

Research Article

Political Campaign Discourse in Television Advertising: The Case of Rodrigo Duterte

Orville B. Tatcho

University of the Philippines Baguio

Abstract

Television advertising is an important element in political campaign management that animate discourses and rhetoric from candidates running for office. In this paper, I inquired into how President Rodrigo Roa Duterte used the TV advertising platform to build an image during the 2016 presidential campaign. Using Benoit's functional theory of political campaign discourse, this study uncovers the topics in Duterte's ads, his strategies, and the discourses advanced through these ads. I conducted a qualitative content analysis (multi-modal textual analysis) of nine (9) ads of varying lengths (15 or 30 seconds). I argue that Duterte's topics in the ads combine image and issues (character and policy statements), which aim to confirm—rather than convert—prevailing public perceptions about Duterte. Duterte's main self-presentation strategy was then to reinforce what the public and the media already know about him. This gave leverage for Duterte to bank on the hero archetype and peddle discourses of provision and protection. Duterte's populist imaging in the ads speaks of glittering generalities and his reference to issues comprised mostly of motherhood statements. I thus recommend that that Philippine Commission on Elections continue to host a series of televised presidential debates to serve a platform for candidates to ground their promises and substantiate their claims on the TV ads. Debate, as a platform, shall serve as a check and balance against TV ads, which are focused on image recall and recognition.

Keywords: *Duterte, television, advertising, campaigns, elections*

Introduction and Rationale

In the Philippines, the Commission on Elections (Comelec) is the government-sanctioned body to oversee the conduct of both local and national campaigns and elections. In 2001, the Comelec implemented Republic Act 9006, otherwise known as the Fair Election Act, which mandates the “holding of free, orderly, honest, peaceful and credible elections through fair election practices” (Commission on Elections, n.d.).

Section 6 of the Fair Election Act states that, “each bona fide candidate or registered political party for a nationally elective office shall be entitled to not more than one hundred twenty (120) minutes of television advertising... whether by purchase or donation” (Commission on Elections, n.d.). The total of 120 minutes of TV ads is construed to be the aggregate or total duration of TV ads or airtime a candidate can purchase from different TV stations during the 90-day campaign period.

Kaid (2004) defines political television advertising as “any message primarily under the control of a source used to promote political candidates, parties, policy issues, and/or ideas through mass channels” (Sanders, 2009, p. 177). As Holtz-Bacha et al. (2012) argue, TV ads provide the best basis for an analysis of a candidate’s campaign strategies because ads are largely controlled by the candidates and their campaign teams. Ads are “meant to bring voters’ issue information and, most importantly, to help create an image impression of the candidate for the viewer” (Devlin, 1995, p. 193). The 2004 and 2007 presidential elections provide an example for the effectiveness of using TV ads. According to Perron:

Candidates who were completely unknown or have already been written off had excellent results thanks to well-orchestrated and well-executed television campaigns. Other candidates who, in early polls, showed as winning, lost badly because they were on the air too late or with poor campaigns. (2009, p. 364)

As expected, the case of the 2016 presidential campaign saw the use of political television advertising for image building. Prior to the 2016

elections, Orchestrack, a TV and radio ad monitoring firm, recorded TV ads in ten free-to-air TV stations from January 2015 to March 2015 (Aquino, Bolante, and Mercado, 2016). Table 1 shows the TV ad spending for each presidential candidate in the 2016 elections.

Table 1. TV Ad Spending of the 2016 Presidential Candidates as of March 2016

Candidate	Start of airing	Total TV ad spending	Total duration of ads
Binay, Jejomar	May 2015	1.4 billion	1,044 minutes
Duterte, Rodrigo	March 2015	257.4 million	148.25 minutes
Poe, Grace	August 2015	1.09 billion	778 minutes
Roxas, Mar	August 2015	1.04 billion	727 minutes
Santiago, Miriam	Feb. 2016	40.3 million	20 minutes

As shown in Table 1, Binay has spent most on TV ads, followed by Poe and Roxas. Next to Santiago, Duterte spent the least on TV ads from January to March 2015. Meanwhile, Duterte was also the first candidate to launch a TV ad (March 2015) despite being the last candidate to file for a Certificate of Candidacy (CoC). Meanwhile, Table 2 below shows a comparison between the campaign ad spending of the candidates (TV, radio and print ads) and the expenditures by each presidential candidate based on their Statement of Contribution and Expenditure (SoCE).

Table 2. Campaign Ads Spending and Expenditures of Candidates

Candidate	TV, radio, & print ad spending (February 9-March 31, 2016)	Total expenditures (based on SoCE)
Binay, Jejomar	344.9 million	463.4 million
Duterte, Rodrigo	110.4 million	371.5 million
Poe, Grace	331.4 million	510.8 million
Roxas, Mar	157.8 million	469.3 million
Santiago, Miriam	40.3 million	74.7 million

Dividing the amount spent by the candidates on their campaign ads by their total expenditures, one would find out that a third (30%) to

three quarters (75%) of the candidate's expenses go to campaign ads. A large chunk of the campaign ad spending of each candidate certainly went to TV advertising. Indeed, television advertising "continues to be the most significant form of political advertising and eats up the greatest proportion of campaign budgets" (Sanders, 2009, p. 177).

In the context of the presidential system of government in the Philippines where the president is elected via a plurality votes (Kasuya, 2009), candidates must attract and command as many votes as they can and deflect the votes of their opponents (Benoit, 1999). Candidates can compete in the political marketplace through one of the most powerful tools to win the elections—image (Newman, 1999). A candidate's image is a product of his/her records, background, experiences, appearances and the public's perceptions, and political television advertising is the most common medium used for image building (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1997). In the Philippines, TV is also regarded as an "image maker" given its affordances, pervasiveness and functions (Del Mundo, 2003).

Image building is important in the context of mass marketing of politics for three reasons:

First, there are limitations to political campaign management which require campaign managers to depend on the media. In the Philippines, the Comelec only allots ninety (90) days of campaign for national elections and forty-five (45) days for local elections (Commission on Elections, n.d.). Political parties or individual candidates cannot reach all intended targets face-to-face with the limited resources and time to campaign. The use of mass media in political campaigns for purposes of image building, among other things, allows candidates to reach the most number of voters at the shortest possible time.

Second, with the mass marketing of politics, there has been a change in the barometer by which candidates are judged (Newman, 1999). The "new criteria" includes charisma, star appeal and popularity. This has affected the campaign strategies, communication styles and political "persona" of the candidate. A candidate must be "telegenic",

competent, trustworthy, likeable, extroverted and credible. Television advertising helps the candidates and their consultants project a desired and effective image for the voters.

Third, political TV advertising also marked important changes in the way candidates and politicians communicate with their constituents. Candidates have been able to transform their political talk in ways that are more intimate and relational (Newman, 1999). This is what Jamieson (1998) terms as the “new eloquence”. The politicians are no longer addressing their constituents through forms of face-to-face public address. While a candidate’s presence or visibility on television will not guarantee victory in the elections, political television advertising can make candidates prominent and recognizable to the voters.

Image building through political TV advertising is symptomatic of personality politics in the country. In the Philippines, star power, popularity and ability to connect with the masses matter when candidates join political parties (Quimpo, 2007). As such, the attributes of likeability, goodwill, extraversion, sociability or familiarity work to the advantage of an inexperienced candidate. Moreover, in perception politics (De Landtsheer, De Vries & Vertessen, 2008), it does not matter whether a candidate is really trustworthy, competent or an expert—what matters is for them to be perceived as possessing such attributes. According to a Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism (PCIJ) online article:

Politics is no longer just addition. In the age of mass media, politics is image building. Amplified by television and advertising, a politician’s image in the public’s collective mind is greater than the sum of his actual attributes, assets, and accomplishments.

Much of the behavior of 21st-century Filipino voters is based on images they have of Philippine government and society: Some of these images may have little basis in fact but they are very real to voters, so much so that even governance itself has become a competition for images or between images. (The Presidency, 2004).

Among the candidates, Rodrigo Duterte had not held a national post prior to running for the presidency. He was also the last candidate to

express intention to run for the presidency. Duterte ran as a supposed down-to-earth and no-nonsense candidate committed to an anti-crime platform. Duterte's image building efforts in the debates are worth studying for two reasons. First, he tested the limits of traditional, political vocabulary with his distinctive verbal communicative style (Curato, 2016). Second, despite his controversial actions, he won the presidency by a landslide. This invites an interesting discussion and critique of Duterte's winning rhetoric.

Objectives

This paper then poses the research question: How did Duterte use the platform of political television advertising for image building?

Specifically, this study addresses the following objectives:

1. To describe the image and issue topics in Duterte's ads
2. To uncover Duterte's image building strategies
3. To interpret arising discourses based on the topics in his ads

Since political television advertising is a major campaign ritual, Johnson-Cartee and Copeland (1997) argue that "running a campaign without advertising violates the expectations of the voters" (p. 155). In this year's mid-term elections, candidates running for Senate are already churning out television advertisements. Political TV advertising continues to be a major campaign strategy among candidates running for national, elective posts. Hence, studies about messaging and image building in these ads provide insight into how the medium can be used for information as well as propaganda.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

According to Newman (1999), "one of the most important marketing tools a politician can use to drive public opinion is his/ her image" (1999, p. 88). Iyengar (2005) affirms this by saying that "image is everything in politics" and a candidate's image as "a potentially manipulable set of meanings attached by voters to a seeker or holder of political office" (cited in Sanders, 2009, p. 172).

There are two aspects in the definition of image. First, image is a “set of stimuli projected by the party or candidate” and second, image is the candidate’s “attributes perceived by the electorate” (Sanders, 2009, p. 172). The first aspect deals with the ways in which image is constructed, established and represented by the candidate or his/ her campaign consultants. On the other hand, the second definition emphasizes the audiences’ perceptions, judgments and opinions of the image projected by the candidates. These two aspects are neither contradictory nor irreconcilable.

As Hacker (2004) argues, “images are formed at the intersection of specific communication acts—a speech, an appearance on a chat show performed by the candidate and our own perceptions filtered through pre-judgments and knowledge” (cited in Sanders, 2009, p. 172). This study emphasizes the definition of image as a “set of stimuli” created by the use of “visual impressions that are communicated by the candidate’s physical presence, media appearances and record as a political leader” (Newman, 1999, as cited in Teehankee, 2010, p. 117). This is the more appropriate definition for this study because of the focus on image building as a process where political actors use symbols and “perform” during the campaign.

There are also two professional political communicators during a campaign who help build an image for a candidate—the promoters and the journalists (Nimo, 1978 as cited in Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1997). The promoters are tasked to advance the interest of the client or the candidate regardless of the candidate’s involvement in his/ her own image building. On the other hand, the journalist who works for news organizations mediates between news sources and audiences. A candidate’s image is therefore a negotiation of the actions and efforts of various actors—the candidate him/herself, the promoter or image handler, the journalist or the media and the voter (Newman, 1999).

Another component of image building is the message since “media priorities call for simple, short messages” (Sanders, 2009, p. 175). Slogans become important on account of media priorities for sound bites and newsworthiness. Over time, slogans have been used to refer

to themes of change or failure of the status quo—and can even be the “signposts” that capture the collective sentiments of the people at a particular socio-political setting. As such, sound-bites, images, metaphors and integrated visual and verbal short hands provide strong and meaningful messages (Sanders, 2009).

Sanders cites Lakoff’s (2002) contribution in “underlining the roles and narratives of semantics in communicating values and emotions and campaigns” (2209, p. 175). According to Lakoff (2002), politicians “are wrong... to think that if they just explain themselves better, people will accept their argument” because it is important for candidates to “integrate their policy positions with values or find the right metaphors to trigger a positive response from voters” (Sanders, 2009, p. 175). In other words, understanding the values, themes, meanings and symbolisms that resonate with audiences must guide the development of a candidate’s messages as part of the bigger process of image building.

The Philippine experience in relation to image building of presidents has been narrated and chronicled by the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism (PCIJ). Image building of a Philippine president is argued to have started with Manuel L. Quezon, the fair-skinned president who looked like an actor or a celebrity. Quezon stood as someone who is equal to the American colonizers, admired by Filipinos for his looks but taken seriously by his American counterparts as well. He is said to have started the tradition of going to the rice fields for picture-taking and this was a symbolic act for an agricultural country such as the Philippines (PCIJ, 2004; The Presidency, 2004).

Magsaysay, for his part, appealed to the masses because of his down-to-earth campaign (*Mambo Magsaysay* jingle, spoke the language of Filipinos and interacted with them directly) and approach to government (when he opened the gates of Malacañang to Filipinos). Unlike Quezon, Magsaysay was not a mestizo and he emphasized that there no longer is an American “master”. A plane crash has immortalized Magsaysay as one of the most beloved presidents in Philippine history (PCIJ, 2004; The Presidency, 2004).

When Marcos assumed the presidency, he established the “New Society” where he was to be “Malakas” (the strong) and Imelda was “Maganda” (the beautiful). Marcos used state resources for propaganda and was known for mythologizing and consistent image building. During the campaign, Marcos emphasized his feats during the Second World War and his brilliance or exceptional intelligence (PCIJ, 2004; The Presidency, 2004). As Philippine history has shown, no amount of propaganda has averted the fall of Marcos and his wife Imelda from power.

Post-martial law, Corazon Aquino became the first female president of the Philippines. In her ascent to the presidency, Aquino had the image of *mater dolorosa* (the grieving or sorrowful mother) after her husband, Benigno Aquino, was shot at the airport tarmac (PCIJ, 2004; The Presidency, 2004). Aquino stood as the anti-thesis to Marcos (the “good” versus “evil”) and presented a stark contrast to Imelda’s excesses (Aquino being the simple wife).

In contrast to Aquino whose image was clear prior to her ascent to the presidency, Ramos did not have a clear image at the start of his administration (PCIJ, 2004). As Aquino’s top military general, Ramos symbolized the return of the strongman. His image was later developed to be the president who was always on-the-go, a true diplomat for building coalitions and alliances, and a workaholic (The Presidency, 2004).

Estrada, Ramos’ vice-president, assumed the presidency in 1998. As a former movie star and often cast as a hero in his movies, “Erap” was a populist president who convinced voters that he is among the poor and for the poor (PCIJ, 2004). As a movie star, Erap’s transition to politics was seen as a departure from the line-up of elites who failed to change the system (The Presidency, 2004). Even as he was ousted, Erap’s supporters believe in his innocence.

Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo or Ate Glo as she was fondly called, served out the rest of Estrada’s truncated term. GMA has had the advantage of access to resources as an incumbent running for presidency. Her

image building included the use TV ads which seemed like public service announcements from government agencies. These ads from government agencies were thanking GMA for her purported accomplishments and contributions (Thompson, 2010). She also chose Noli de Castro as her vice-presidential running mate in an attempt to reduce popular votes for her most noteworthy rival, Fernando Poe Jr., a popular action movie star. Finally, in an effort to appeal to the masses, GMA also had to look like or imitate the “superstar” Nora Aunor (as they are both short and had a mole in the face) (Thompson, 2010).

For his part, Benigno Aquino Jr. won the presidency by emphasizing reformism or “anti-corruption” and “good governance” narratives (Thompson, 2010). The rhetoric for “Noynoy” to run for the presidency gained momentum with the death of his mother—similar to how the death of Benigno “Ninoy” Aquino propelled Cory to the presidency. If GMA’s presidency was marred by corruption scandals, Noynoy’s administration was rocked by supposed inaction, indecision and incompetence in dealing with crisis (Mamasapano, Yolanda and the worsening traffic situation in Metro Manila). This is the backdrop against which Duterte sold his populist image.

Duterte seized the opportunity to exploit the weaknesses of the previous administration and built an image as a strongman who will address the failures of the Liberal Party and their “DaangMatuwid” platform. Duterte was Davao’s tough-talking mayor for the longest time. He speaks in the vernacular and is purportedly a no-nonsense, no-holds-barred, down-to-earth leader. He ran on a platform of stamping out criminality and drug-related crimes in three to six months. His victory exemplifies the protest vote, the vote for the anti-hero or the anti-establishment (McCargo, 2016).

As the literature has shown, image develops from a variety of sources (records, communicative actions, facts, and endorsements about the communicator), is formed based on the collaboration of different actors (candidates, campaign managers, journalists and voters) and is contingent on the socio-political milieu (themes of populism and reformism are animated depending on the status of leadership, failures of the previous administration, etc.). Since an image is a set of stimuli

or “visual impressions that are communicated by the candidate’s physical presence, media appearances and record as a political leader” (Newman, 1999). An image can be potentially manipulated (Sanders, 2009). I argue that the relationship between image building and spin-doctoring, which may include misinformation and media manipulation, is enough reason to interrogate the process of image building and construction from a critical lens.

A candidate’s image also redounds to the “attributes perceived by the electorate” (Sanders, 2009, p. 172). In other words, a candidate’s image is largely a function of the voters’ perceptions. I argue that voters must always be critical not to substitute imaging in TV ads for a candidate’s experience and actual competence. Thus, a critical view of the image building process is called for if voters are to be enabled to make informed decisions based on reason and a candidate’s qualifications over his/her personality or popularity.

In the production of TV ads by political actors (and their campaign managers) to meet their objectives, certain narratives and discourses become dominant. It is precisely one of this study’s objectives to interrogate what discourses become dominant and how or why these become so. Moreover, it is the goal of this study to uncover ideology or the “way that the ideas and values reflect particular interests on the part of the powerful” (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 25). These powerful groups are the candidates and their campaign teams who have the capacity to produce TV ads and the resources to air them on national television despite the exorbitant costs.

Language, as a way in which social realities are shared and constructed, can be used to make certain discourses accepted, normal or common-sense (Machin & Mayr, 2012). In this sense, ideologies become opaque as they conceal and reinforce existing power relations. Machin and Mayr shares one view of ideology, one that “obscures the nature of our unequal societies and prevents us from seeing alternatives. It limits what can be seen and what we think we can do” (2012, p. 25). As such, political texts must be examined in their exercise of power—in their capacity to show a single version of reality and make truth relative (spin-doctoring in TV ads).

Finally, Machin and Mayr (2012) also note that “ideologies and power can be communicated through other semiotic modes and not only through language” (p. 25). Visual images and nonverbal forms of communication along with their verbal components can thus shape discourses and ideologies. TV ads are forms of discourses carried through other semiotic modes aside from language.

STUDY FRAMEWORK

Developed by Benoit and his colleagues through a series of studies on presidential campaigns (Benoit, 1999; Benoit, 2000; Benoit, 2007), the functional theory of political campaign discourse posits that candidates use two topics (image and issue) and three strategies (acclaiming, attacking, and defending) in their messaging. These topics and strategies are used by the candidates in both political debates and television (Benoit & Harthcock, 1999; Benoit & Klyukovski, 2006; Benoit & Sheafer, 2006). Functional theory posits that campaign discourse is primarily instrumental or a means to an end. As a matter of practice, candidates observe and engage the axioms of functional theory in order to secure a majority or plurality of votes.

These axioms can answer the first and second objectives of this study—strategies and topics used by Duterte in the process of image building through the TV ads. Benoit and Airne (2005) differentiate the strategies outlined in functional theory (acclaims, attacks, and defenses) in terms of praise or positive statements about one’s self and other candidates (acclaiming), negative statements about other candidates or opponents (attacking), and responses to negative statements from other candidates or one’s opponents (defending). Functional theory “further subdivides both policy and character into three types. Policy includes past deeds, future plans, and general goals; character includes personal qualities, leadership ability, and ideals” (Benoit and Airne, 2005, p. 227).

It must be noted, however, that policy and character topics, statements and utterances are mutually reinforcing. Sound and beneficial policies/legislation/ enactments of a candidate positively reflect his or her

character in the same way that his/her credibility may result in an expectation of his/her ability to create and implement sound policies. As I have pointed out in the literature review, image and issues (character statements and policy utterances) are inextricably linked (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1997).

As an analytical tool, functional theory has been applied in numerous studies dealing with campaign discourse, embracing a variety of political campaign messages: televised political spots, radio spots, debates, talk radio appearances, television talk show appearances, web pages and convention speeches. Functional theory which was developed to analyze presidential campaigns where image or character is important, has limited relevance to parliamentary debates. The image or character of the party leader is not as crucial in parliamentary debates compared to presidential debates. In the case of the Philippines' presidential system, however, functional theory finds application in the image-centered campaigns of the candidates.

RESEARCH DESIGN

This descriptive and qualitative study used qualitative content analysis along with Benoit's functional theory of political campaign discourse to analyze political television advertisements of Rodrigo Duterte in the 2016 Philippine presidential campaign. Qualitative content analysis is an approach to textual analysis that is not concerned about the frequency of occurrence of message variables but the meaning of the message and its features (Frey, Botan, & Kreps, 1999). Qualitative content analysis is also appropriate for any text—written, recorded, visual, and a combination of these. In this study, the concepts in Benoit's functional theory of political campaign discourse (the strategies of acclaiming, attacking, and defending; image versus issue topics) were uncovered in Duterte's ads through qualitative content analysis.

Duterte's ads were chosen through convenient sampling. The ads were aired from February 9 to May 9, 2016, in accordance with the ninety (90) days allotted to national campaigns. A total of nine (9) ads were coded in this study. These ads have varying lengths of fifteen (15) or

thirty (30) seconds. Only the ads commissioned by Duterte, his party and sponsors were analyzed. Tandem ads were excluded from the analysis. Presidential candidate Duterte appearing in the ad of his vice-presidential running mate Allan Peter Cayetano may be indicative of Duterte’s effective image and influence. However, the strategies and topics in these ads were about the vice-presidential candidate. Trillanes’ anti-Duterte ad was also excluded from analysis since it was paid for or commissioned by a vice-presidential candidate.

Finally, I analyzed data through coding each advertisement according to its visual, verbal, and textual cues. I assigned each ad a number, provided a label or title for each ad for reference, and noted a description for each ad. Based on the message of the ads, I then determined whether Duterte used any or a combination of the three strategies (acclaiming, attacking, and defending) and topics (image or issue). In line with the goal of qualitative content analysis, I then made sense of the dominant topics and strategies through inductive logic—arguing how common messages in Duterte’s ads lead to certain myths and discourses.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In order to unpack the discourses in Duterte’s TV ads, I will start with a description of the ads and their main topics (image or issue) and strategies (acclaiming, attacking, defending). I will then interpret these topics and strategies and explain how they construct an image not only for Duterte but also for the Philippine society. Table 3 shows a description of each of Duterte’s ads.

Table 3. Description of Duterte’s Ads

Number	Ad	Description
1	Strike	Animated ad of Duterte with crimes graphically represented as bowling pins
2	Motorcycle	Special production ad of Duterte with Davao City used as an exemplar of development
3	Airport	Special production ad of Duterte with animation, has reference to the “laglag-bala issue”

Number	Ad	Description
4	Shelter	Duterte's narration of what Davao has done for street and abandoned children in the city
5	<i>Bata naipitsagulo</i> (Children caught in the crossfire)	Duterte's call for a tough and bold leader who can end crime and violence and protect children
6	Robin Padilla	Celebrity endorsement for Duterte, acclaiming his integrity
7	Cesar Montano	Celebrity endorsement for Duterte, emphasis on Duterte as the leader who can allay people's fears
8	<i>Tapusin ang gulo</i> (End the violence)	Duterte's call to end violence through a tough and bold leader
9	Political machinery	Person-in-the-street ad of Duterte, declaring that the people would be his political machinery

Majority of Duterte's ads were documentary spots, which used graphics, animation and actual footage/video clips of the "mean" streets. He also has two celebrity endorsements using the technique of transfer by association from two Filipino action movie stars (Robin Padilla and Cesar Montano). The use of the action stars as Duterte's celebrity endorsers were also consistent with Duterte's imaging as a leader who can "save the day" as he capitalized on the hero archetype. Not to dispense with his bailiwick, Duterte also has a plain folk's testimonial from residents of Davao City. Figure 2 shows the screen captures from Duterte's ads.



Figure 2. Images from Duterte's Ads

Clockwise, from top left: Duterte's documentary ad using animation; another documentary ad using graphics; Duterte's slogan in his ad; a plain folk testimonial for Duterte; a person-in-the-street ad; and Robin Padilla's endorsement of Duterte

Out of Duterte’s nine (9) TV ads, four (4) focused on policy issues, two (2) were exclusively about his character or image, and three (3) combined image and issue topics. All of Duterte’s ads also used “acclaiming” as a strategy. While some of Duterte’s ads may seem to be using the strategy of “defending”, their primary function was still to praise Duterte through image and issue topics. Finally, he did not release any single attack or negative ad against his opponent. Refer to Table 4.

Table 4. Topics and strategy in Duterte’s ads

Ad	Topic/ focus	Strategy
Strike	Issue	Acclaiming
Motorcycle	Issue	Acclaiming
Airport	Issue	Acclaiming
Shelter	Image and issue	Acclaiming
<i>Bata naipitsagulo</i> (Children caught in the crossfire)	Image and issue	Acclaiming
Robin Padilla	Image	Acclaiming
Cesar Montano	Image and issue	Acclaiming
<i>Tapusin ang gulo</i> (End the violence)	Issue	Acclaiming
Political machinery	Image	Acclaiming

Issue Topics in Duterte’s Ads

The issue topics in Duterte’s ads were glittered with policy statements on restoring peace, order, safety and security in the country. His ads also appealed to the people’s sense of fear, vulnerability and discontents for the status quo (“*laglag-bala*” [intentional placing or dropping of bullets inside bags at the airport], “*akyat-bahay*” [house-robbery]), drug-related crimes and violence). Only one (1) among Duterte’s nine (9) ads referred to safety, food security and healthcare. Duterte’s political TV advertising focused on issues which the other four presidential candidates hardly discussed in their ads. While Binay, Santiago, Poe and Roxas talked about access to education, jobs and healthcare at one point or the other, Duterte built his image on a crime-busting platform.

Duterte's topics were also timely as they were able to capture the immediate demands during the campaign season—issues of security (*"la-lag-bala"* debacle), peace (Mamasapano clash), order (Metro Manila traffic) and rehabilitation (slow government response to typhoon Yolanda rehabilitation). Duterte's ads were able to evoke feelings and emotions of fear, anxiety and uncertainty in the audience. His ads suggested that the solution to problems was a "hero" or "savior" who can salvage a weak Philippine state.

Duterte's ads which combined both image and issue (policy or personality) were tied to his image as a tough-talking, bold mayor of Davao City. Duterte used both ethical and emotional appeals by using narratives of people he had helped in Davao (his accomplishments). Duterte's main acclaiming strategy included developing or improving a candidate's association with positive leadership characteristics (tough, bold, caring and concerned) and developing the heroic image of the candidate (his ads which focus on his policies in Davao City and what he can offer to the country once elected).

Image Topics in Duterte's Ads

Duterte's image topics, on the other hand, emphasized toughness and strength. These characteristics were related to Duterte's image topics across the subcategories of personal qualities, leadership abilities and values or ideals. Toughness or strength were also linked to aggressiveness or activeness as shown by Duterte's ads which used animations. Overall, Duterte was described as "the punisher" as he banked on the hero archetype.

While Duterte's image in his ads could be summed up using words such as bold, brave and tough, there were other personal qualities attached to Duterte's "main" image. Duterte showed that he was not only tough (*"may tapangnabaguhin ang lahat"* [has courage to improve everything]). Rather, he also cared (*"nagmamalasakitsawalang-wala"* [concerned with the poorest of the poor]). While he promised to be ruthless against criminals and lawless elements, Duterte also showed compassion for children who grew up in violence (*"Ang naiipitsagulo?*

Ang mga bata, awang-awanaakosakanila”[Those who are caught in the crossfire. The children, I pity them much]).

Duterte’s issue topics included his past deeds which catered to two stakeholders—women and children. When Duterte caused controversy for his sexist language, he had an ad with a woman testifying how she feels safe in Davao City. Duterte also had ads about how he would protect children from conflict and violence. Refer to Figure 3.

Figure 3. Duterte’s Use of Women and Children in Ads



From left to right: A senior citizen’s testimonial for Duterte; Duterte with kids; and a woman acclaiming Duterte’s efforts in Davao City.

Duterte also used an image of a populist who was “not too intelligent”. In fact, Duterte’s competence is framed in terms of his track record in Davao City, not his intelligence per se. Duterte also downplayed his personal achievements as a matter of strategy and in an attempt to establish common ground and rapport with the majority of the voters.

Acclaiming as the Dominant Strategy in Duterte’s Ads

The image and issue topics in Duterte’s ads purport to portray a positive image of Duterte or praise his accomplishments. I argue that Duterte used acclaiming over attacking and defending because the latter strategies carry with them certain disadvantages. For instance, using attack as a strategy backfires on a candidate as we have seen in the case of Trillanes when he released an attack ad against Duterte. At least for his TV ads, Duterte did not animate attacks or defenses precisely because he had other platforms to do—the televised presidential debates where he came off as direct and confrontational and his campaign rallies where he re-echoes an anti-establishment voice.

Duterte also did not bank much on “defending” as a strategy because a defense carries the risk of reminding voters about a candidate’s weakness (Devlin, 1995). The strategy of defending is used to respond to negative statements or attacks. In other words, one cannot defend without referring or alluding to attacks or negative statements which necessitate the defense. As a controversial candidate, Duterte used his ads to acclaim rather than defend. He launched two ads—one about children and the other about women—as a way to pre-empt controversies and attacks against his sexist remarks or supposed lack of regard for marginalized sectors in society.

Overall, crisis was Duterte’s brand (Curato, 2016)—“so much drugs and criminality flooding the country”, “*sobrana*”(enough is enough) and “*bata ang naiipitsagulo, karahasan*” (children are caught in the crossfire, violence). These messages appealed to an insecure, vulnerable public, that needed saving from the dangerous “other”. The “other” was the impending doom or disaster which the previous administration failed to avert—drugs, violence and criminality. Duterte’s rhetoric was characterized by the politics of “fear and hope” (Curato, 2016). Violence and disorder in Duterte’s ads employed the politics of fear. Duterte’s appearance in those ads as the “hero” provided contrast to fear. Duterte used slogans such as “*ang gulosabansa, kaya ni Duterte*” (Duterte can put an end to disorder) and “*TamasiDuterte*” (Duterte is right).

Duterte’s Populism

A hallmark of a populist is a pro-poor rhetoric, which blames the elites for inequality. Populists channel sentiments of the poor as they vow to champion their interests and promise to defeat entrenched elites responsible for the continued oppression of the masses (Thompson, 2010). In contrast, reformists proclaim that they will govern honestly in their name and believe that good governance is the solution to corruption. Duterte’s populism, however, is regarded as *penal*—characterized by an emphasis on fear, punishment and iron-handed leadership to restore peace, order and security in the country (Curato, 2016).

It must be noted that in Duterte's ads, competence, performance and success were also emphasized, because in the past, populists have been criticized for their supposed lack of experience in governance, expertise and track record (cases of former president Estrada and action star Fernando Poe Jr. who lost in the 2004 presidential elections). Duterte was packaged as "competent/performing/successful" in local government to ward off criticisms that populists are all about charisma, star appeal, popularity and patronage.

Duterte's ads also previewed a paternalistic flavor to his leadership in local government (Tatcho, 2018). Aside from boasting about how he made Davao City a safe place for women and children, Duterte's ads emphasized how "hands-on" he was—as though he was a next-door neighbor to everybody, never out of reach and always to the rescue. This paternalistic flavor to Duterte's image building established a close tie between Duterte and his people.

Duterte as a populist candidate used traits such as competence/performance/success and emphasized close relationships with the governed. Scholars have argued that patronage is the most pervasive campaign strategy (Kasuya, 2009) and is most prevalent in local elections (Perron, 2009). For Duterte, patronage was transposed in the symbolic medium of political advertising. This provided contrast to reform-oriented candidates where the qualities of honesty and integrity were the most common.

Reformism, as an alternative to the populist narrative, does not depend heavily on the pro-poor rhetoric as much as it highlights the stance of the candidates against corruption. Reform-oriented candidates emphasized honesty and integrity given the fall-out of populists who were charged and are facing allegations of corruption (Thompson, 2010). Calls for clean, good governance are very common among the reform-oriented candidates even as they view the elites as "partners" on the road to development. Populists emphasize the qualities of competence/performance and success while reformists touted integrity and honesty. It must be noted, however, that with Duterte's promise for a clean government, he is also able to co-opt reformist

themes and narratives. Duterte ran on a crime-busting platform that did not only appeal to the poor but tapped a multi-class support.

Duterte avoided an emphasis on the rich versus poor distinction by using issues which cut across classes—peace and order, safety and security. There is a political motivation for doing so because candidates are cautious not to alienate a major voting bloc (poor) while recognizing that the rich are also instrumental to one's success. As we know, the candidates are members of the elites themselves. It is also known that the elites are behind the well-oiled political machinery of the candidates.

Discourses in Duterte's Ads

I argue that Duterte's populism gave rise to two types of discourses—the *discourse of provision* and the *discourse of protection*. The discourse of provision assigns a paternalistic position to the candidates in view of the needs of their constituents. The leader/candidate is postured to provide "unconditionally" for the welfare/well-being of their people. Similar to the discourse of provision, the discourse of protection suggests that a candidate is the "savior/messiah" who can save the people from impending doom, disaster or the dangerous "other". In the most recent elections, the "other" was drugs, violence and criminality. The "savior/messiah" was Rodrigo Duterte. The discourse of protection targets something more basic than a person's welfare and well-being—the person's right to life and liberty (Tatcho, 2018).

Discourse of Provision: Leader as Parent/Paternalistic

The discourse of provision portrays the candidate as instrumental in providing infrastructure for the people to access healthcare, education, basic social services and employment. Candidates framed these functions in varied ways—Duterte's only ad about these issues (Cesar Montano's endorsement of Duterte) suggested that addressing peace and order or safety was the key to solving the economic woes of the country. He engendered a sense of fear, anxiety and vulnerability in his ads by suggesting that other candidates might not be as bold and tough enough to solve the economic woes of the country.

Duterte's imaging as a parent is also evident through the use of the "TatayDigong" label.

The discourse of provision cannot be detached from the fact that, as a Third World or developing country, our "basic" social services are still inaccessible. The fact that these basic social services remain inaccessible were hidden in the ads of the candidates. The ads suggested that candidates could "do it" or that the candidates could "provide for the people". This has implications on the way the candidates view or treat their audience. Since the candidates are the "providers", the citizens are the receivers/beneficiaries. The audience are relegated to a role of passivity where what they do to improve their lot in life is de-emphasized in favor of what a candidate can do for them.

The discourse of provision misleads some people into thinking that paternalistic leaders are all that matters when it comes to making material differences in one's life. On this note, the discussion on self-reliance for social mobility or the structural challenges on the road to progress are obliterated by a narrative of a leader capable of "providing". It is possible for ads to hint at values or ideals of self-reliance or be more realistic about their claims if their producers choose to do so. However, the ads stuck to the narrative that voters only need to trust their leaders who are capable of providing for them. While the discourse of provision casts paternalistic candidates in a favorable light, such discourse paints a picture of receivers/voters as passive and are unable to fend for themselves. The ads send the message that "trust" is enough for voters because a "hero" will "save the day" or provide for them. This is precisely why Duterte was also able to sell the idea that he can end labor contractualization, provide job security and rid the government of corruption, among other things. The problem with the discourse of provision becomes self-evident because a leader can only do so much in improving his/her people's situation in life.

De-emphasizing an individual's role in his/her own social mobility misinforms and manipulates the audience into believing that a candidate can always "provide". This reinforces patronage-driven

politics where personal relationships between patrons and their clients are maintained. As we know, such relationships are inequitable because only those who have connections or are networked with politicians have access to resources which should otherwise benefit everyone, especially the poor. Moreover, when a politician's role as provider no longer holds, people who are dependent on the candidates are left on their own. It is thus important for candidates to emphasize, even in their ads, that leadership is about enabling people to fend for themselves.

Discourse of Protection: The Case of a Weak State

Similar to the discourse of provision, the discourse of protection puts the state or the candidate in the position of a "savior" or "messiah" who can ensure safety and security for the people. The difference between the two discourses is the duty/task of the state or the candidate. In the discourse of provision, candidates ought to provide jobs, education, basic services or welfare to the people. In the discourse of protection, the candidate—particularly Duterte—was tasked to ensure the people's right to life, liberty and property through peace and order, safety and security.

While Binay, Defensor, Poe and Roxas all banked on the discourse of provision, Duterte capitalized on the discourse of protection. This worked to Duterte's advantage because while the other four candidates promised basic social services, Duterte tackled something even more fundamental—a person's right to life or liberty. After all, how could a person enjoy life or pursue happiness through welfare if his/her life has no protection? This is what I meant by Duterte prioritizing peace and order as a springboard to solving the economic woes of the country.

In the ads, the discourse of protection portrays the people as fearful, insecure and vulnerable. The harm of the discourse of protection was the lack of discussion about the cause of violence and criminality. Hence, the solution proposed—a candidate who could "protect" the people—also missed the larger dynamics of the problem. The discourse of protection did not mention anything about strengthening democratic institutions—a more effective police force, fast and fair

dispensation of justice through the criminal justice system, etc. The discourse of protection reinforced notions that deep-seated and long-standing problems could be solved by shortcuts and appeals to expediency.

Duterte's ads showed that criminals will be jailed, that Duterte will "strike" wrongdoers. However, his ads did not suggest anything more than punitive "justice" for erring citizens. His ads did not show an understanding of the causes and dynamics of the drug problem. They instead focused on the solution (Duterte himself). While ads are not expository in nature, it must be noted that Duterte's ads against drugs missed even simple references and allusions to an important part of the equation—causes of the problem or the root of the "evil". Duterte emphasized "penal populism" (Curato, 2106) where the emphasis is on punishments over rehabilitation as a way to dispense with justice.

The discourse of protection presented in Duterte's ads paid no attention to values or ideals of improving the criminal justice system, improving the police force and their systems, etc. The discourse resorted to shortcuts and appeals to expediency as the ads suggested that problems of crime and violence could be solved almost instantaneously. In the ads, the overnight solution was Duterte. This rhetoric reflected a weak Philippine state where people are hungry for reform and would rather see "justice" served even if it meant resorting to short cuts.

Advertising and Duterte's Presidency

Half-way through his term as president, Duterte still echoes the same rhetoric in his ads. Duterte's image as a strongman in his ads is reinforced by his policies on the war on drugs, declaration of Martial Law in Mindanao, and lowering the age of criminal responsibility. The discourses of provision and protection in Duterte's 2016 ads also de-emphasized the root cause of the problem of drugs and criminality. The discourses merely put a face on the problems (the poor, criminals, and victims of crimes) and identified solutions on the basis of personalities (Candidate X can provide, "kaya ni Duterte"). They feed the insecurity and vulnerability felt by poor Filipinos in order to peddle

the image of a candidate as provider or protector. Today, discussion on the drug war and the criminal age of responsibility still do not revolve around the problem of poverty and the need to institutionalize rehabilitation or reform over punishment in order to solve problems.

Duterte's ads (as well as the other candidates in the 2016 elections) were also replete with promises, nay, misinformation, which are regurgitated every election season (jobs, education, peace and order, etc.). It is not surprising to see the same themes recur in this year's elections. While the ads contain promises of change, we know that the candidates are still trying to solve problems in status quo and we can be sure that the same promises will resurface in succeeding elections. Candidates will continue to use populist and reformist narratives to attract votes from the biggest voting bloc—the poor—and as long as power remains in the hands of a select few. Discourses of provision and protection will continue to underscore the ads of the candidates as they show that they are paternalistic leaders.

In the 2016 elections, the presidential candidates constructed an overall picture of the Philippines as an underdeveloped country as a consequence of the discourses of provision and protection. The picture of the Philippines as underdeveloped was advanced as a political strategy because it allowed candidates to peddle an image which serves as a counterpoint to a bleak picture of the Philippines. For instance, showing mean streets, disorder, violence, crime and the politics of fear allowed Duterte to make a case for his methods as the hero who would avert a crisis.

Moreover, candidates avoid hinting at modernization or the progress made by the Philippines lest they acclaim their opponents or the previous administration's accomplishments. Candidates are cautious (and conscious) not to remind voters of their opponents' good deeds or accomplishments. Benoit (1999) considers this a classic challenger strategy as to take away votes from opponents. This is why Duterte made no mention of the Aquino administrations' attempt at modernizing the Armed Forces of the Philippines or its efforts at defending our national security.

In general, the picture of underdevelopment is shown through the subjects of the ads and their narratives, the candidates' positioning on issues and their promises, and the setting/location shots in the ads. The subjects in the ads of the candidates were the poor, jobless, sobbing plain folks who are thankful for the help of candidates. Their shared narrative is one of neediness, being helped and being thankful. They shared their challenges and struggles in relation to jobs, education, health care and social services such as potable water. It is not surprising that their sentiments centered on these issues. These have become stock issues during elections and candidates in turn make standard pronouncements to address these issues (Kasuya, 2009).

In the end, the overall image of the country constructed by the candidates is bleak, one that dismisses the progress made by the country over the years and ignores even the country's attempts at modernization, infrastructure development and economic initiatives. An example of an attempt at modernization is the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) modernization plan which was never mentioned in the ads. There was also no mention about the joint military exercises undertaken by the Philippines with other superpowers. Similarly, the Philippines' victory in the South China Sea/West Philippine Sea dispute was never brought up in the ads. Instead, Duterte chose to say that his "toughness" and "boldness" will put an end to crime, restore peace and order and even defend our national sovereignty.

While the AFP modernization plan, joint military exercises, and Philippine-China relations may be subject to a shift in policy (as these form part of Benigno Aquino's agenda), Duterte's choice to drown these issues out in favor of his image as savior and hero ("*kailanganlang ng tapang at malasakit*") (all one needs are courage and compassion) reinforces the notion of a weak Philippine state. This contributes to an image of the country as underdeveloped because in the discourse of protection, citizens were shown as desperate, vulnerable and willing to employ controversial methods proposed by their leaders to end crime and violence.

Duterte's failure to coopt the role of institutions such as the AFP and the criminal justice system in his crime-busting platform did nothing to suggest that Philippines is on the road to progress and development. In sum, it's not only the way that ad makers portrayed plain folks, their narratives and setting/location of the ads which made for a bleak picture of the Philippines. The picture of underdevelopment in the Philippines was also influenced by the candidate's traditional approach to discussing issues—the emphasis on personality and the appeals to expediency over co-opting institutions or ensuring that current systems are at work in the Philippines.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

Duterte's focus on crime and violence made him a candidate who had expressly differentiated himself from the pack while establishing points of convergence with them. The image established in Duterte's ads was one that is already publicly known, expected and even clamored for. It did not try to "reimagine" or "reinvent" Duterte and this had been crucial because voters did not have to confront dissonance or spot spin-doctoring if Duterte's image-handlers chose to "soften" or "polish" Duterte's image. Talk about misinformation and manipulation.

However, there is a caveat to Duterte's image building. The discourses on provision and protection which were animated by Duterte's populist narrative suggest that a certain personality could solve the economic and political woes of the country. They painted a picture of voters as passive, child-like, insecure and vulnerable in favor of reinforcing an image of a candidate as a "hero," "savior" or "messiah".

These discourses are symptomatic of the patronage-driven and personality politics in the Philippines. They continue to suggest that a certain image/candidate can solve deep-seated/long-standing problems such as crime and violence or poverty. The ads mask the reality that self-reliance and structural limitations are important considerations to social mobility. They also suggest that complex issues can be solved through the use of short cuts and appeals to expediency. In spite of the fact that majority of the ads were focused on issues, the ads misinform and continue to perpetuate glittering

generalities and avoid calling out the elites or ruling class for continued inequality.

The strategies used by Duterte for image building also served as a smokescreen for Philippine realities such as the continued inaccessibility of basic social services, same old promises which are regurgitated in different election seasons, and the role of elites behind the well-oiled political machinery of certain candidates. The ads were replete with promises, which missed important discussions as they served the political interests of the candidates who commissioned them. It is in this larger context that advertising can be understood as propaganda. By propaganda, I do not refer to deliberate misinformation. In line with the process of image building, advertising is a medium that highlights and focuses on specific “truths” or realities—soundbites that favor a particular agenda. Thus, they must be critically analyzed as sources of information.

The case of the most recent elections also showed that candidates deliberately leave the pragmatics when it comes to their promises, such that their promises become motherhood statements, standard pronouncements, or pet policies (Kasuya, 2009). The ideological weakness of political parties also plays a part in the lack of candidates’ programmatic association with certain issues (Quimpo, 2007). Candidates churn out promises even as the political parties they represent do not have a track record of addressing certain issues or effecting policies.

On a related note, ads can only focus on a number of issues (one issue per particular ad) and thus cannot offer a smorgasbord. Thus, candidates mention stock issues. The issue topics in the ads of the candidates were employment (jobs provision, income tax, labor contractualization), access to education (private/public schooling scholarships, school supplies), health care (hospitalization, medicines, benefits for senior citizens), basic social services (public transportation, relief operations, potable water) and peace and order. These topics target the concerns of the lower middle class to socio-economic classes D & E. This is not surprising because socio-economic classes C, D and E constitute the biggest voting bloc.

I thus propose the use of social media and the continued airing of the Philippine presidential debates to elevate the level of political discourses during presidential campaigns. In the most recent elections, there was marginal engagement between and among the ads of the candidates. The ads of the candidates were not used for responding attack ads, which are not prevalent in the Philippines. The ads do not rebut, engage or respond to each other. Instead, they reference the pronouncements of the candidates in other platforms.

If image and issue topics are to be scrutinized openly in a democratic space that allows for dissent, then presidential debates must continue to ground the promises made by candidates in their TV ads. The presidential debates can also animate the constructive use of attacks and defenses which are not optimized in TV ads that capitalize on “acclaiming”. The return of the televised debates, coupled with social media use and engagement, has signaled a more accessible and inclusive platform for political awareness and participation. While much can be done about the format, nature of questions and rules of the debate, these platforms serve to check and further scrutinize the pronouncements made by the candidates in their TV ads; thus, veering away from media misinformation and manipulation.

Selected References

- Aquino, T., Bolante, M., & Mercado, J. (2016). Where, when, and how much were the presidential candidates spending? *Interaksyon*. Retrieved from <http://interaksyon.com/article/127342/where-when-and-how-much-were-the-presidential-candidates-spending>.
- Benoit, W. L. (1999). *Seeing spots: A functional analysis of Presidential television advertisements, 1952-1996*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Benoit, W. L. (2000). A functional analysis of political advertising across media, 1998. *Communication Studies*, 51, 274-295.
- Benoit, W. L. (2007). *Communication in political campaigns*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Benoit, W. L. & Airne, D. (2005). A functional analysis of American vice-presidential debates. *Argumentation and Advocacy* 41: 225-236.
- Benoit, W. L. & Harthcock, A. (1999). Functions of the great debates: Acclaims, attacks, and defenses in the 1960 Presidential debates. *Communication Monographs*, 66, 341-357.

- Benoit, W.L. & Klyukovski, A.A. (2006). A functional analysis of 2004 Ukrainian presidential debates. *Argumentation* 20: 209-225.
- Benoit, W.L. & Sheaffer, T. (2006). Functional theory and political discourse: Televised debates in Israel and the United States. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 83(2): 281-297.
- Commission on Elections Web site. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.comelec.gov.ph/?r=References/RelatedLaws/ElectionLaws/OtherElectionLaws/RA9006>
- Curato, N. (2016). Flirting with authoritarian fantasies? Rodrigo Duterte and the new terms of Philippine populism. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 2016: 1-12.
- De Landtsheer, C., De Vries, P., & Vertessen, D. (2008). Political impression management: How metaphors, sound bites, appearance effectiveness, and personality traits can win elections. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 7(3-4), 217-238.
- Del Mundo Jr., C. (2003). *Telebisyon: An essay on Philippine television*. Manila: Cultural Center of the Philippines and the National Commission for Culture and the Arts.
- Devlin, L. P. (1995). Political commercials in American presidential elections. In L. L. Kaid & Holtz-Bacha (Eds.), *Political advertising in Western democracies: Parties and candidates on television*. California: Sage Publications.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media discourse*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Frey, L., Botan, C., & Krepes, G. (1999). *Investigating communication: An introduction to research methods*. (2nd ed.) Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Holtz-Bacha, C., Johansson, B., Leidenberger, J., Maarek, P. J., & Merkle, S. (2012). Advertising for Europe TV ads during the 2009 European election campaign in four countries. *Nordicom Review* 33(2), 77-92.
- Isotalus, P. (2011). Analyzing presidential debates: Functional theory and Finnish political communication culture. *Nordicom Review*, 32, 31-43.
- Jamieson, K. H., & Birdsell, D. S. (1988). *Presidential Debates: the Challenge of Creating an Informed Electorate*. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc.
- Johnson-Cartee, K., & Copeland, G. (1997). *Inside political campaigns: Theory and practice*. US: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc.
- Juholin, E. (2001). Image or substance? Candidate or campaign? A case study of a presidential election campaign in Finland. *Corporate Communications*, 6(3), 124-130.
- Kasuya, Y. (2009). *Presidential Bandwagon: Parties and Party Systems in the Philippines*. Manila: Anvil Publishing, Inc.
- McCargo, D. (2016). Duterte's Mediated Populism. *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 38 (2): 185-190.
- Newman, B. (1999). *The mass marketing of politics*. California, USA: Sage Publication, Inc.
- Perron, L. (2009). Election campaigns in the Philippines. In D. W. Johnson (Ed.),

- Routledge Handbook of Political Management. New York: Taylor & Francis.
- Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism (Producer). (2004). *Papogi: The Imaging of Philippine Presidents* [Video recording]. Quezon City: PCIJ, 2004.
- Quimpo, N. (2007). The Philippines: Political parties and corruption". *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 2007,277-294.
- Sanders, K. (2009). *Communicating politics in the Twenty-First Century*. NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Tatcho, O. (2018). Duterte's image building in the 2016 Philippine presidential debates. *SEARCH: The Journal for South East Asia Research Centre for Communication and Humanities*, 10(2), 1-30.
- Teehankee, J. (2010). Image, issues, and machinery: Presidential campaigns in post-1986 Philippines. In Y. Kasuya& N. G. Quimpo (Eds.), *The politics of change in the Philippines*. Pasig City: Anvil Publishing.
- Thompson, M. R. (2010). Populism and the revival of reform: Competing political narratives in the Philippines. *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, 32(1), 1-28.
- The Presidency as Image. (2004, May 6). *The Investigative Reporting Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://pcij.org/imag/2004Elections/PhotoEssay/image.html>.

Appendix A: Links to sources of screenshots

Figure 1

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ViaVm-42PWw>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rKWStHGyOEO>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sGlrHtDO83o>

<https://www.rappler.com/nation/politics/elections/2016/125794-duterte-political-ad-davao-city>

Figure 2

<https://www.rappler.com/nation/politics/elections/2016/125794-duterte-political-ad-davao-city>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GTc595511sY>

About the Author

Orville B. Tatcho is an Assistant Professor at the Department of Communication, University of the Philippines Baguio. He is currently taking his PhD at the College of Communication and Information Sciences, University of Alabama on a Fulbright-CHED scholarship. His research interests include rhetoric and political discourse, and critical and cultural studies. (Correspondence: orvilletatcho@gmail.com)