasties. Family members became influential in government position including close friends and allies. Fidel Ramos presidency has been marred by cheating, vote padding and shaving (*dagdag bawas*) Strong government machinery catapulted Ramos to power with his anointing from the Aquino administration.

The political culture of popularity made Joseph Estrada as chief executive of the nation. Being a movie actor made him very popular among the masses thus catapulting him to Malacañang. However, his close affiliation with friends and cronies resulted in his eventual downfall in power. Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo became president with pronouncement of influence-peddling and debt of gratitude. She became chief executive for nine years under the shadow of graft and corruption and shady deals. Benigno Simeon Aquino III became president but the political culture of blaming and inaction marked his administration. Finally, Rodrigo Duterte was elected president. Unfortunately, the political culture of violence, extrajudicial killings and vendetta marked his administration. Did American democracy work perfectly in the Philippines? In terms of the methods employed, it did. Elections, constitutions and human rights made it procedurally work in the Philippines. However, substantially, we have not yet

matured when it comes to accountability, transparency and the promotion of social justice.

REFERENCES:

Books

[1]. Agoncillo, T. A. (1996) *History of the Filipino People* (8th Edition). Quezon City: C & E Publishing, Inc.

[2]. Banlaoi, R. C. et al. (1996) *Political Parties in the Philippines: From 1900 to the Present*. Makati City: Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

[3]. Carlos, C. et al. (1996) *Elections in the Philippines: From Pre-colonial Period to the Present*. Makati City: Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

[4]. Constantino, R. (1978) *The Philippines: A Past Revisited Volume 1 (Pre-Spanish -1941)*. Manila: Foundation for Nationalist Studies.

[5]. Cortes, R. M. (1999) *Philippine Presidents*. Quezon City: Philippine Historical Association.

[6]. de Viana, A. (2019) *Pahiwatig: A Guide for Understanding Readings in Philippine History*. Mandaluyong City: Books Atbp. Publishing Company.

[7]. Heywood, A. (2002) *Politics*. (Second Edition). New York: Palgrave, Macmillan.

[8]. Lande, C. H. (1965) *Leaders, Factions and Parties*. Yale University: Southeast Asian Studies.

[9]. Quezon III, M. L. (ed) (2005) *Philippine Electoral Almanac*. Manila: The Presidential Communication and Development and Strategic Planning Office.

[10]. Yu-Jose, L. (2010) *Philippine Politics: Democratic Ideals and Realities*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

[11]. Zaide, S. M. (1994) *The Philippines: A Unique Nation*. Manila: All-Nations Publishing Co., Inc.

[12]. Zakaria, F. (2003) *The Future of Freedom: Illiberal Democracy at Home and Abroad*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.

Internet Sources

[13]. News, A.-C. (2015, October 27). *Party Picks Duterte As Substitute In Presidential Race*. ABS-CBN News. <https://news.abs-cbn.com/nation/10/27/15/party-picks-duterte-as-substitute-in-presidential-race>

[14]. (2015, November 27). *Duterte Files COC For President*. GMA News Online. <https://www.gmanetwork.com/news/news/nation/545982/duterte-files-coc-for-president/story/>

[15]. <http://edition.cnn.com/WORLD/election.watch/asiapcf/philippines2.html>

[16]. <https://ph.rappler.com/elections/2016/results/philippines/position/1/president>

Official Government Documents

[17]. Commission on Elections. (1950) *Report of the Commission on Elections to the President of the Philippines and the Congress on the Manner of Elections Held in 1949*. Manila: Bureau of Printing.

[18]. Commission on Elections. (1954) *Report of the Commission on Elections to the President of the Philippines and the Congress on the Manner of Elections Held in 1953*. Manila: Bureau of Printing.

[19]. Commission on Elections. (1958) *Report of the Commission on Elections to the President of the Philippines and the Congress on the Manner of Elections Held in 1957*. Manila: Bureau of Printing.

[20]. Commission on Elections. (1962) *Report of the Commission on Elections to the President of the Philippines and the Congress on the Manner of Elections Held in 1961*. Manila: Bureau of Printing.

[21]. Commission on Elections. (1966) *Report of the Commission on Elections to the President of the Philippines and the Congress on the Manner of Elections Held in 1965*. Manila: Bureau of Printing.

[22]. Commission on Elections. (1970) *Report of the Commission on Elections to the President of the Philippines and the Congress on the Manner of Elections Held in 1969*. Manila: Bureau of Printing.