

# Factors leading to Duterte's Victory: Who Should We Trust?

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# The Main Features of the Last National Elections



Rodrigo “Digong” Duterte’s election from being mayor of Davao City in southern Mindanao to the presidency of the Philippines has broken several precedents.

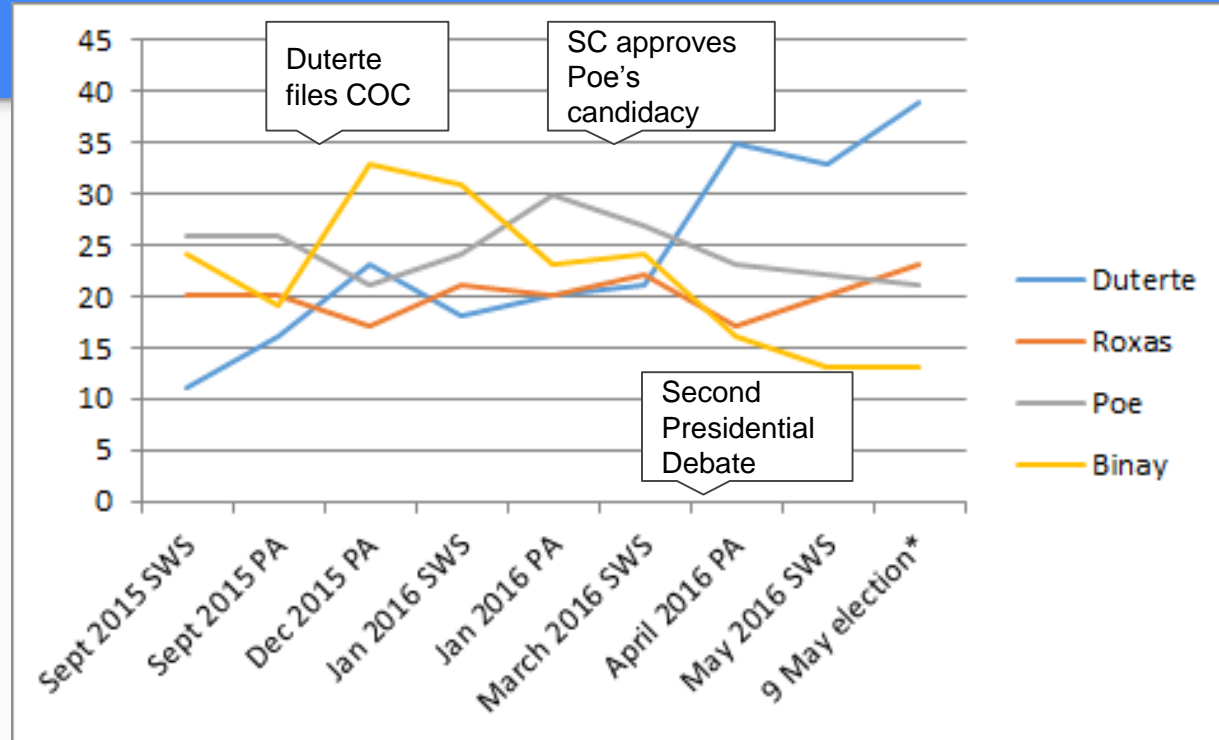
His unique style, combining down to earth pronouncements and street smart local politics savvy, prevailed during the 9 May election and pushed his more mainstream rivals to the margins.

Duterte’s campaign and victory have surprised many of us, including international media, much of which has focused on the uncouth and controversial statements that he made as the presidential front-runner and now president.

# Poll and Election Results

Poll results show that Duterte's rise happened in April 2016, captured by the Pulse Asia and confirmed in May by SWS.

He was the last candidate to file his COC, happening at the same time as the Senate Electoral Tribunal junked the disqualification case of Poe.



# Historic Firsts in the Previous Elections

- Duterte's victory presents an impressive number of historic firsts:
  - The first president from Mindanao (the poorest, most troubled of the country's three main island groups),
  - the first president to come directly from a local and not national political office, and
  - at 71 years old, the oldest.

**Change is coming!**



# But continuities also abound...

Duterte's election cannot be termed iconoclastic as he relied on previously proven winning election factors:

- Support of Dynasties spurned by Aquino Administration:
  - Marcos
  - Villar
  - Arroyo
- Populist appeal--Estrada
- Appeal for strong leadership--Ramos, Arroyo
- Fight against corruption—Aquino
- Triviality of political parties, the curse of annointed, the INC

**Malalim ang pinagsamahan..**



# The difference was hardly in the content

Emphasis on local government issues, highlighting the need for federalization

Focus on criminality, not corruption

Eliminating insurgency, initiating a peace process and making government efficient, such as in the environmental sector, not addressing poverty

But Duterte would joke that he is good in copying. Nobody voted for him on the basis of programs and policies. The ten-point economic program is fundamentally a collection of different programs from previous administrations.



# Mostly, it was governance...

- After chastising Poe, he proceeded to denigrate both the performance of the Aquino administration and its standard bearer, Mar Roxas
  - Traffic
  - Infrastructure
  - Disaster Relief
- The campaign was marked by cynicism directed mostly at the so-called elite sectors of society which Roxas represented.
- Hence, some analysts viewed Duterte's election as a victory against the elitist politics that dominated post-EDSA administrations.
- More importantly, the idea is to showcase his political will

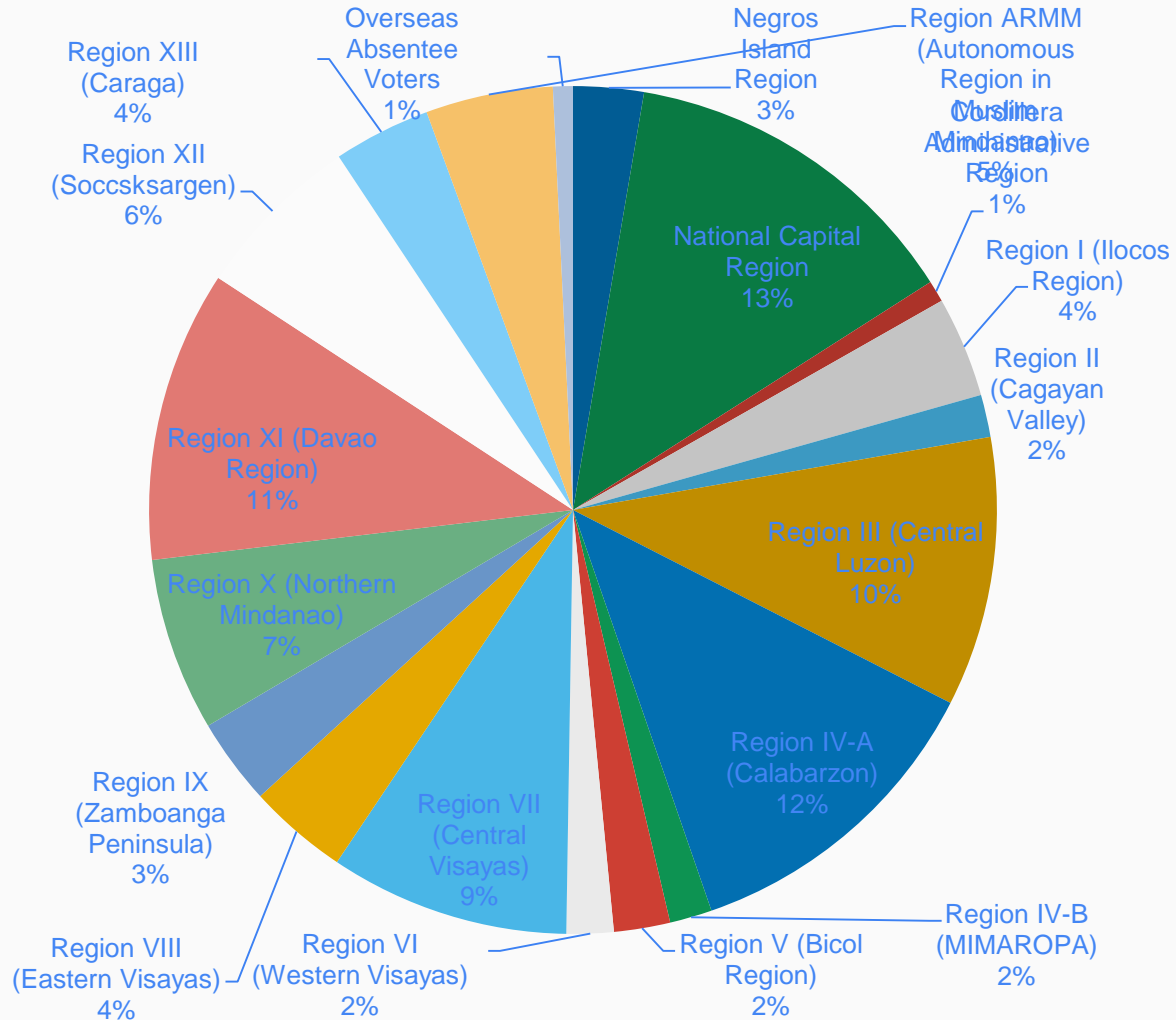


# Who Voted for Duterte?

Of course, Mindanao, particularly the Davao Region

More importantly, the NCR contributed the largest proportion of the votes. In addition, the two other populous regions close to NCR also contributed significantly.

This seems may seem surprising given that much of the growth during the Pnoy administration originated from these regions. These are also places where in-migration is greatest, where the most educated reside.





# The Importance of OFWs

Duterte garnered 72 % of the overseas absentee voters.

While the number may be small, these OFWs are the breadwinners in the households and so can influence their household members in country.

Post	Actually voted	Votes cast			Percentage		
		Duterte	Poe	Roxas	Duterte	Poe	Roxas
Abu Dhabi	62,103	51,879	1,708	3,985	84%	3%	6%
Hong Kong	52,449	34,004	3,173	4,927	65%	6%	9%
US	49,671	30,277	2,898	4,533	61%	6%	9%
Saudi Arabia	46,912	35,713	2,515	4,890	76%	5%	10%
Singapore	39,651	30,389	1,276	3,746	77%	3%	9%
Canada	22,738	15,879	1,708	3,985	70%	8%	18%
Qatar	15,694	12,475	558	1,333	79%	4%	8%
Japan	14,886	11,216	829	1,274	75%	6%	9%
Italy	14,159	9,249	1,276	1,859	65%	9%	13%
Taiwan	13,082	11,544	319	343	88%	2%	3%
TOTAL	432,706	313,346	22,476	41,263	72%	5%	10%

# The influence of social media

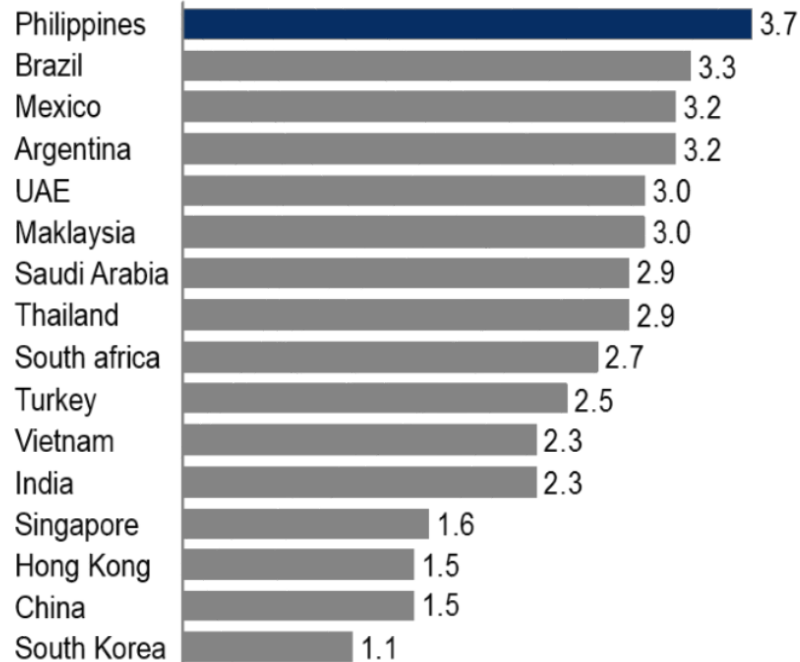
Diminished the role of political machinery and had been able to keep the loyalty of their followers intact.

Duterte's campaign had placed a premium on taking control of the social networks, hiring Nick Gabunada, ex-Senior VP of national media firm ABS-CBN's sales and marketing to supervise these activities.

Recognizing the power of social media, they reached out to existing online groups and communities, categorized them into four major groups: Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs), Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao.

## The Philippines tops total number of hours spent on social media per day

Average number of hours spent on social media per day  
Hours, Q4 2015



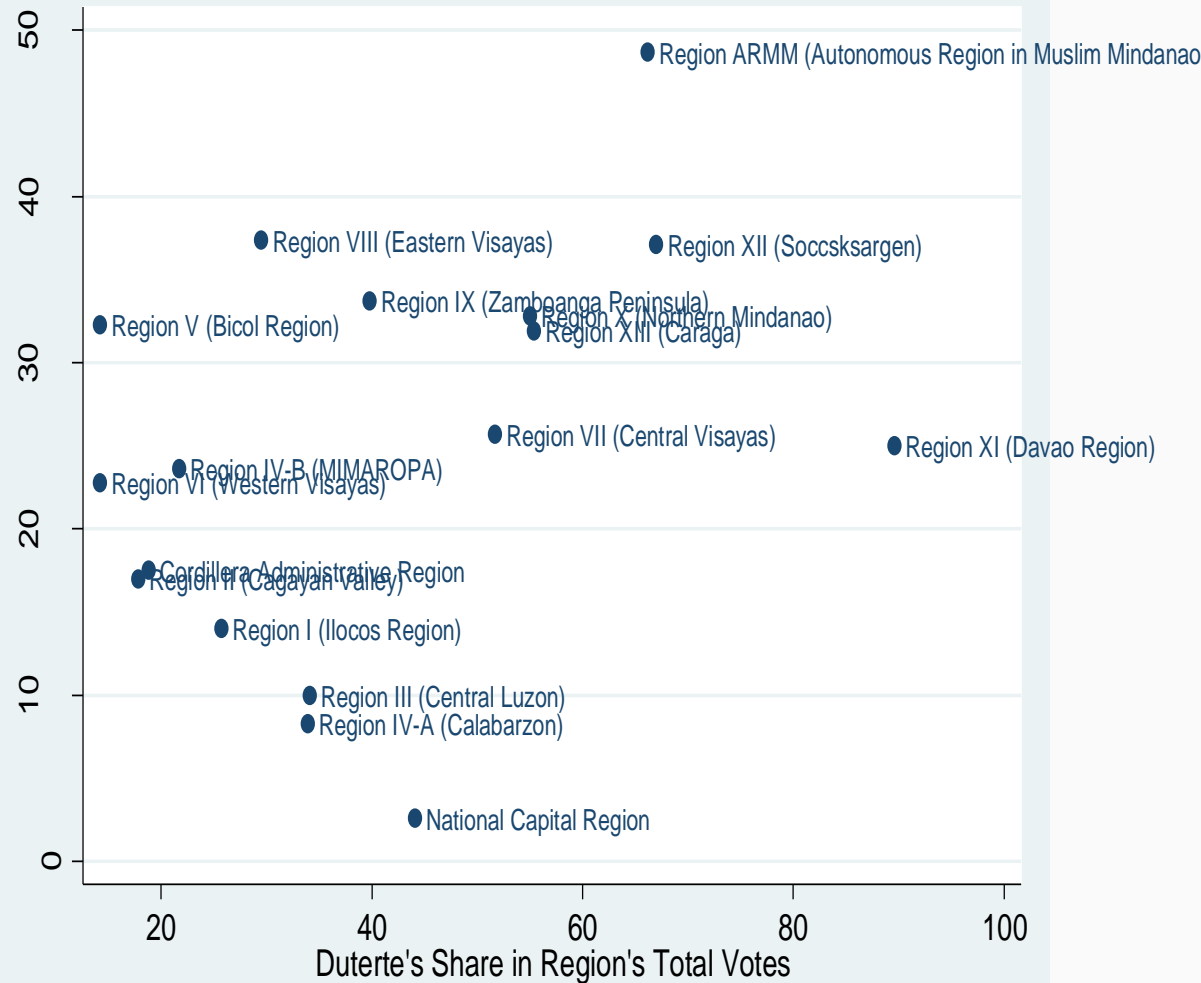
# No significant correlation between poverty and Duterte votes

Outside of Mindanao, poorer regions did not necessarily vote for Duterte.

Some richer regions in fact voted for Duterte.

Unlike the ERAP administration and the Aquino administration, there was no clear poverty alleviation program that poor can hang on.

This is perhaps the first election in many years where poverty is not the key issue



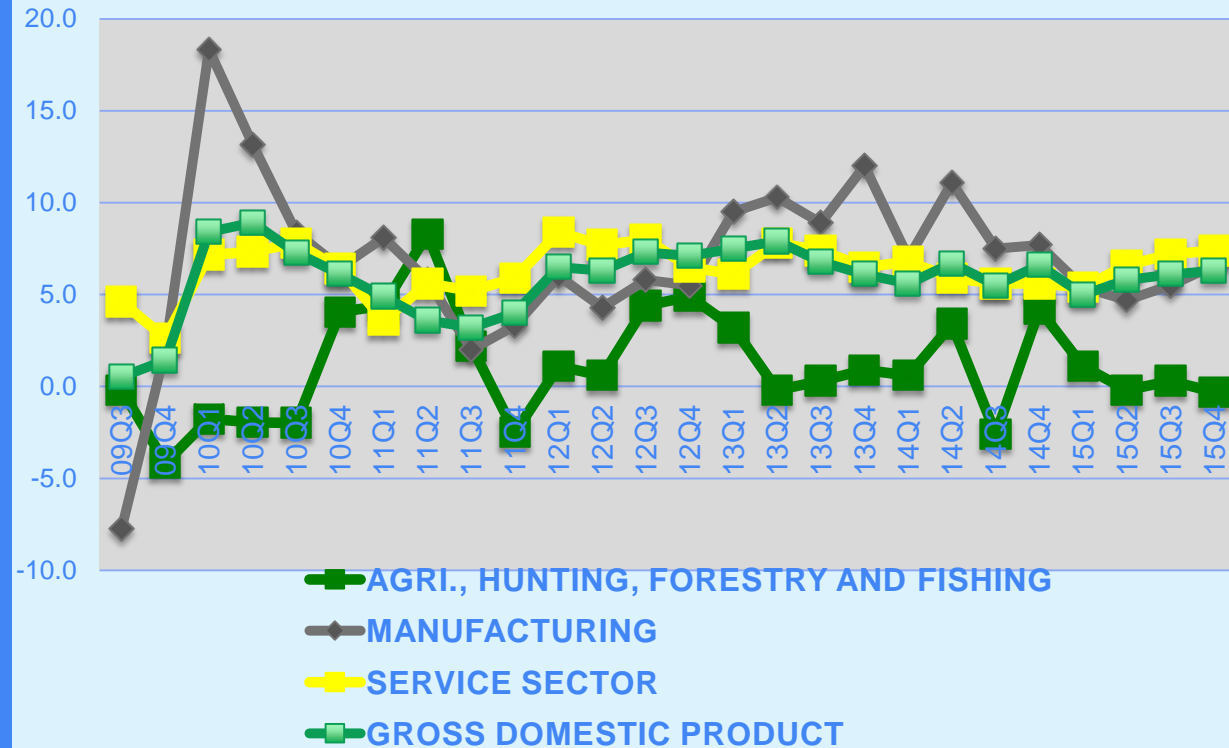
# Why 10-point economic program?

Aquino's achievements in the management of the economy remains untainted.

Robust growth due to strong macro fundamentals supporting domestic demand & shielding us from global weaknesses

Rising trend in manufacturing after sluggish growth in 80s-90s

## Quarterly Growth 2009-2015



# If poverty and the economy were not the reasons, then what did those who voted for Duterte want?

Metro-Manila concerns: traffic, airport, MRT, inefficient delivery of basic services

Visayas: political dynasties, agrarian reform, disaster response e.g. Yolanda

Mindanao: peace and order (e.g. handling of the Zamboanga crisis, Mamasapano incident); drought and climate change (handling of Kidapawan farmers rally), lumad issues, negotiations with MILF, Manila and Luzon bias

Across regions: “rage” against elite democracy/oligarchy; failure to pass FOI and anti-dynasty bill



# National Concerns before the elections

Workers' pay

Illegal Drugs

Inflation

Corruption

Poverty

Job Creation



Criminality

Rule of Law

Peace and Order

Pulse Asia Survey, January 2016

# Duterte's selling point: Davao

Achievements as Davao Mayor:

- Business friendly environment: shortening time to secure all types of business permits
- Peaceful community with low crime rate
- Ridding of corruption in the bureaucracy
- Improving the infrastructure system

Belies the socialist tag that he had pinned on himself



# Most of all, they want somebody they can trust

## PRESIDENT RATINGS from 1999 to 2015

Based on Pulse Asia performance and trust ratings surveys



**JOSEPH EJERCITO ESTRADA**  
Survey period: 1999-2000

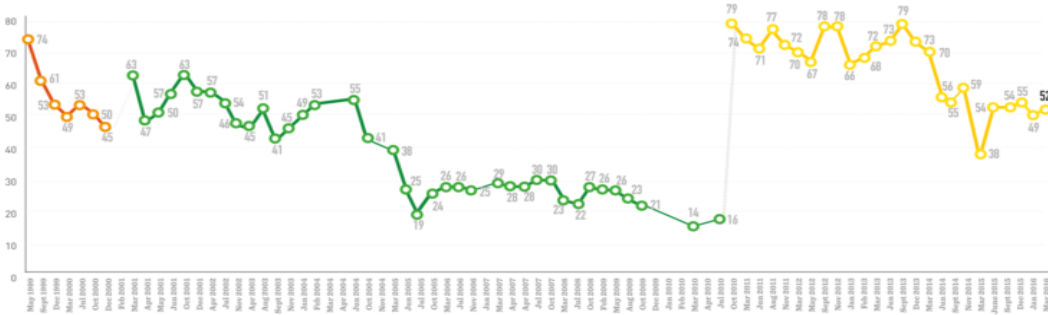


**GLORIA MACAPAGAL-ARROYO**  
2001-2010



**BENIGNO S. AQUINO III**  
2010-present

### Ratings based on performance



Setting himself as the outsider, Duterte positioned himself as the most trustworthy of all the candidates.

### Ratings based on trust



Building on his record, he exploited the declining ratings of previous presidents both in terms of performance and trust.

For Duterte, this was the overriding election issue. He insists that he never planned for the presidency but would be willing to serve.

As of March 2016

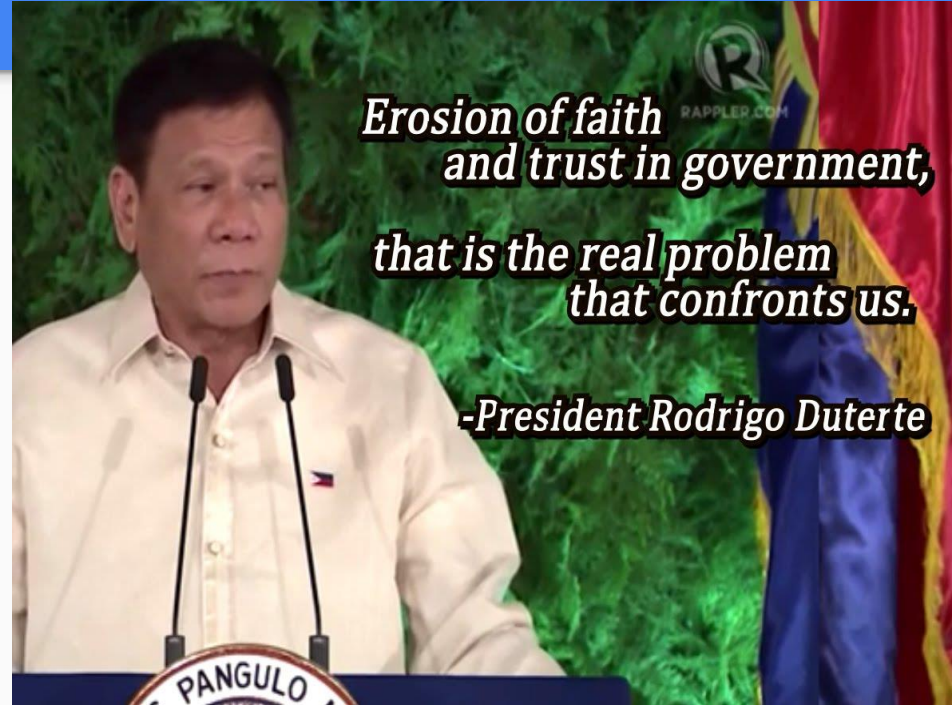


# Duterte's success thus depends on keeping this trust...

Trust is crucial for investments, growth, and more importantly, for political stability.

Trust or social capital reflects the internal coherence of society, the norms and values that govern interactions among people, and guides the institutions in which they are embedded.

In game theory, it is the crucial element that leads to coordination and the maximum social outcomes



# But trust need not be blind nor total

Pure deference to authority does not provide a sound foundation for effective governance since it invites abuse of power.

A certain questioning skepticism can be healthy for good governance and indeed vital for democracy, leading citizens and civil society organizations to scrutinize what government does and to check abuses of power.

“A positive requirement of a working democracy is an intelligent distrust of its leadership, a skepticism stubborn but not blind, of all demands for the enlargement of power, and an emphasis upon critical method in every phase of social life.”

--Sidney Hook, Political Philosopher

# What does it take to maintain trust in government?

To build public trust in government, government must govern better: more transparently, responsibly, accountably, and responsively, with more active engagement with the public and in particular more rigorous respect for the law and the public interest.

It will require a transformation in the nature of governance, so that public officials are truly required to serve the public good, and so that corruption becomes too risky and costly to be any longer commonplace and egregious in scale. This must entail a sweeping program of construction, reform, and empowerment of the institutions of vertical and horizontal accountability.

# Key requirements to maintain trust

## **Vertical Accountability**

In the vertical sense, citizens and their organizations need more access to information and decision-making. One crucial instrument is a freedom of information law.

In the fight against corruption, the public availability of information on government finance, procurement, and contracting is particularly important.

## **Horizontal Accountability (Checks and Balances)**

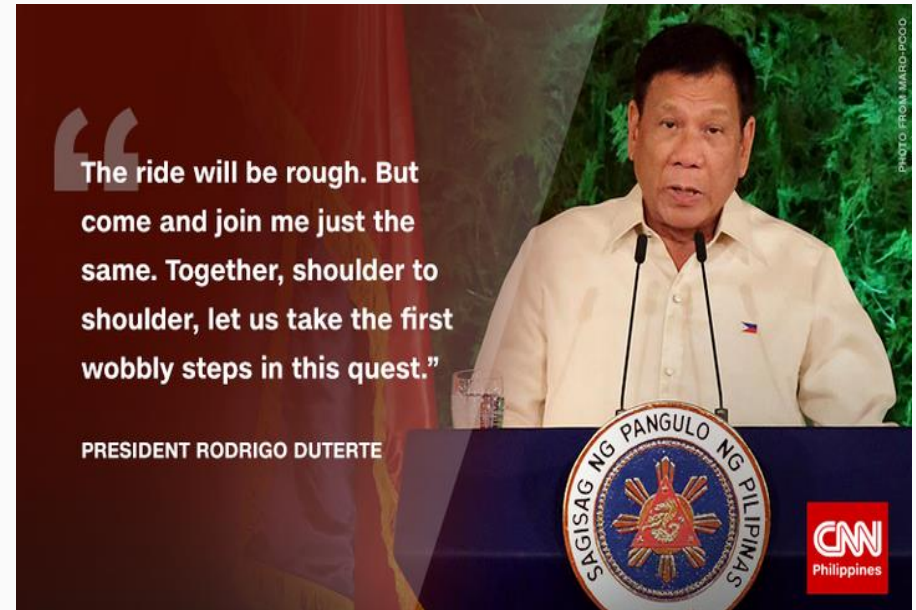
If vertical accountability is going to function effectively, then the instruments of vertical accountability must be complemented, protected, and reinforced by vigorous mechanisms of horizontal accountability.

Each branch of government must hold each other accountable. Each branch should also be accountable to the people

# In Conclusion: The struggle remains...

The election precipitated a key ingredient that should be part of our institutions. Trust not only in our president but also in our institutions indeed diminished 30 years after the downfall of the dictator.

To build trust we must improve further our institutions by enhancing both our vertical and horizontal accountabilities. And this goes beyond Duterte.



Thank you for your attention.