

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Populism is radically changing the global political landscape. Scholars debate whether it is a style, doctrine, a political strategy, and a marketing scheme. Thus, populism seems to become stronger and more intellectuals criticize it. But the term “populism” used to have more precise meaning (Kyle & Gultchin, 2018; Rose, 2016; Stanley, 2008a). Historically, populism has come in left and right-wing variants. In the 19th century political movements, the term populism was first used to describe a particular interest group (Mudde & Mudde, 2018). The first was the United States People's Party in the 1890s known for its agrarian movement (De Cleen, Glynos, & Mondon, 2018). The action's motives were customized to oppose the championed skepticism of railways and demonetization, banks, and political elites (Klingemann, 2004). They implemented the moniker “populist” from the Latin “Populus,” which means the people and to get rid of the plutocrats, the aristocrats, all the other rats, and install the people in power was their main objective.

The second movement involved the term populism was the Russian Narodnichestvo in the 1860s and 1870s (Chadwick, 2014; S. L. Friedman, 2017; Knight, 1998). Accordingly, a movement of intellectuals and revolutionary students who value rural peasants and firmly believed that to overturn the tsarist rule, they need to form an insurrectionary movement (Kyle & Gultchin, 2018). As a result, a belief

established that power is in the right place with agrarian workers rather than with the urban elite (Abts & van Kessel, 2015; K. Hawkins, Read, & Pauwels, 2017; Mudde & Mudde, 2018).

In the 1950s, populism came into broader use because it became involved in phenomena as diverse as political movements associated with charismatic leaders in Latin America. Such as Juan Peron in Argentina or Getulio Vargas in Brazil, McCarthyism in the US, and military coups in Africa are championing social revolution known as Jerry Rawlings in Ghana (Mény & Surel, 2009). As follows, populism captured public attention almost everywhere. However, as with any "ism," definitions are crucial. Cass Mudde (2018) defines populism as a "thin ideology" that separates society into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, "the pure people" and "the corrupt elite" and claim that politics should be an expression of "the general will of the people." It means a different thing to different groups, but all varieties share a suspicion of and hostility toward elites, established institutions, and the mainstream of politics (Abts & van Kessel, 2015; Brubaker, 2017; Moffitt, 2017). Hence, populism perceived itself as speaking for the forgotten "ordinary" person and claim itself as the voice of genuine patriotism. The only solution to decades of disastrous rule by elites is an impudent blend of the popular will (Mudde & Mudde, 2018).

The concept of populism is so difficult to pin down because it follows other "isms" like communism, liberalism, nationalism, or socialism usually assert themselves as communist, liberalist, nationalist or socialist (K. A. Hawkins, 2009; Klingemann, 2004). Hence, populists,

by contrast, rarely call themselves populist. Along these lines, almost always scholars, journalists, and other actors, unlike the movements themselves who label incidents as a populist (Hellmann, 2017; Kazin, 2018; Kyle & Gultchin, 2018). Thus, most of the time, political opponents throw the label rather than used to compare and understand political movements delicately. In line with that, populism as "thick ideologies" for example communism have a visualize for how politics, the economy, and society ordered, in which populism does not (K. A. Hawkins & Rovira Kaltwasser, 2017; Moffitt, 2017; Mudde & Mudde, 2018; Stavrakakis, 2017). For instance, populism adheres to overturning the political establishment but insufficient in a solution to replace it (Ernst, Engesser, Büchel, Blassnig, & Esser, 2017). Cass Mudde (2018) compares populism with pluralism, which acknowledges the legitimacy of many different groups in society. In this manner, populism lacks a specific view on how politics, society, and the economy should organize. It can merge with a form of different ideologies and policies comprising both right- and left-wing variants (Webb & Curato, 2018a).

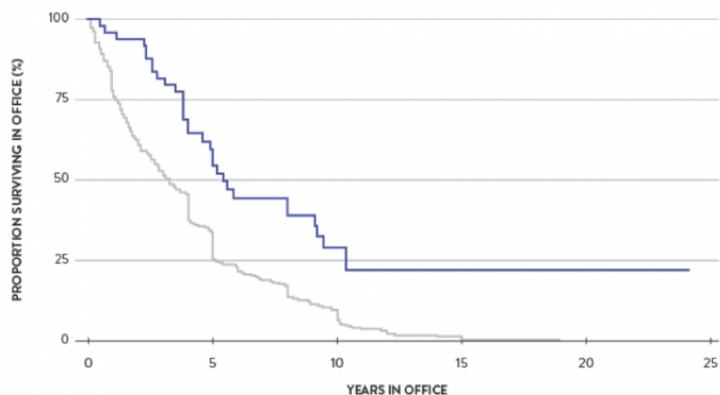
Familiar as the term "populism" has become, populism itself is an abstract concept. The strategy of the politicians who seek popularity by appealing to the electorate's feelings was most of the time, and populism was depicted (T. Friedman, 2003). The exact populist movements share some common fundamental elements known as an appeal to the excluded. The populist claim represents a neglected majority by challenging the underserving but powerful minority (Tria Kerkvliet, 2009). As follows, despite casting themselves as tribunes of

the people, populist leaders are likely to come from the elite as they appear from the lower classes (Canovan, 2004; Kazin, 2018; Moffitt, 2015b; Stanley, 2008a). Through the support of the masses, they seek legitimacy, and populist favor top-down control (Mudde & Mudde, 2018). They established mass movements to increase their power, and for some not to truly change the system (Teehankee, 2016). In this way, populist must hold together a complex political combination. And to this end, the economic policies redistributionist often employed. The populist creates new social programs, upgrade up spending, and take control of the parts of the economy (Ernst et al., 2017). As a result of some populist movements make up a short-term economic boom better for their follower. But for some effect, government largess, inflation rate, debts build, business scale back operation, and economic crises arise (Arditi, 2003; Newman, 2012).

Contemporary populism is primarily associated with the radical right. The most prominent examples of modern populist in media articles and academic are radical right parties like Jorg Haider's FPO, Jean-Marie Le Pen's FN or Pauline Hanson's One Nation (Knight, 1998; Moffitt, 2015b; Raúl L. Madrid, 2008; Repository, 2017; Weyland, 2007). The, increasingly, non-radical right parties are also included in the classification of 'right-wing populism', most remarkably Silvio Berlusconi's Forza Italia or Pim Fortuny's LPF. On the other hand, populism can also found on the radical left (T. Friedman, 2003). One of the most well-known left-wing populists in post-war Europe is the former French businessman Bernard Tapie. He, had a scandal-ridden

political career in both the Socialist Party and the outsider Radical Party mainstream (Kriesi, 2013). Hence, left-wing populism is commonly most vigorous among outsider parties, such as the East German Party of Democratic Socialism, the Scottish Socialist Party, or the Dutch Socialist Party (Mudde & Mudde, 2018; Müller, 2016; Rose, 2016).

Consequently, left-wing populist parties combine a democratic socialist ideology with a persuasive populist discourse. They present themselves as the vox populi, also known as the “voice of the people” (K. Hawkins et al., 2017). Furthermore, Figure 1 shows a proportion of (vertical axis) leaders in office after a certain number of years in office (horizontal axis). The blue line corresponds to the portion of populist leaders surviving, while the grey line corresponds non-populist. As figure 1.1 denotes, the possibility of a populist remaining in office is consistently higher than when a non-populist remains in office.



Source: Abts, K., & van Kessel, S. (2015).¹

¹ Abts, K., & van Kessel, S. (2015). *Populism. International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences: Second Edition*. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.93102-7>

Many commentators and academicians are sounding alarmed about the rising populism as a threat to the stability of liberal democracies. Considering the assortment forms of populism as the multifaceted expressions of political pathology (Tria Kerkvliet, 2009). According to Taguieff,

In the ordinary language of today, populism makes the ideas of demophily and demagoguery coexist. In its constitutive ambiguity, populism can be considered an ideological corruption of democracy if we consider that democracy, founded upon transmissible principles, implies, in Proudhon's words, the willingness to teach and educate the people rather than to seduce it (Taguieff, 1997: 18-19).²

The definition of populism suggests being able to measure its deterioration by reference to an accepted standard. Thus, pathology is meaningful only by affinity with a situation defined as usual, and the case is least problematic (Bjerre-poulsen, 1986; Kenny, 2018; Müller, 2016). Democracy is a system of fundamental values and a procedural mechanism, identified as 'the rules of the game.' Any mention of pathology will inevitably include the definition of democracy, and this depends upon from one political setting to another (Bickerton & Invernizzi Accetti, 2017; K. Hawkins et al., 2017; Kriesi, 2013).

In addition, Taggart (2000) argues that populism as pathology, representative politics, no longer acquires the contradiction between populism and democracy. But rather than between the representative

² Taguieff, P. (1997). Populism and Political Science : From Conceptual Illusions to Real Problems, (56).

democracy as the usual form of democracy and populism. Along these lines, Margaret Canova (1999) suggests from the reference to the people is the characteristic feature that unites all those who claim to be democratic. Even though 'the people' is the common denominator, and the people's role and place in any political system are highly belligerent (Gidron & Bonikowski, 2014; Laclau, 2005; Stanley, 2008a). Because today even the dictatorial regimes pretend to rule in the name of the people. As a result, populism cannot designate as anti-democratic (Rooduijn, de Lange, & van der Brug, 2014). On the other hand, one may wonder why populism is seemingly negatively given this proximity and affinity with the democratic principle. The answer is simple: populism, as with any other concept, is an empty shell that can be occupied and made meaningful by whatever is poured into it (Hellmann, 2017).

Furthermore, political scientists, journalists, and even many politicians are more anxious about the stability of liberal democracy. Hence, in the literature of the 'crisis of democracy,' back in many decades the liberty and self-determination were threatened by the midst of a democratic recession (Engesser, Ernst, Esser, & Büchel, 2017). As a result, the world in real-time witnessing a process of decay or decomposition in a stable democracy and might even challenge by a threat of a rise of another kind of fascism (Canovan, 2004; Mudde, 2004; Stanley, 2008b). Besides, for the past 12 years, more countries have shifted away from liberal democracy (Kyle & Gultchin, 2018). Populist newcomers across the West have taken high power, and populist in many countries have gained control. Such as Hungary and Turkey that

inflicting severe damage on the institution of democracies. In a lot of striking contemporary evidence, the rise of authoritarian populism poses a particular and modernistic challenge to the stability of liberal democracy (Boyraz, 2018; Gurov & Zankina, 2013; Pankowski, 2010).

Moreover, explicit or implicit sets of theories bestowed on the empirical assumption, populism can either be a feature or a bug of ongoing democratic resilience or democratic decay (Arditi, 2003; C. R. Kaltwasser, 2014; Peruzzotti, 2017). Some people believed that democracy is in crisis, which populist government often leads to lasting and significant democratic institution deterioration (Aleksanyan, 2013; Cheibub, Przeworski, Limongi Neto, & Alvarez, 1996; Dahl, 2017). On the other hand, some believe that populism presents a significant opportunity to deepen democracy and has a positive impact on the political system by establishing a new opportunity for political participation (Mudde & Mudde, 2018). Besides, others perceived populism, on the contrary, as a sign of democratic flexibility, limit the excessive power of elites. As well as, providing an essential corrective that will help address popular protest and make political systems more democratic (Ernst et al., 2017).

In recent years, from the left and right, the voters increasingly choose a populist leader. In countries with long democratic traditions and history, an increasing number of elected populist leaders found (S. L. Friedman, 2017; K. Hawkins et al., 2017; Rose, 2016; Stavrakakis, 2014). Some claim that the cause of this rise is the lack of inclusive growth and globalization (Bartlett, 2014; Engesser, Fawzi, & Larsson,

2017; Postill, 2018). In which, part of the population has not benefited from the economy and understandably, a skepticism that makes populist style appealing. While populism is widespread through North America and Europe, it is also making advances in Southeast Asia (Tria Kerkvliet, 2009). The populist in Southeast Asia is different in North America and Europe (SarDesai, 2013; Tria Kerkvliet, 2009). They give emphasis less on immigration and trade. The Southeast Asian populist concentrate on ethnic divides and spurring religious, opposing to drug trafficking, specifically methamphetamines and appealing to the working and lower-middle classes (Curato, 2017a; Desker, 2016; Webb & Curato, 2018b, 2019).

Nevertheless, in the populism literature, the issues that were encounter are moved into a field of scientific inquiry concerning populist leadership (Sanders, 2019). Thus, literature in general assumption perceived populist leadership as a prerequisite to charismatic (McDonnell, 2016). Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser (2014) argue that the presence of ‘flamboyant and strong figures’ is either implicit or explicit in principal conceptual approaches to populism (discourse, style, or strategy) and the underpinning cultural-performative approach. A first criticism center on charisma as a notion that does not follow for a kind of definitional clarity associated with (Mudde, 2004; Pappas, 2016a); another is that it tends to disprove the long tradition of populism leaderless (Kaltwasser, 2017; McDonnell, 2016;); and third its polishes over the inner contradiction between ‘charismatic leader’ and populism as ‘an expression of popular will’ (Galito, 2018: 57, cited in Bezio and

Goethals, 2018: 508). Besides, literature has considerable difficulty to extricate from the notion of charismatic leadership. A populist leadership by two leading proponents of the ideational approach takes goes back to a relativistic square one – 'it all depends':

The links between political leadership and populism are much more complicated, as much of the literature suggests. Given that populism is an ideology that has appeared in different times and places, a great variety of concrete manifestations of populism exist. This means that the historical and regional context in which populism arises is critical for understanding its specific characteristics, including the type of political leadership. Thus, future studies should examine under which conditions populism fosters or hinders the emergence of strong leadership. At the same time, cross-regional research could help to identify subtypes of populism, which defend not only particular conceptions of 'the pure people' and 'the corrupt elite' but also show different leadership styles and approaches to deal with the presence or absence of strong leaders (Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser, 2014).³

In this paper, the researcher focuses on the Philippines' case, a manifestation of populism attributed to the democratic deficit and a weak institution—the inadequacy of democratic institutions to address public demands. The deficit is direct to the predominance personalities over institutionalized political parties (Rubic-remorosa, 2018; Terms, 2016; Mark R. Thompson, 2019; Villegas, 2009). In this manner, the paradox is that deficits in democracy produce an opportunity for a populist to further strengthens the tendency for personalities over parties (Mény &

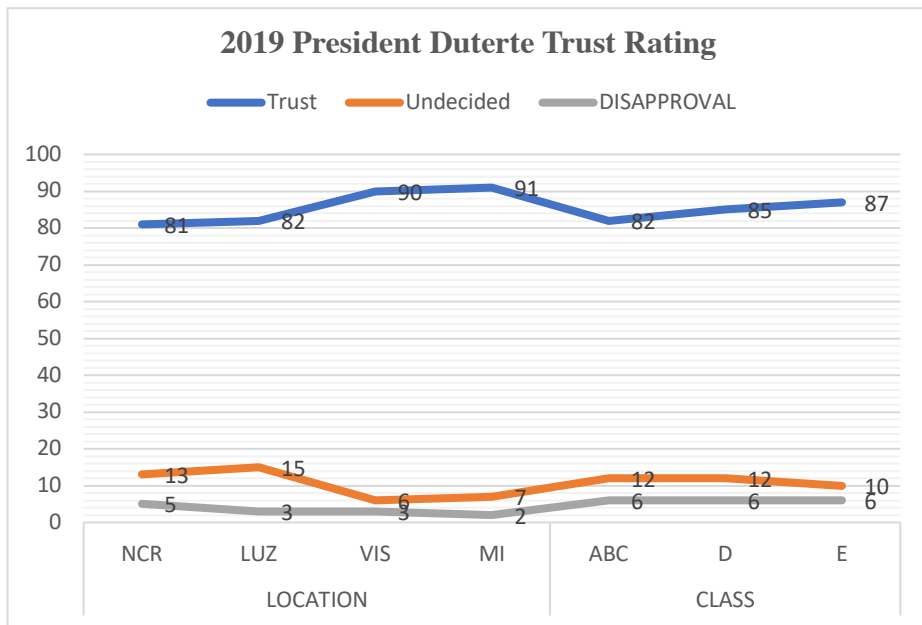
³ Mudde, C. & Kaltwasser, R. (2017). Populism. A Very Short Introduction. Oxford University Press.

Surel, 2009). Thus, institutions might also weaken under a populist regime. According to some political scientists, this will include electoral integrity. However, the circumstances that populists succeed in winning the election means that electoral integrity was defected, to begin with (T. Friedman, 2003).

The Philippines in Asia is one of the oldest democracies with a long election experience and democratic institution formation. It is tempting to say that the Philippines is a copycat of the US as a former colonial state (Curato, 2017a; E.-L. Hedman, 2014; McCoy, 2017; Ordoñez & Borja, 2018a). But that might not be a suitable description of the challenges of democracy of both countries are facing (McCoy, 2017). The Philippines, in many cases, had Marcos dictatorship for twenty years. Whereas, many compare Rodrigo Duterte to Donald Trump in the way they use unfiltered language. Their unpredictable attitude towards democratic institutions and they're having a solid base of support. In some aspect, it might be accurate that Philippines mirror US (Kerkvliet, 2009; Kusaka, 2018; Routledge & Paredes, 2006). And this would not be too surprising given the colonial legacies that last but also brought pervasive and unintended consequences (Teehankee, 2016). The democratic deficit suffered by the Philippines traced to the enduring effects of the elite and political structures that began since the colonial state apparatus (Anderson, 1988; Mark R. Thompson, 2010; Wurfel, 2015).

Philippine President Rodrigo Roa Duterte's dirty mouth and deadly war on drugs show global media attention (M R Thompson,

2016). But there is something about a populist leadership style of Duterte that blow Philippine politics because of his trends. Duterte-style of populism cut across classes, genders, generations, and the political spectrum that resulted in contradictions and conflicts in the society (Curato, 2017a; Desker, 2016; E. L. E. Hedman, 2001). For many, Duterte matches the sort of a typical Asian strongman. He is a harsh talking leader with barely regards for liberal rights (Curato, 2017a; McCoy, 2017; Rubic-remorosa, 2018; Mark R. Thompson, 2019). He disregards foreign intervention and recognizes criticism against his administration as a personal attack (Webb & Curato, 2018a). Furthermore, the Philippines is once again headed toward the return of the "national boss rule," after the thirty years of a bloodless revolution that exiled the dictator Ferdinand Marcos (Curato, 2019). Despite the criticism overseas, Duterte remained popular in the Philippines and registered to more than 80% popularity rating for almost three years into his presidency (Pulse Asia, 2019) See (figure 1.2).



Source: Pulse Asia Research INC ⁴

Furthermore, Duterte started to national fame by turning Davao on the southern island of Mindanao, formerly a source of communist insurgency and crime into disciplines and progressive city that has attracted many investments (Curato, 2017a, 2019; Kerkvliet, 2009). But this alteration derived with a hefty price. Because the mayor has gained a reputation through using tedious-handed strategies and extrajudicial killings to fight criminality, most notably the drug trafficking and narcotics (Tria Kerkvliet, 2009). Hence, after some initial uncertainty, Duterte jumped into the presidential race with one basic campaign description. Through any means possible, including declaring martial

⁴ Pulse Asia Research INC. (2019). June 2019 Nationwide Survey on the Performance and Trust Ratings of the Top Philippine Government Officials. Retrieved May 1, 2019, from <http://www.pulseasia.ph/june-2019-nationwide-survey-on-the-performance-and-trust-ratings-of-the-top-philippine-government-officials>

law and extrajudicial killing, he will restore peace and order in the Philippines (Curato, 2017a; E. L. E. Hedman, 2001; Lemos & Gould, 2006; Marcos, 1978). Besides, in 1988 when Duterte first elected as mayor, Davao citizens entered into a Hobbesian social contract, which permitted him to rule with an iron-fist in exchange for personal security and social peace (Webb & Curato, 2018a). Currently, elected as the president, it remains to consider whether the entire Filipino nation will be doing the same with Duterte (McCoy, 2017; Terms, 2016; Villegas, 2009).

Accordingly, President Rodrigo Duterte, in numerous news articles, is being posted online every day in both global and local websites of reputed news networks. His popularity has also directed to his noticeably being a significant part of the daily news exposure in some parts of international society and of the Filipinos community (“Rodrigo Duterte: One Year on, as popular as ever,” 2017). Savage, erratic, unpredictable, firebrand, strongman, punisher – both international and national media has assigned different descriptive words to the Philippine president (Duterte: From 'Punisher' to Philippines president,” 2016). As for the academe’s description of Duterte, Kundu (2016), a research assistant for Southeast Asia and Oceania Centre, says in a research of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA):

President Rodrigo Roa Duterte, the powerful seven-term mayor of Davao city, was elected as the new president of The Philippines in May 2016 with an approximately 39 percent of vote share. His landslide victory in the presidential

election was primarily attributed to his over two decades of administrative experience as the longest-serving city mayor.⁵

With this in mind, this research aims to explore President Duterte's incoherence stance on populism in foreign and domestic. This study also centers on Duterte's brand of populism in policies. The researcher believes that these policies have a high degree of incoherence and inconsistency in Duterte's brand of populism, namely: foreign policies, build build build program and the war on drugs policy. Moreover, this study focuses on the effects of the mainstream media and frames constructed by media outlets to present President Duterte. Hence, the researcher also considers the current condition of public opinion on the president to produce an evaluation of President Duterte's popularity standing on his term. Thus, the research aims to identify and collect information through mainstream media and differences in framing the Philippine president on online articles retrieved from local and international websites.

1.2 Research Problem

With this in mind, this research aims to investigate President Duterte's incoherence stance on populism in foreign and domestic policies. Moreover, this research shall also investigate the Duterte's domestic policies and foreign policies. The study explore his administration's most criticized policies, and suggest that there is a high degree of incoherence and inconsistency in Duterte's brand of populism,

⁵ Ranada, P. (2016). Rody Duterte: The man, the mayor, the president. Retrieved September 31, 2019, from <https://www.rappler.com/newsbreak/in-depth/137583-rodrigo-duterte-philippine-president-profile>.

namely: War on drugs, Philippine-China relation, and Build build program. By analyzing President Duterte's populism through the application of a primary and secondary source of data, this research seeks to answer the following question:

To what extent do President Duterte's policies show a mixed picture as regards the claim to populism? And why do President Duterte's policies show an incoherence stance on populism?

1.3 Objectives

This study has evaluated President Duterte, and the assessment involves a discussion from the rise of his political career covering domestic policies to his foreign policies. Hence, it can be assumed that Duterte's presidency has delivered an impact on the field of global politics strong enough to incite scholars and analysts to make him an academic study subject. The unconventional leadership of the Philippine president has made him a fascinating subject. President Duterte has been involved in numerous controversies such as his cursing of the European Union, the Pope, and the former American President Barrack Obama ("Rodrigo Duterte's most controversial comments," 2016). These issues also consist of how he narrates the criminal execution during his term in Davao City as mayor and his praise for Adolf Hitler's mass murder (Phippen, 2016).

This study aims to understand President of Rodrigo Duterte's incoherence stance on populism in foreign/domestic policies that become both important and timely. To fully grasp the reason behind the

unconventional leadership style of President Duterte, the study has drawn to his administration's most criticized policies since he took power in June 2016. The controversial policies include rejecting the pro-Western approach, followed by the previous Aquino administration, and adopting a China-friendly one. Second, his Build, Build, Build initiative that the Philippines' government intends to invest up to US\$175 billion three years on, many projects are still on the drawing board, resulting in Duterte having little to show China (Remon, 2019). Third, his war on crime and drugs which involved thousands of alleged extrajudicial killings. Thus, considerable coverage of the mainstream media has given these issues led to a diffusion of President Duterte news on a frequent and large scale.

1.4 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study is narrow in terms of its scope and methodology. The study will be undertaken in the Philippines as a manifestation of President Duterte's populism versus foreign/domestic policies. The study used a mixed-method that employed Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), content text analysis, and quantitative analysis through existing official statistics of Duterte's trust rating rate and policy outcome. The research selected Duterte's official statement from the different trend of issues published in the Philippine mainstream of media, concerning his leadership and controversial policies from 2016-2020, as the main components in gathering data. The scope and limitation of this study constitute of the following matters:

First, President Duterte's bicephalous leadership populist at home and pragmatic abroad to identify the dichotomy in Duterte's leadership style. This study uses CDA to survey the Philippines' mainstream media and social media, as well as Duterte's discourses and policies, between 2016 and 2019. A number of scholarly papers are used to provide academic depth to the analysis. To explore the populist nature of Duterte's leadership, this work adopts Engesser et al.'s (2017)⁶ values define a populist leader's discourse, including sovereignty of the people, advocating for the people, attacking the elite, ostracizing others, and invoking the "heartland." As for the pragmatic component, this research uses the defining characteristics of a pragmatic leader offered by Mumford and Van Doorn (2001)⁷, including the exercise of influence through the use of elite social relationships, appeals to existing shared values, effective communication of the merits of a plan, persuasion and negotiation through demonstration projects, and entrepreneurial ability to tap both technical and social opportunities for innovation.

Second, the news media framing of Duterte's build, build build program presents dominant frames used by the widely-circulated newspapers in the Philippines (namely, Philippine Daily Inquirer, The Manila Times, and Sunstar). This study analyzes newspapers from 2016-

⁶ Engesser, S., Fawzi, N., & Larsson, A. O. (2017). Populist online communication: introduction to the special issue. *Information Communication and Society*, 20(9), 1279–1292. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2017.1328525>

⁷ Mumford, M. D., Antes, A. L., Caughron, J. J., & Friedrich, T. L. (2008). Charismatic, ideological, and pragmatic leadership: Multi-level influences on emergence and performance. *Leadership Quarterly*, 19(2), 144–160. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2008.01.002>

2019. Furthermore, this paper also displays their discourse on both the positive and negative narratives which accelerate the formation of different opposing perceptions of the "golden age of infrastructure" of Duterte's administration.

Third, the chasm between discourse and facts in President Duterte's war on drugs explores Duterte's promises and the actual achievements and failures of his policy by adopting the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). To do so, Duterte's discourse is classified by examining relevant official statements between 2016 and 2020, and the actual achievements and failures through government reports and mainstream media. Furthermore, this study evaluates Filipino high approval rate for Duterte and his war on drugs that expose the fact that despite the numerous failures in his policies, Duterte still supported by his countrymen.

With this in mind, future research may concentrate on these limitations and explore the new method in analyzing the influence of populism ideology and President Duterte's leadership style in the Philippines.

1.5 Conceptual Definition

This section provides definition of terms that are unusual or unfamiliar. It identifies precisely the names of concepts or terms employed in the study.

Bicephalous – for this study's purpose, the term refers to or describes President Duterte as an illustration of a double-headed leader.

Having two heads which mean that populist on the right side and pragmatic on the left side.

Chasm – for this study's purpose, the term refers to deep analysis or understanding of President Duterte's discourse and facts towards his policies.

Davao Death Squad – for this study, the term refers to is a vigilante group in Davao City. The group is alleged to have conducted summary executions of street children and individuals suspected of petty crimes and drug dealing

Discourse – for this study's purpose, the term refers to President Duterte's communication of thought through conversation, talk, and words he used to address his foreign and domestic policies.

Defensive Neorealism – for this study's purpose, the term refers thinking process behind Duterte's decision to shift the Philippines' alliances from the West to the East and China more specifically. Defensive neorealists states focus on developing their defensive capabilities with means other than military ones (Waltz, 2000).

Dutertardes – for this study, the term refers to supporters of Duterte.

Populism – for this study, the term refers to is a thin-centered ideology that considers society ultimately separated into two homogenous and antagonistic groups, "the pure people" versus "the corrupt elite," and which argues that politics should be an expression of the general will of the people" (Mudde & Mudde, 2018).

Populist Leader – for this study, the term refers to a populist leader who claims to represent the unified “will of the people.”

Pragmatic Leader – for this study, the term refers pragmatic leader who focuses on finding solutions to problems by adapting his words and actions to specific relationships and roles in a changing environment.

Tokhang – for this study, the term refers to a Visayan word which means Tok-tok Hangyo. Alleged drug users or pusher was knocked by police personnel at their homes, asking them that they need to surrender and be monitored for further assessment.

Yellowtardes – for this study, the term refers to the opposition of Duterte.

1.6 Latest Related Dissertation published scientific work

1. President Duterte’s bicephalous leadership: Populist at home – pragmatic abroad

Asian Journal of Comparative Politics| SAGE

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